

# The Collection and Reception of Sexual Antiquities in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century

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## Abstract

Sexually themed objects from ancient Greece and Rome have been present in debates about our relationship with the past and with sexuality since they were first brought to modern attention in large numbers in the Enlightenment period. However, modern engagement with this type of material has very often been characterised as problematic. This thesis pushes beyond the story of reactionary censorship of ancient depictions of sex to demonstrate how these images were meaningfully engaged with across intellectual life in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Britain and America. It makes a significant and timely contribution to our existing knowledge of a key historical period for the development of the modern understanding of sexuality and cultural representations of it, and the central role that antiquity played in negotiating this fundamental aspect of modernity. Crucially, this work demonstrates how sexual antiquities functioned as symbols of pre-Christian sexual, social and political mores, with which to think through, and to challenge, contemporary cultural constructions around sexuality, religion, gender roles and the development of culture itself. It presents evidence of the widespread and prolific acquisition of sexually themed artefacts throughout private and institutional collecting culture. This deliberate seeking out of ancient images of sex is shown to have been motivated by debates on the universal human connection between sex and religion, as part of wider constructions of notions such as 'culture' and 'primitivism', with Classical material maintaining a central position in these ideas, despite research into increasingly diverse cultures, past and present. The purposeful engagement with sexual imagery from antiquity is also revealed as having acted as a valuable new source of knowledge about ancient sexual life between men which gave new impetus to the negotiation, defence, celebration and promotion of homoerotic desire in contemporary turn of the twentieth century, Western society.

## Table of Contents

List of Illustrations.....	6
Introduction.....	9
Chapter 1. Collecting Sex: the deliberate acquisition of sexual antiquities.....	50
Section 1. The British Museum.....	57
1.1 A. W. Franks and the Keeper as donor.....	58
1.2 The Egypt Exploration Fund and Naukratis donations.....	62
1.3 Léon Morel and the major Gallo-Roman purchase.....	65
Section 2. The Wellcome Historical Medical Museum.....	68
2.1 Not a magpie collection.....	68
2.2 The Oppenheimer collection of anatomical votives.....	72
2.3 Peter Johnston-Saint as ‘foreign secretary’.....	74
2.4 Copying the Naples ‘Secret Cabinet’.....	78
2.5 Gayer-Anderson and the Naukratis purchases.....	87
Section 3. Edward Perry Warren and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.....	92
3.1 The <i>kantharos</i> : private collecting of sexual antiquities.....	92
3.2 Warren and Marshall studying in European museums.....	96
3.3 Major vase sales.....	100
3.4 W. T. Ready and the Boston Mirror.....	105
3.5 Paul Hartwig and male courtship vases.....	107
3.6 Ludwig Pollak and the Heracles and Omphale marble relief....	108
3.7 Setting up connections in Rome and Athens.....	109
3.8 Fausto Benedetti, Arretine ware and Roman homoerotic	

pieces.....	112
3.9 The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.....	115
 Chapter 2. Sacred Sexuality: sexual antiquities as religious artefacts.....	 119
 Section 1. 'Phallic Worship': antiquity and the worship of Procreation.....	 119
 1.1 <i>Worship of Priapus</i> and eighteenth-century beginnings.....	120
1.2 'Phallic Worship': mid-nineteenth-century revival.....	123
1.3 The Wellcome 'Phallic Worship' section.....	126
1.4 Warren and Marshall's 'erotic collection'.....	137
1.5 Jennings, Vorberg, Brandt and Schidrowitz: accessing and publishing sexual antiquities.....	140

Section 2. Enlightened phallus: challenging ideas of repressive treatments.....	144
2.1 Ideas of prudery and lascivity in response to sexual antiquities.....	145
2.2 A new model of scholarly engagement.....	147
2.3 ‘Saving’ Classics from the charge of obscenity.....	151
2.4 A new model of ‘enlightened’ treatment.....	153
2.5 Display and ‘original’ contexts.....	155
2.6 Correcting anachronistic interpretations.....	158
Section 3. Wider contexts: ancient phallic worship in contemporary debates over human nature.....	163
3.1 The material world and scholarly research.....	164
3.2 Comparing Culture: Anthropology and comparative religions.....	167
3.3 ‘Shower of Phallicism’: ‘theosophy’ and esotericism.....	175
3.4 The ‘medicalisation of sex’ .....	178
Section 4. Primitive Priapus: sexual antiquities and the theory of cultural evolution.....	192
4.1 Constructing cultural evolution.....	192
4.2 Comparative Method and ‘Survivals’.....	195
4.3 Greece and Rome on the ‘ladder’ of cultural evolution.....	205
4.4 Declining from a ‘natural’ state.....	211
Chapter 3. Uranian collections: sexual antiquities and same-sex desire.....	216
Section 1. Depicting <i>paederastia</i> : Greek vases, Roman vessels and knowledge of ancient male love.....	217

1.1 Greek vases and ‘real life’ <i>paederastia</i> .....	218
1.2 The physicality of <i>paederastia</i> .....	223
1.3 Homoerotic foreplay: Beazley’s ‘Alpha’ motif.....	231
1.4 Homoerotic sex scenes: Beazley’s ‘Gamma’ motif.....	238
1.5 The chronology of physical <i>paederastia</i> .....	243
1.6 Anal sex on Roman vessels.....	248
1.7 Warren and Beazley and the transmission of knowledge.....	257
Section 2. Performing <i>paederastia</i> : sexual antiquities and modern sexual identity.....	263
2.1 Antiquities and interconnected debates on same-sex desire.....	264
2.2 Theoretical considerations for the reception of ancient homoerotics.....	269
2.3 Debates over age difference.....	273
2.4 Masculine centred society and masculine domesticity.....	282
2.5 A positive model of physical pederasty.....	292
Section 3. ‘Paederastic evangel’: collecting antiquities as sexual reform.....	300
3.1 Uranian displays at home.....	301
3.2 The ‘labour of love’: Warren and the Boston museum.....	307
3.3 Subverting Bostonian ‘Puritanism’.....	310
3.4 A Uranian message for Americans.....	316
Conclusions.....	318
Illustrations.....	324
Bibliography.....	347



## List of illustrations

1. Silver *skyphos* ('Warren Cup') showing men having sex
2. Bronze *tintinnabulum* with winged phallus-animal and bells
3. Red figure *kylix* showing symposium scene
4. Terracotta lamp of gnome-like man with head and phallus
5. Pottery lamp of a woman and a horse on a bed
6. Terracotta figure of phallic Harpocrates
7. Limestone figure of phallic Harpocrates
8. Pottery vase showing man and woman on a bed
9. Terracotta model of male genitalia
10. Selection of bronze amulets
11. Ivory Phallic Amulet
12. Alabaster and bronze pendant phallus with wings
13. Bronze phallic *tintinnabulum*
14. Bronze phallic *tintinnabulum* with woman rider
15. Terracotta lamp showing man and women having sex
16. Replica bronze figure of phallic dwarf
17. Plaster copy of phallic *tintinnabulum* with woman rider
18. Replica bronze *tintinnabulum* of gladiator attacking his panther-phallus
19. Replica bronze tripod of ithyphallic satyrs
20. Limestone figure of Harpocrates
21. Terracotta Lamp showing woman and horse having sex
22. Red-figure *kantharos* showing men and women in group sex
23. Sketch by J Marshall of decoration from black-figure *amphora*, 1892
24. Red-figure *kylix* showing ithyphallic satyr
25. Red-figure *kylix* showing Eros and youth in intercrural intercourse
26. Black-figure knob of lid showing man fondling boy
27. Red figure *kylix* showing ithyphallic satyrs and maenad
28. Inside of bronze mirror cover ('Boston Mirror') showing man and woman having sex
29. Black figure cup showing man fondling boy, boy embracing man
30. Marble relief showing with Heracles and Omphale
31. Marble statue of Priapus



32. Bronze figurine of Priapus with babies
33. Arretine bowl showing two men having sex and kissing
34. Arretine bowl showing man and woman and two men having sex
35. Terracotta figurine of satyr on horseback
36. Illustration of Roman figure of Priapus, Knight and Hamilton, 1786: Pl. V, fig. 2
37. Bronze amulet, phallus and *mano fica* fist
38. Illustration of amulet, Knight and Hamilton, 1786: Pl. II
39. Bronze amulet, bull and phallus
40. Illustration of Roman amulet, Knight and Hamilton, 1786: Pl. III, fig. 2
41. Bronze amulet, phallus with wings
42. Illustration of Roman phallus with wings, Knight and Hamilton, 1786: Pl. II, fig. 2.
43. Bronze hanging phallus with wings
44. Illustration of Roman phalluses with wings, Knight and Hamilton, 1786: Pl. XXVII, figs. 3 and 4
45. Terracotta figure of two phalluses attacking an eye
46. Terracotta herm of Priapus?
47. Bronze figurine of Priapus
48. Illustration of Roman figure of Priapus
49. Bronze figure of phallic dwarf
50. Hall of Statuary, Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, 1913
51. Bronze lingam
52. Ivory netsuke of woman embracing phallus
53. Porcelain model fruits containing couples having sex
54. Pottery jugs of skeletal figures with phallus
55. Pottery flask of oral sex between man and woman
56. Wooden post of man with phallus
57. Corel and silver amulet of *mano fica* fist
58. Marble plaque showing shrine
59. Black figure *alabastron* showing man fondling youth
60. Sketch by EP Warren of decoration from black-figure *amphora*, 1894
61. Red-figure *kylix* showing genital fondling
62. Sketch by EP Warren, of decoration from black-figure *amphora*, 1894

63. Black-figure *amphora* showing man and youth in intercrural intercourse
64. Pen and ink with watercolour of cameo glass fragment
65. Fragment of a *thurible* showing man and youth

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## Introduction

In 2006 the British Museum opened an exhibition entitled *The Warren Cup: Sex and Society in Ancient Greece and Rome*. *The Guardian* newspaper described this as a 'unique exhibit, unprecedented in the 253-year history of the museum'.<sup>1</sup> This accolade was bestowed upon it because the exhibition displayed sexual images from antiquity which had never before been on public display together in the museum. One particular object was picked out by the reporter as a highlight: a 'Roman wind chime, a flying phallus, complete with wings, its own phallus and a phallic tail, hung with a row of little bells' (see fig. 2). This *tintinnabulum*, the reporter mused, surely had the power to dissolve any 'impassive museum-visiting face' which visitors might be trying to maintain. The other object given a special mention was the exhibition's focal artefact: a 'dazzlingly beautiful and jaw-droppingly explicit Roman silver cup' with 'beautifully modelled homosexual imagery', revealed in the image that accompanied the article to be an impossibly delicate picture, hammered out from the inside of the object, depicting a young, naked muscular man in the act of anally penetrating an even younger nude male; kneeling behind him to enter the boy who lies on his side facing the viewer (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> These vivid emblems of Roman sexuality were placed right inside the 'towering front door', we are told, ensuring maximum visibility and impact. An interview conducted with Dyfri Williams, the curator of the show and Research Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities, makes it clear that this display was meant to place the material in a context which would contribute to a currently animated scholarly debate about the nature of ancient 'attitudes to sexuality', and the article is careful to mention the painstaking erudition which supported the interpretation of material, specifically the cup. This has revealed, as the article explains, that in the cup's original context it was 'intended to provoke conversation', encouraging the reader/visitor to consider the kinds of conversations which are meant to be provoked by its modern display. The reporter tells

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<sup>1</sup> Kennedy, M. 'British Museum exhibition reveals saucy side of the ancient world', *The Guardian*, 12/5/2006.

<sup>2</sup> As I discuss below, the authenticity of the Warren Cup has been debated since its early twentieth-century appearance in the collecting market. Dyfri Williams of the British Museum has convincingly argued for its genuine status. Clearly the museum is heavily invested in proving its authenticity, not least given the £1.8 million they spent on the acquisition of it. In the eponymous exhibition described above, the museum aligned itself with the liberated attitudes of antiquity which they take the cup to be displaying.

us that images from contemporary popular culture were included, notably from the recent Hollywood film *Brokeback Mountain*, about a romance between two cowboys. This curatorial choice, the director of the museum Neil MacGregor later explained, aimed to 'show that the world is still struggling with the same issues that exercised our ancestors'.<sup>3</sup> In summing up Dyfri Williams is quoted as declaring 'The mask is off, we're up for it'.

As Michel Foucault described in 1981, Western society since the 'sexual revolution' has cultivated an idea of ripping, or slowly peeling, the 'masked' sexuality of previous generations from the face of society.<sup>4</sup> This 'mask' has the features of repression, restraint, hypocrisy and censorship. The *Guardian* article described above shows one example of how the reception of artefacts from antiquity featuring overt sexual imagery has been part of this narrative. This thesis adds weight to Foucault's challenge that there ever existed a solid and complete mask. It reveals that in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century<sup>5</sup> Britain and America<sup>6</sup> sexually themed antiquities from Greece, Rome, and elsewhere were enthusiastically sought out for what they could contribute to frank scholarly and wider discussions on ancient sexual life. These artefacts showed previous generations that they too were 'struggling with the same issues that exercised our ancestors'. Coming into contact with the large body of sexual imagery extant from antiquity, especially the ubiquitous phallic objects, helped them in constructing the history of culture, religion and the place of sex within society, and inspired them to consider how the modern West compared in this regard to other cultures. In looking at images of ancient men having sex they contemplated how their society dealt with non-normative sexuality and helped them to develop their own political and personal models.

This introduction begins by outlining the key aims of the thesis, followed by a summary of the broader scholarly debates and methodologies to which it contributes, and within which it is situated. It then describes the primary research carried out in order

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<sup>3</sup> Smith, 2007: 150.

<sup>4</sup> Foucault, 1978-1986, trans. Hurley..

<sup>5</sup> In this thesis, this usually refers to the 1880s until the 1930s.

<sup>6</sup> This thesis concentrates on activities in Britain, and to an extent America, although collecting and scholarly culture in Europe is shown to impact upon these. A similar systematic study of the reception of sexual antiquities in non-English speaking countries would go beyond the scope of the thesis but would usefully complement the findings here.

to answer the key questions of the thesis and finally gives an outline of the following three chapters.

### Key aims of the thesis

#### Historiography of repression and liberation

The following outlines the dominant historiography of the modern reception of sexual antiquities.<sup>7</sup> The British Museum's exhibition was hailed by their publicity and by scholarly publications as a definitive moment in the history of attitudes towards sexual imagery. A decision taken six years earlier which made the exhibition possible – the museum's purchase of the silver cup – has been seen as an exemplar of turn-of-the-twenty-first century open-minded responses to ancient artefacts: the removal of the 'mask'. The history of the cup itself has been represented by some as a microcosm of the history of Western sexual mores, and even the progress of civilisation itself.

Accordingly, it was forged in the 'sophisticated and liberal' age of the 'civilised' first century AD but, because attitudes had changed so dramatically, upon its rediscovery in the early twentieth century AD, it was subjected to 'every modern manifestation of prurience, censorship, prejudice and cowardice that could be imagined'.<sup>8</sup> The cup was applied, in 'derogatory' terms, the labels 'pornographic' and 'obscene'; no museums

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<sup>7</sup> 'Sexual antiquities' (see Kittredge, 2003: 156) is the somewhat technical term I have chosen to use to describe the material at the heart of this thesis, as well variations such as 'sexually themed ancient artefacts' etc.. This usually refers to material made in ancient Greece, Rome, and sometimes Egypt which features imagery of sexual activity or of sexually related body parts. This can include representations of the non-erect penis and female genitalia, as in the anatomical models thought to be religious votives. Essentially my scope is governed by the type of material which has been drawn attention to as subject to censorship in the modern age. It does not usually include nude statuary, as I explain below. I have chosen not to use the term 'erotic' because this can often refer to material with no sexual element to it, as I also explain below. Furthermore, it is now widely argued that much ancient sexual imagery which has been labelled 'erotic' in the past should not be thought to 'refer to sexual love' (Johns, 1982: 10-11), this being seen as the product of an anachronistic and prudish understanding of previous generations. I also do not use 'obscene' and 'pornographic', unless quoting a description of an object. These are terms, according to recent accounts wishing to distance themselves from previous scholarship, that are characteristically used in subjective and negative responses to this material (Frost, 2007: 31; Frost, 2007: 69; Johns, 1982: 9; Gaimster, 2000). Even where I show this not to be the case, I do not wish to impose such currently problematic terms on the material. My purpose is to establish what the late nineteenth and early twentieth century did consider 'erotic', 'obscene' or 'pornographic' (although the latter only came into common parlance during the period in question, see Kendrick, 1987), therefore it would be unhelpful of me to label material as such myself.

<sup>8</sup> Smith, 2007: 144.

were prepared to buy it and it was refused entry by US customs, all examples of ‘early twentieth-century society imposing its own attitudes and values onto those of the past’.<sup>9</sup> Such actions have been viewed as a glitch in the ‘history of human civilisation as a one of steady progress and enlightenment’ – a retardation of cultural evolution.<sup>10</sup> This latter idea seems to play on the popular notion that the modern discovery of the ancient penchant for depicting sex, not least between men, challenged the authority of antiquity as the forefathers of Western civilisation.<sup>11</sup> Did such prudish censors not realise that *they* were the ones displaying ‘uncivilised’ behaviour by repressing these ancient ‘unambiguous scenes of young men enjoying consensual sex’?<sup>12</sup> Eventually, it has been claimed, sanity was restored and prurience combated by the ‘mature attitudes’ born out of ‘liberalisation’ in the 1960s, resulting - finally - in the British Museum’s purchase of the cup in 1999.<sup>13</sup> ‘Nothing could signal more clearly,’ declares Rupert Smith in *The Museum: Behind the Scenes*, ‘the British Museum’s commitment to engaging with its collection in an inquiring way and to confronting issues raised by objects that might once have been swept under the carpet’.<sup>14</sup> Finally, the metaphorical ‘mask’ was fully stripped off in this act of acquisition. The £1.8 million which the museum eventually paid for the cup – the most ever spent on a single artefact – has been seen at once to signal the actions of a beneficent champion of long-awaited liberal attitudes towards sexuality and, simultaneously, as those of a cowardly fool, having waited so long when the cup had been offered previously at a ‘fraction of the price’.<sup>15</sup> Another nineteenth- and twentieth-century ‘strategy’ picked up in such accounts of censorship is that of a physical ‘mask’ applied to the sexuality of ancient iconography. Accounts refer to the application of black daubs of paint over the ubiquitous phalluses of excited satyrs on Greek red-figure vases. Perceived as an act of prudish vandalism, this has been thought of as having altered the historical meaning of these Bacchic

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<sup>9</sup> Frost, 2010: 144; Smith, 2007: 144.

<sup>10</sup> Smith, 2007: 144.

<sup>11</sup> Gaimster, 2000; de Caro, 2000: 11-12; de Caro, 2000b; Frost, 2007: 140; Johns, 1982: 21; Gosden, 2003: 169.

<sup>12</sup> Smith, 2007: 150.

<sup>13</sup> Smith, 2007: 144, see also 138-143. Frost, 2010: 144.

<sup>14</sup> Smith, 2007: 139.

<sup>15</sup> Smith, 2007: 144.



scenes.<sup>16</sup> This treatment has been identified at several major world museums, including the British Museum and America's leading Classical art institution, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston - both of which will be central to this thesis.

According to Stuart Frost, head of interpretation at the British Museum, the purchase of the Warren Cup was also 'definitive confirmation that the era of the secret museum was over'.<sup>17</sup> This refers to a third and best known act of censorship of ancient imagery: the segregation of sexually-themed material within collections. As Catherine Johns, then the British Museum's Curator of the Department of Greece and Rome, explained in her 1982 book *Sex or Symbol? Erotic Images of Greece and Rome*:

'In the recent past...all objects from ancient cultures which were shaped or decorated in a way that was considered improper by the very severe standards of the time were relegated to the category 'obscene' and, if they were of sufficient artistic merit or archaeological importance to be housed in a museum, they were locked away in special collections which were made as difficult to access as possible.'<sup>18</sup>

Johns' book, aimed at a general readership but subsequently highly influential in scholarship, provided the first history of the British Museum's 'Secretum' (housed in Cupboards 55 and 54 in the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities), in which 'objects of a sexual nature' were kept from the 1830s with access restricted to 'clergymen and scholars', provided they were lucky enough to get a permit.<sup>19</sup> Here was kept the *tintinnabulum* described in the *Guardian* article, along with many other phallic objects, antiquities showing sex between men, between men and women, between women and animals and, in one rare example, between women. In addition to material from ancient Rome, objects from Greece, Egypt, Medieval Europe, Japan, India and Peru were housed there. Johns describes how in the early nineteenth century it had been decided to separate out the 'indecent' material, formerly mixed in with everything else, perhaps, she suggests, inspired by the 'Secret Cabinet' at Naples National

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<sup>16</sup> Smith, 2007:144; Frost, 2008: 31; Frost, 2007: 69, 141; Johns, 1982: 32; See Whitehill, 1970: 674-6.

<sup>17</sup> Frost, 2010, 141.

<sup>18</sup> Johns, 1982: 9.

<sup>19</sup> Johns, 1982: 29-30. On the 'Secretum' see also Smith, 2007: 139; Frost, 2010: 140-1; Frost, 2008: 30-32; Frost, 2007: 65; Gaimster, 2000; Gaimster, 2001.

Archaeological Museum.<sup>20</sup> This even better known example of a 'secret museum' was officially created in 1832 but had continued existing restrictive access of the phallic artefacts and images of sexual activity on frescoes and other objects excavated from the ancient towns of Pompeii and Herculaneum. Walter Kendrick's 1987 book *The Secret Museum: Pornography in Modern Culture*, and a later 1999 television documentary series based on his ideas, was highly influential in bringing the story of the Naples 'Secret Cabinet', and the supposedly 'repressive' modern treatment of sexual antiquities it represented, to popular and scholarly attention.<sup>21</sup> Kendrick was first to argue that the 'invention' of the modern concept of the 'pornographic' - in this definition a special category of sexual material with restricted access - was created in order to deal with the large quantities of 'distressing' ancient objects pulled out of the ground in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in the Bay of Naples.<sup>22</sup> David Gaimster, then curator of the British Museum's Department of Medieval and Modern Europe, has described how the actions of the Neapolitans 'represented a new taxonomy for the study of antiquity, that of the 'archaeological obscenity' and one that was to be perpetuated across Europe for almost two hundred years'.<sup>23</sup> Segregating material according to its sexual content, these accounts argue, ignored considerations of original culture, material and context. 'Obscenity as a category,' insists Johns, 'is academically indefensible'.<sup>24</sup> This treatment is dependent, according to Gaimster, on 'moral, as opposed to strictly scholarly, grounds'.<sup>25</sup> It is widely argued that antiquity, in which sexual imagery was found throughout private and public life, would not have recognised such modern distinctions: much of it was not intended to be titillating at all, rather it held deep religious significance or was simply meant to be decorative or humorous.<sup>26</sup> In segregating material and restricting access, it has been suggested, not only was the genuine meaning of ancient sexual iconography obscured but so too was the possibility

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20 Johns, 1982: 29. See Blanshard, 2010: 32. On the Naples's cabinet see Fisher and Langlands, 2011; Beard, 2012; de Caro, 2000b.

<sup>21</sup> *Pornography: A Secret History of Civilization* documentary was first broadcast in Britain in 1999

<sup>22</sup> Kendrick, 1987: 6.

<sup>23</sup> Gaimster, 2000.

<sup>24</sup> Johns, 1982: 10, 30, 35.

<sup>25</sup> Gaimster, 2000.

<sup>26</sup> Johns, 1982; Frost, 2010: 144. See also Clarke, 1998; Clarke, 2007; Clarke and Larvey, 2003; Kampen and Bergmann, 1996; Blanshard, 2010: 32; Jacobelli, 1995.

of scholarship and serious investigation into what these valuable pieces of evidence could tell us about ancient, and modern, life.<sup>27</sup> As Foucault describes, Victorian culture has been characterised as one in which as sex was given ‘a sentence to disappear, but also as an injunction to silence, an affirmation of nonexistence, and, by implication, an admission that there was nothing to say about such things, nothing to see, and nothing to know.’<sup>28</sup>

### Sustained Engagement

As Foucault has challenged this statement for Western culture broadly, this thesis challenges received ideas specifically about the reception of ancient sexual artefacts. It aims to highlight an alternative narrative to that of our ancestors’ squeamish responses to this material, that which is often told as part of the popular story of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century repression followed by post-1960s enlightenment. The story told in the following chapters is one of deliberate collection and engagement with so-called ‘difficult or troublesome artefacts’;<sup>29</sup> of careful scholarly study of ancient images of sex for what they can reveal of ancient practice and beliefs, and of a conscious attempt to understand their ‘original’ meanings and avoid ‘irresponsible’,<sup>30</sup> anachronistic labelling. Responses to this material have often been characterised as disgust, shock, embarrassment, anxiety and guilt. This work explores curiosity, intrigue, desire, excitement, wonder, pride and satisfaction in reaction to the same type of artefacts. Modernity’s reception of the overt sexuality of antiquity revealed in its material culture has often been presented as problematic. This thesis examines sustained interest in it and the way in which it fuelled key contemporary debates on sexuality, morality, religion and civilisation.

This thesis builds upon preliminary steps already made in recent years to challenge the extent to which sexual antiquities have been the victims of modern censorship.<sup>31</sup> Rebecca Langlands and Kate Fisher’s article of 2011, particularly focusing on activities of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, explicitly questions the

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<sup>27</sup> Frost, 2010: 31. See Johns, 1982: 31.

<sup>28</sup> Foucault, 1978-1986, trans. Hurley: 4, see also 12, 17.

<sup>29</sup> Frost, 2008: 31.

<sup>30</sup> Johns, 1982: 10.

<sup>31</sup> Blanshard, 2010, Fisher and Langlands, 2011; McGinn, 2004: 183.

widely accepted notion of unmitigated censorship and repression of the sexual artefacts found at Pompeii and Herculaneum by their removal to the Secret Museum at Naples.<sup>32</sup> They show that the so-called 'secret' collection was routinely accessed, often for the purpose of scholarship, by both visitors and curators.<sup>33</sup> Langlands and Fisher, among others, have identified the importance of investing in the narrative of Victorian repression and of locating it as the antithesis to ancient 'healthy' sexuality, for the construction of post-1960s sexual mores.<sup>34</sup> As we have seen in the accounts above, post-1960s society, in Britain at least, has seen itself as the direct inheritor of the 'sophisticated', 'liberal', 'civilised' and 'mature' attitudes towards sex of the ancients, with the nineteenth and early twentieth century seen as dark ages from which we are still recovering.

Within the accounts of reactionary responses to ancient images of sex outlined above there is another story - one of deliberate engagement with and sustained acquisition of sexual antiquities. This story becomes visible if we refrain from focusing on negative responses. For example, although the accounts we have seen above stress the lack of twentieth-century buyers prepared to purchase the Warren Cup with its explicit scenes of male-male sex, they tell us that it was owned between 1911 and 1928 by the collector Edward Perry Warren (1860-1928), for whom it is named. Some accounts also mention the substantial wider collection of ancient sexual imagery which Warren put together.<sup>35</sup> A wealthy American who made England his home, Warren was the most prolific Classical collector in Europe and America at the turn of the twentieth century, providing material for many institutions and essentially founding the Greek and Roman departments of both the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and the Metropolitan

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<sup>32</sup> Fisher and Langlands, 2011. See Beard, 2012 writing on the Naples museum who also 'comes to many of the same conclusions' as Fisher and Langlands.

<sup>33</sup> Fisher and Langlands, 2011: 303. See also Blanshard, 2010: 32 who suggests the objects in the 'Secret Cabinet' inspired wide ranging scholarly ideas in the early nineteenth century.

<sup>34</sup> Kucich and Sadoff, 2000. See Fisher and Langlands, 2011 on the way the Naples 'Secret Cabinet' encourages the contemporary visitor to compare ancient and 'Victorian' attitudes to sexual imagery, representing 'opposite ends of a sexual spectrum along which a visitor is encouraged to position themselves and their own culture. The opposition creates a pressing question: where does the modern world fit in? Are we more like the censors of the past than we like to think? How like the Romans would we want to be? Who are we, and are we still living in a world of repression and hypocrisy, or a time of sexual freedom and frankness?'. See also Beard, 2012.

<sup>35</sup> Frost, 2007: 69.

Museum of Art, New York.<sup>36</sup> Accounts of the British Museum's 'Secretum' also tell us of the collection by doctor-turned-banker-turned-collector, George Witt (1804-1869) of 434 artefacts featuring phallic and sexual imagery from across Greece and Rome and other historical and contemporary cultures which, when donated in 1865, added significantly to the museum's own 'secret cabinet'.<sup>37</sup>

Those accounts which bemoan the suppression of scholarly engagement with these ancient artefacts nonetheless acknowledge that scholarship did take place, for example, in reference to lectures which Witt is said to have given on his phallic antiquities.<sup>38</sup> Evidence like this, however, is marginalised because there persists an idea that genuine scholarship with such imagery was significantly suppressed, especially from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Prior to this period, it is often suggested, sensible scholarly interactions with sexually themed antiquities was possible, such as in the sustained research on Roman phallic artefacts by Richard Payne Knight (1750-1824) and Sir William Hamilton (1731-1803) (both of whom also collected this type of material and donated it to the British Museum).<sup>39</sup> However, with the arrival of Victorian prudery, it has been claimed, such 'honest' engagement with this material was made impossible until at least the mid-twentieth century.<sup>40</sup> Where engagement with sexual antiquities in this period of supposed extreme prudery is acknowledged it is met with skepticism: claims of erudition are seen as *really* a cover for a lascivious interest in dirty pictures.<sup>41</sup> There is an enduring image of the hypocritical gentleman scholar, allowed access to the 'secret museum' because he is thought to be able to study images of sex in the calm and scientific manner which others in society could not, but who, upon

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<sup>36</sup> On Warren's collecting for American museums and collections see Murley, 2012.

<sup>37</sup> Johns, 1982; Gaimster, 2000; Gaimster, 2001. On see Carabelli, 1996: 111, 131, 151.

<sup>38</sup> Johns, 1982: 28; Gaimster, 2001: 134.

<sup>39</sup> On Knight as a serious scholar see Johns, 1982: 28; Messmann, 1974: 139; Blanshard, 2010: 63. See Rousseau, 1988: 102 on Knight's work being definitely *not* intended as pornography. Godwin, 1994: 4 insists 'while the collectors of these artefacts ... derived a certain humorous pleasure from forbidden fruits, these eighteenth-century gentlemen were not merely prurient, but scholarly and anthropological in their interests'. Funnell, 1982: 52 suggests Knight 'in the interests of scholarship was willing to tackle a difficult subject. His [*Worship of Priapus*] was not meant for mere titillation; it is a serious study of the wide spread of phallic worship'.

<sup>40</sup> Johns, 1982: 28. On John Beazley as the first scholar to tackle homoerotic Greek vase-painting see Shapiro, 1981: 401; Dover, 1989: 96. On the subject of ancient sexuality in general not tackled because of prudish attitudes until the 1970s, see Nussbaum, 1999: x-xi.

<sup>41</sup> Johns, 1982: 28; Gaimster, 2001: 132; Lyons and Lyons, 2004: 59; Carabelli, 1996: 10-11, 112; Janes, 2009: 122; Godwin, 1994: 22.

stepping through the forbidden door, reveals his 'impassive museum-visiting face' (to quote the article we began with) to be another type of 'mask' - one which hides his real lascivious motives. Langlands and Fisher argue that this idea has been engendered by the focus on sensationalist responses to this material, so that the stress on its classification as 'pornography' fuels ideas about its prurient use.<sup>42</sup> Observers from the 1980s onwards have scoffed at the Victorian 'gentlemen of means and taste' who 'would have considered themselves capable of responding in a detached, scholarly way' to sexual imagery.<sup>43</sup> While rightly pointing out the impossibility of genuine objectivity and the unlikelihood of complete impassivity in the face of these objects, these accounts downplay the intellectual intentions which such gentlemen claim. I argue that neither arousal, nor the undeniable patriarchal hypocrisy that is so often critiqued by historians of censorship, should warrant the marginalisation of the attempts of these men to make meaningful interactions with this material. In examining the motivations behind deliberate engagement with sexual antiquities this thesis works on the principle that intellectual and emotional, including erotic, responses may exist together in reaction to the same stimulus and do not necessarily cancel one another out.<sup>44</sup>

We have seen that many accounts of the modern reception of sexual antiquities, although acknowledging to some extent a sustained and intellectual interest in such material,<sup>45</sup> marginalises this in favour of the story of repression. This thesis takes the hints at a different historiography and develops them. We find that, throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, there were international nexuses of collectors, artists, scholars and political reformers engaging with material which others apparently found so challenging. In this period, new sexual antiquities were being constantly acquired and routinely accessed and studied in person and via scholarship which brought this material to a wider audience.

### 'Enlightened' interpretations

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<sup>42</sup> Fisher and Langlands, 2011: 310.

<sup>43</sup> Kendrick, 1987: 6, 26, Gaimster, 2000.

<sup>44</sup> For this more balanced view see Fisher and Langlands, 2011; Beard, 2012.

<sup>45</sup> Gaimster, 2000 mentions an 'international nexus of collectors of antique erotica'.

Scholarly interactions with this material in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century highlighted in this thesis took place within wide-ranging debates about human nature and human sexuality. These responses to sexual antiquities, therefore, support the Foucauldian proposition that this time period saw not in fact a silence, but a 'veritable discursive explosion' about sex.<sup>46</sup> Following Foucault, the late nineteenth and early twentieth century has been identified as a decisive moment when sex became a subject for scrutiny in new ways between artists, reformers, medical professionals, anthropologists and historians.<sup>47</sup> This thesis shows that, for those who saw sexual antiquities as intriguing rather than problematic, a massive body of evidence with which to reconstruct the lives and thoughts of ancient people, and to better understand modern ones, was available.

This thesis highlights conscious efforts made in this period to avoid (mis)judging antiquity according to one's own cultural values and uncover the 'original' meaning of this material. This challenges the narrative of censorship and repression in the Victorian and post-Victorian age which stresses the anachronistic treatment and interpretation of sexual antiquities and the imposition of contemporary 'attitudes and values onto those of the past', for example in classifying these images as 'pornographic' or 'obscene'.<sup>48</sup> In fact, we often find that the same seemingly 'enlightened' interpretations found in scholarship of the past forty years existed also in the supposedly repressive earlier periods.<sup>49</sup>

The two central discourses which dominate apparent 'unmasked' debates around ancient sexual imagery of the last forty years which have had important implications for the wider understanding of ancient and modern life are inherited from this earlier age. The first of these discourses relates to the religious significance of sexual imagery in the ancient world, embodied in such objects as the British Museum's Roman phallic *tintinnabula*, and thousands of other extant ancient images, which are thought to

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<sup>46</sup> Foucault, 1978-1986, trans. Hurley: 1.17.

<sup>47</sup> Weeks, 2000; Bland and Doan, 1998; Halperin, 1990; Lyons and Lyons, 2004.

<sup>48</sup> Smith, 2007: 144; Frost, 2010: 144. See also Johns, 1982: 10-11; Frost, 2007; 69; Gaimster, 2000; Clarke and Larvey, 2003: 28; Varone, 2001: 15.

<sup>49</sup> On the idea of repression followed by scholarly enlightenment see Johns, 1982, esp. 29; Beard, 2008: 233.

exemplify an ancient belief that the phallus had *apotropaic* properties.<sup>50</sup> The second centres on the ancient institutionalism of ancient male-male sexual relationships revealed in images of men engaged in sexual activity, such as those on the Warren Cup and other Roman vessels as well as numerous Greek vases found in museums across the world.<sup>51</sup> All of this presents a challenge to the simple narrative of repression followed by an 'enlightened' understanding of sexual antiquities.

### Sex Rebels?

This thesis demonstrates that such ideas about sexuality, drawn from the deliberate collection and study of ancient objects, provided for some a powerful means of constructing an alternative sexual, political and moral world from that found in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Britain and America. While this reception of antiquity has been widely acknowledged in regards to the Greek literature,<sup>52</sup> the historiography of the reception of *visual culture* in this period is still dominated by the story of censorship and repression. The ubiquity of overt sexual imagery in the daily life of the ancients is commonly seen as having inspired comprehensive suppression of images which might suggest that antiquity had been morally depraved, for fear that the pillars of Western civilisation themselves might be toppled.<sup>53</sup> The following chapters reveal that there was a widespread interest in, and even celebration of, what was seen as a 'healthy' ancient reverence of sex embodied in these objects. They were seen as a visual record of a tolerance towards the human body and towards human sexual fulfillment both between men and women and between men, which was radically different from the contemporary social and legal climate, especially its hostility toward any form of male love. This perceived differentiation between ancient and modern life served as evidence for the study of human cultures and inspiration for libertarian and reforming discourses which called for religious, political and social change in these areas.

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<sup>50</sup> For this discourse in twentieth and twenty-first scholarship see Johns, 1982; Clarke, 2007; Clarke and Larvey, 2003.

<sup>51</sup> For this discourse in twentieth and twenty-first scholarship see Dover, 1989; Clarke, 1998.

<sup>52</sup> Goldhill, 2011: 4-5; Dowling, 1994; Blanshard, 2010: xvi; Orrells, 2011.

<sup>53</sup> Gaimster, 2000. See Harris, 2007: 113. See also de Caro, 2000: 11-12; de Caro, 2000b; Frost, 2007: 140; Johns, 1982: 21.



In making the argument that sexual antiquities were used in the construction of a counter-point to contemporary norms, this thesis builds upon scholarship that examines the sexual sub-cultures of Victorian and post-Victorian life.<sup>54</sup> However, I also assert the Foucauldian challenge to the received idea of the establishment at this time as an institution of comprehensive sexual repression. Foucault problematised Steven Marcus' historical model of 'Other Victorians'. This model appears in Marcus' influential 1964 work on Victorian sexual 'underworlds', in which he separates Victorian society into culture and sub-culture. Marcus identifies the spaces of the 'real' Victorians in which, as Foucault puts it, 'modern puritanism imposed its triple edict of taboo, nonexistence, and silence', and those of the libertarian 'others' in which 'untrammelled sex [had] a right to (safely insularized) forms of reality'.<sup>55</sup> This thesis follows the proposition that these divisions between 'Other Victorians' and 'real' Victorians are unhelpful and that more liberal sexual attitudes were themselves somewhat part of mainstream culture. As we will see, sexual antiquities played a role, not only in counter-cultural discourses, but also mainstream scholarly and popular debates and the important academic disciplines that grew up around them. For example, they were influential in the construction of key anthropological theories about the evolution of human culture and also shaped the direction of Oxonian scholarship on Classical Greek vases. This thesis shows that those who did take a self-defined opposition to establishment culture through their interest in sexual antiquities were often, in some way, part of this establishment itself and not marginalised or shadowy figures in society.

In examining the dissenting use of sexual imagery from antiquity I do conform to some extent to Marcus' binary division. To examine rebelliousness - in this case through engaging with ancient images of sex to construct an alternative sexual world - one must establish what the 'rebel' sees themselves as rebelling against. Thus the repressive model in regards to the treatment of sexual antiquities is often confirmed in establishing the normative culture which being challenged. However, I demonstrate that it was less comprehensive across society than has been often presumed.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Marcus, 1966; Lutz, 2011.

<sup>55</sup> Foucault, 1978-1986, trans. Hurley: 1: 4-5.

<sup>56</sup> Foucault, 1978-1986, trans. Hurley: 1: 12.

## Historiographical Contexts

This highly interdisciplinary thesis builds upon scholarship in a wide range of academic areas including Classical Reception studies, the History of Sexuality, Art History, the history of Archaeology and Anthropology and Material Culture, Collecting and Museum Studies. In this section I outline the key scholarly debates to which this work contributes and within which it is situated.

## The Reception of Classical antiquity and material cultures

Examining the reception of sexually themed artefacts, this thesis demonstrates the central role that the Classical past has played in modern life. I apply the methodology and build upon the scholarship of the still relatively new discipline of Classical Reception which has located the importance of ancient Greece and Rome for the development of Western social, political, religious, sexual, popular and emotional culture.<sup>57</sup> One of my primary aims is to assess how the material at the centre of this thesis acted as a site for navigating the relationship between modernity and antiquity. My definition of 'reception' borrows from literary theory in the sense of a *reaction* or *response* to a stimulus (in this case an ancient artefact with sexual imagery) but also from Classical Reception studies which have widened its meaning to include 'the way in which Greece and Rome has been transmitted, translated, excerpted, interpreted, rewritten, re-imagined and represented'.<sup>58</sup> Robust theoretical frameworks have been central to the field of Classical Reception studies since it began to carve out a space for itself in the early 1990s.<sup>59</sup> Much work has been done to identify the variety of forms of 'reception' - both in regards to the mode of receiving and the expression of that reception.<sup>60</sup> So an ancient literary text may be 'received' by a modern individual through her reading it. The subsequent expression of that reception might be the production of a new literary creation (a piece of scholarly reflection, a translation) or a different type of creative output such as a play or film (both of course usually beginning with a new piece of writing – a script, a screenplay). This thesis contributes to scholarship which applies this theoretical

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<sup>57</sup> Martindale and Thomas, 2006; Hardwick and Stray, 2008; Lowe and Shahabudin, 2009; Wyke, 1997.

<sup>58</sup> Hardwick and Stray, 2008: 1.

<sup>59</sup> See Martindale, 1993; Hardwick, 2000; Hardwick, 2003.

<sup>60</sup> E.g. Hardwick, 2003: 12.

framework established for studying receptions of Classical literature to material antiquity.<sup>61</sup> I identify a variety of modes for the reception of ancient objects, including study, interpretation and appreciation, and the expression of these various receptions in the production of scholarship and other literary creations. However, I also explore the way in which antiquities have been both received, and this reception expressed, in the single act of collecting - the deliberate gathering together of objects which may be considered to complement each other, to be owned, stored or displayed in one location. The desire to own an object is in itself a response to it and the act of acquisition is the expression of that response. 'Reception' can also imply ownership: to receive is to take into one's possession *something*. Although I separate them in the title, in this thesis 'reception' and 'collection' frequently overlap in the physical and intellectual possession of objects. I often use the word 'engagement' to cover all of these modes of receiving material culture.

In this way I draw upon the methodology of Art History and Archaeology, disciplines which have used many of the approaches of Classical Reception studies long before the latter was established as a subject in its own right.<sup>63</sup> Such studies have demonstrated comprehensively that modern engagement with ancient material culture reveals the privileged and canonical status of antiquity in Western culture, an idea which underpins Classical Reception theory. Much research in Art History has focused on Classical collecting, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth century when the British elite brought back antiquities in their thousands from their Grand Tours of Italy to create Classical galleries in their country houses and to establish the great public museum collections.<sup>65</sup> This thesis contributes to several areas of research on Classical collecting which are currently not as well fleshed out. It explores late nineteenth- and

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<sup>61</sup> Jenkins and Sloan, 1996; Jenkins, 1992; Kurtz, 2000; Elsner, 1995; Elsner, 1994, Perry, 2005; Marvin, 2008; Kampen and Bergmann, 1996. Although, as Porter, 2008 (477) suggests 'archaeology and material culture have reception histories that... so far have not been explicitly allied' to wider discipline of Classical Reception studies, Jenkins, Kurtz and Elsner are among those who consciously use the terminology and approaches of the discipline in their work on the physical remains of antiquity.

<sup>63</sup> In 1867 Walter Pater's 'Winckelmann' examined the historians' scholarly and emotional reception of the ancient world through sculpture, see Pater, 1980.

<sup>65</sup> Coltman, 2006; Coltman, 2009; Haskell and Penny, 1981, Scott, 2003; .

early twentieth-century Classical collecting, which saw less prolific but still substantial activity, and has received much less scholarly attention.<sup>66</sup>

Where ancient sculpture (and modern plaster casts) has featured prominently in Classical collecting studies, this thesis focuses on smaller objects: vases, figurines, lamps, amulets, gems and coins.<sup>67</sup> In doing so this also builds upon scholarship which considers Classical collecting in archaeological and anthropological contexts,<sup>68</sup> where the focus has often been on the modern acquisition of antiquities in the context of the art collection and its contribution to connoisseurship and notions of 'taste'.<sup>69</sup> While these latter ideas are important in this thesis, I also demonstrate the way in which ancient artefacts have been valued as evidence of ancient everyday life. As such small, commonly found and not necessarily aesthetically pleasing artefacts used commonly by ancient peoples, such as bronze amulets, are as important in this thesis as one-off pieces created for an elite artistic taste, such as vases. I also draw upon a more recently developed field of collecting and museum studies which has self-consciously moved away from researching the collection of 'high culture', exemplified in eighteenth-century collecting on the Grand Tour, and towards the collection of 'everyday' objects, albeit often non-Classical or non-historical material.<sup>70</sup>

Traditional art history approaches are found in this thesis in the examination of different types of material collected and the biographies of specific collectors and time periods. However, I also draw upon more recent, theoretical collecting studies when I examine the practices of collecting and the complex processes and networks of individuals involved directly and indirectly in putting together a collection.<sup>71</sup> Institutional collections in particular are shown to be shaped by many different influences, from inside and out. Critically, this can help us to establish how and why sexually themed

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<sup>66</sup> Kurtz, 2000; Nichols, Forthcoming.

<sup>67</sup> On vase collecting see Jenkins and Sloan, 1996; Jenkins, 1992. On coin collecting see Funnell, 1982.

<sup>68</sup> Jenkins and Sloan, 1996; Jenkins, 1992; Clarke and Penny, 1982; Carabelli, 1996.

<sup>69</sup> Haskell and Penny, 1981; Scott, 2003. For a study which takes in both the contexts of 'taste' and more scholarly engagement with material antiquity in the eighteenth century see Coltman, 2006.

<sup>70</sup> Pearce, 1995: 6; Elsner and Cardinal, 1994: 4.

<sup>71</sup> Pearce, 1995: 6, 27; Elsner and Cardinal, 1994: 4; Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; Hooper-Greenhill, 2000; Hill, 2004: 12. See Coltman, 2009 whose study of collecting Classical sculpture in Britain traces the 'mechanisms of the marketplace' and the 'networks of communication and exchange between collectors'.

objects – usually seen as Museological hot potatoes – were being deliberately brought into museums - through a variety of means and for a variety of motivations.

### Things as thoughts

This thesis examines the theory and practice of using objects as data in the formation and articulation of knowledge, feelings and thoughts. It carefully picks apart the processes of engagement with ancient objects and their role in the formation and articulation of sexually-related ideas. Drawing upon recent theories about the modern relationship with the material world, I apply these to Classical Reception methodologies to examine how antiquity has been received through engaging with its physical remains. Following the work of Susan Pearce in the 1990s, Post-Freudian psychology has been applied in analysing complex but powerful motivations behind the human phenomenon of collecting and in exploring the relationships between person, object and ideas.<sup>72</sup> The psychology of 'ownership' in the profile of a collector has been figured as a way of possessing, but also making sense of, the surrounding world and of securing knowledge of it through its physical objects.<sup>73</sup> Collecting has also been identified as an outlet for the expression of ideas, a 'reification of thoughts and feelings'.<sup>74</sup> Applying this to Classical Reception theory, we see that the single act of acquiring an object from Greece and Rome can both facilitate the securing of knowledge about antiquity - the reception of the ancient past - and express this knowledge, as well as thoughts and feelings inspired by it, to the world.

Such a relationship with material things, as studies in collecting and material cultures have shown, saw a high point in the latter half of the nineteenth century when objects came to be seen as a key method of gathering information and articulating ideas.<sup>75</sup> Knowledge of the world, especially as it became increasingly interconnected through colonial expansion and new technologies, could be possessed by 'bringing home' (or having sent) objects to be gathered into a collection.<sup>76</sup> This saw probably its most well known expression at the 1951 Great Exhibition which brought national

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<sup>72</sup> Elsner and Cardinal, 1994; Pearce, 1995.

<sup>73</sup> Elsner and Cardinal, 1994; Larson, 2009; Hill, 2004; Pearce, 1995: e.g. 139.

<sup>74</sup> Pearce, 1995: 209.

<sup>75</sup> Pearce, 1995: 132.

<sup>76</sup> Hooper-Greenhill, 1992.

displays from countries around the world to Hyde Park to be viewed by the public and was described at the time as the 'great Open Book'.<sup>77</sup> As Vicky Coltman has shown, this idea is found earlier in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century at which time Classical relics were brought home from the Grand Tour as 'proof of knowledge' about antiquity.<sup>78</sup> By the late nineteenth century, objects were increasingly seen as providing a window onto the social and cultural life of the people who had made them. As Gislaine Skinner has observed, there existed an idea of the 'interchangeable nature of 'thoughts' and 'things'.<sup>79</sup> The beginnings of this anthropological approach to material culture can also be traced to late eighteenth-century collecting and study of Classical artefacts which began to move away from aesthetic concerns and towards an appreciation of these objects for what they could say about ancient thought and belief.<sup>80</sup> Ever-expanding collections in the late nineteenth century branched out to gather materials from increasingly diverse cultures throughout the world. As this thesis shows, Classical collecting was subsumed into this wider phenomenon of gathering the world's knowledge through its objects, but collecting Greece and Rome also continued as a specialised venture while absorbing wider anthropological thinking about the embodiment of cultural attitudes within artefacts. In addition to the gathering of knowledge, in this period collecting and the display of objects acted as a particularly powerful way of articulating and sharing ideas. The great private collections of the nineteenth, and to an extent, early twentieth century, have been seen as the expression of the 'reification of thoughts and feelings' of their founders about themselves and about the world.<sup>81</sup>

The idea that objects were central to acquiring and displaying knowledge was also connected to the rapid rise of taxonomy and the systematic cataloguing, classifying and display of the material world in the nineteenth century, which led to the development of the 'scientific museum'.<sup>83</sup> This type of institution saw itself as an important academic resource and the antithesis of a previous manifestation of the

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<sup>77</sup> See Edwards, 2001: 26.

<sup>78</sup> Coltman, 2006: 10.

<sup>79</sup> Skinner, 1986: 391.

<sup>80</sup> Scott, 2003: 115; Johns, 1982: 22; Carabelli, 1996: 39-40; Jenkins and Sloan, 1996: 241.

<sup>81</sup> See e.g. Larson, 2009.

<sup>83</sup> Murray, 1904: v.

museum. Known as a 'cabinet of curiosities', later curators perceived this type of museum as a 'disordered jumble of unconnected objects', displayed to amuse and entertain visitors.<sup>84</sup> In the 'scientific museum', the strictly systematic laying out of objects was seen as crucial to the construction and articulation of academic theses. The best known proponent of this approach was Lieutenant-General Augustus Henry Lane-Fox Pitt Rivers (1827–1900).<sup>85</sup> Recently attention has also been given to an American-turned-British Knight, the millionaire-businessman, philanthropist, scientist, archaeologist and collector, Sir Henry Solomon Wellcome (1853-1936).<sup>86</sup> His early twentieth-century project, which was heavily influenced by Pitt Rivers' methods, attempted the reconstruction of the whole of human history, especially in regards to human health, through the collection of over a million artefacts from across the world and their systematic display in his Historical Medical Museum. Wellcome's collection of sexually-themed antiquities is one of the focuses of this thesis.

The changing nature of the modern museum and perceptions of it poses important questions about the purpose of collecting and displaying of material, from the gratification of private acquaintances to the serious scholarly study of the academic and the pedagogy of the student and the public.<sup>87</sup> This is a key concern for considering the value of sexually themed material to collectors, curators and visitors, which, as we have seen above, is often associated with gratification rather than erudition and education.

This thesis also contributes to a debate about issues of 'authenticity' and 'originality' in modernity's relationship with antiquity. Specifically I consider the collection and reception of casts, copies, reproductions, replicas and pastiches of ancient artefacts and whether these were considered 'fakes' or legitimate modern fabrications.<sup>88</sup> Engagement with the past is often framed by the concern for authenticity. For objects thought to be genuinely ancient we find questions around whether it is possible to reconstruct an 'original' understanding of what they meant to those cultures that created and used them. In other cases, reproductions are found to have played an important

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<sup>84</sup> Hooper-Greenhill, 1992: 79, 7. See also Murray, 1904: 226.

<sup>85</sup> Bowden, 1991; Chapman, 1985. See also Larson, 2009: 88-90.

<sup>86</sup> Arnold and Olsen, 2003; Hill, 2004; Larson, 2009; Turner, 1980.

<sup>87</sup> See Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; Murray, 1904.

<sup>88</sup> There is a long standing debate on these issues (e.g. Haskell and Penny, 1981; Jones, Craddock and Barker, 1990; Jones, 1992, Coltman, 2006; Connor, 1988; Kurtz, 2000) and, while I touch upon them here and in the following chapters, to do them justice would go beyond the scope of this thesis.

role in giving ‘access’ to ‘original’ material or ‘original’ culture. Material known to have been created outside of a particular culture has been considered still able to meaningfully tell us something about the culture it emulates. These issues demonstrate the variety of ways in which material culture connects us with the past and how this connection is shaped by the form in which the past exists in the present. This underpins Classical Reception theory, which addresses how modernity connects with antiquity through the extant material available, how this is mediated through subsequent receptions and how this changes the ‘authenticity’ of evidence.<sup>89</sup> Has the privileged and canonical status of antiquity in Western culture been perpetuated purely by direct access to ‘original’ evidence? Or have ‘Greece’ and ‘Rome’ also been engaged with through reproductions of the past (such as in the pervasive culture of eighteenth-century neo-Classicism)<sup>90</sup> and wider modern cultural consciousness about antiquity? This thesis considers these issues for representations of Classical antiquity created in modernity but also the appropriation of ancient Greece during the Roman period, contributing to an important debate about Classical reception within antiquity.<sup>91</sup>

### Sex, medicine and cultural evolution

This thesis reveals sexually themed antiquities as a site for the intersection of many of the primary intellectual debates of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In particular I demonstrate how Classical archaeological material was developmental in the anthropological methodology of cross-cultural comparison and the construction of universal narratives about the evolution of culture.<sup>92</sup> This thesis adds to scholarship which has considered how Classical civilisations figured in the key anthropological debate of the era around ‘primitivism’ and ‘civilisation’.<sup>93</sup> I show that ancient images of sex were prevalent in the negotiation of these concepts as they developed from the eighteenth century onwards. In particular, I explore how visual evidence was thought to demonstrate that ancient Greek and Roman people, like contemporary non-Western

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<sup>89</sup> E.g. Martindale, 1993; Martindale and Thomas, 2006.

<sup>90</sup> On neo-Classicism see Coltman, 2006.

<sup>91</sup> See Hardwick, 2003: Ch. 2.

<sup>92</sup> On the development of evolutionary anthropology see Stocking, 1995; Harris, 1968. On the role of Classical archaeological material in this Carabelli, 1996: 119.

<sup>93</sup> Orrells, Bhambra and Roynon, 2011.



societies, were in some ways closer to their basic human instincts than people in the modern West. Somewhat paradoxically these anthropological developments through the nineteenth century saw antiquity gradually deprived of some of its privileged status by being treated as just one among a number of worthy historical and contemporary subjects. However, my findings show that, as material became available from increasingly diverse cultures, Classical artefacts remained important for thinking about the nature of human culture, and especially the role of sex and religion within it. This is true in particular for a collecting and intellectual trend which began in the late eighteenth century and looked to ancient and modern art and artefacts featuring images of the phallus and sexual activity as evidence of the origins and development of world religions. The study of so-called 'Phallic Worship' saw these images as illustrations of an early worship of procreation.<sup>94</sup> The endurance of this discourse into the late nineteenth and early twentieth century underlines the strong links in this period, recently outlined by Andrew P. Lyons and Harriet D. Lyons, between the increasing interest in human sexuality within medical and psychological discourses - the so-called 'medicalisation of sex' - and the development of modern Anthropology and Ethnography.<sup>95</sup> Several scholars have identified the influence of Greek and Latin literature on the newly formed field of 'Sexology' or 'sexual science' in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>96</sup> This thesis adds to work which has also considered the role of ancient material culture in the 'scientific' study of sexuality in this period.<sup>98</sup>

### Hellenism and sexual identities

In examining the reception of sexual antiquities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, this work demonstrates both the centrality of the Classical past in the construction of modern ideas about sexuality, and the centrality of sexuality in the construction of modern ideas about the Classical past. It thus contributes to an already fruitful area of scholarship at the intersection of the History of Sexuality and Classical

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<sup>94</sup> See Carabelli, 1996; Funnell, 1982.

<sup>95</sup> Lyons and Lyons, 2004. See also Bauer, 2009: 42; Funke, Forthcoming

<sup>96</sup> Halperin, 1990: 16-18; Aldrich, 1993: 110-168; Matzner, 2010; Verstraete and Provencal, 2005; Funke, 2013.

<sup>98</sup> See Davis, 2008; Carabelli, 1996; Funke, Forthcoming.

Reception studies.<sup>100</sup> The role of ‘The Past’ more generally in sexual knowledge across the modern era is only now beginning to be addressed.<sup>101</sup>

I examine the role of antiquities such as the Warren Cup and other ancient images of male-male sex in understanding ancient and modern sexual attraction between men. This builds upon a substantial site of scholarly debate, instigated primarily by David Halperin’s seminal *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* in 1990, which argues that knowledge of ancient Greece<sup>102</sup> was prominent in the construction of same-sex identities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, as a person’s identity came to be seen as governed by their sexual behaviour, especially in regards to the gender of a person’s sexual partner.<sup>103</sup> Research which has shown that Sexologists were informed by antiquity reveals that ancient attitudes towards same-sex attraction was a central concern, notably in the work of British and German sex researchers Karl Heinrich Ulrich (1825-1895), Henry Havelock Ellis (1859 –1939) and Magnus Hirschfeld (1868-1935).<sup>104</sup> Already well established is the way antiquity informed attempts to change the modern social and legal status of sex between men such as by Classicist and quasi-Sexologist John Addington Symonds (1840-1893).<sup>105</sup> Hellenism provided a model for comparison and inspiration in a contemporary environment of heteronormative hostility: the Greek institution of *paederastia* revealed healthy, ethical pedagogic-erotic bonding between older and younger men, which could counter an idea of morbid, effeminate, sodomitical degeneracy, although the issue of age-difference remained contentious in the modern appropriation of ancient models for thinking about same-sex desire. The deployment of Hellenic motifs, especially ‘Uranian’ sentiments (from Plato’s *Symposium*, describing men who desire boys), has also been identified in

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<sup>100</sup> E.g. Blanshard, 2010; Holmes, 2012; Orrells, Forthcoming; Fisher and Langlands, Forthcoming.

<sup>101</sup> Fisher and Langlands, Forthcoming.

<sup>102</sup> Ingleheart, Forthcoming examines Rome and the construction of same-sex identities.

<sup>103</sup> On the role of antiquity in the construction of same-sex identities see Halperin, 1990; Dowling, 1994; Davidson, 2001; Aldrich, 1993; Blanshard, 2010; Dellamora, 1990; Edsall, 2003; Gifford, 1995; Kaylor, 2006; Matzner, 2010; Mader, 2005; D’Arch Smith, 1970; Eglinton, 1965; Orrells, 2011; Verstraete and Provencal, 2005. On the ‘invention’ of sexual identity see Foucault, 1978-1986, trans. Hurley; Halperin, 1990; Dellamora, 1990: 1; Bland and Doan, 1998; Edsall, 2003; Weeks, 2000: 6.

<sup>104</sup> Halperin, 1990: 16-18; Aldrich, 1993: 110-168; Matzner, 2010; Verstraete and Provencal, 2005; Funke, 2013.

<sup>105</sup> Blanshard, 2010: 146-7; Dowling, 1994; Halperin, 1990; Aldrich, 1993; Dellamora, 1990; Edsall, 2003; Gifford, 1995; Kaylor, 2006; Matzner, 2010; Mader, 2005; Verstraete and Provencal, 2005; Funke, 2013.

the expression of homoeroticism in Victorian and post-Victorian writing and poetry.<sup>106</sup> This has been especially connected with Oxford Hellenism, a literary movement that, in its particular interest in Platonic dialogues on same-sex love, was influential on the modern reception of ancient homoerotics in the late nineteenth century. It fostered such writers as Oscar Wilde (1854-1900) and Walter Pater (1839-1884), as well as Symonds whose writing of 'Uranian' poetry demonstrates the interconnectivity of discourses on same-sex desire and their shared appropriation of Greece in sexological, political and artistic works.<sup>107</sup>

### Antiquities, aesthetics and sexuality.

While connections between Hellenism and modern same-sex desire have often focused on the reception of literature, especially readings of the Platonic dialogues, this thesis follows those scholars who have considered the role of ancient material culture.<sup>108</sup>

There is a substantial body of work which has considered the modern homoerotic appreciation of Classical and neo-Classical sculpture and particularly the male nude. This is often linked to the origins of Art History and the sexualised analysis of statuary by eighteenth-century German scholar Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768) as well as the nineteenth-century reception of Winckelmann by Walter Pater and his disciples.<sup>109</sup> Although I show that they continued to play a significant role in the negotiation between the past and sexuality in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, sculpted nudes do not, in fact, receive much attention in the following chapters. This is because they do not fall into the remit of those antiquities which have been thought to be consistently morally problematic to previous generations.<sup>110</sup> Censorship of the ubiquitous nude found in Greek or Roman art has been the subject of scholarship, however this area of research has already established a complex reception history

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<sup>106</sup> Dowling, 1994 114-149; Orrells, 2011; D'Arch Smith, 1970; Kaylor, 2006; Dellamora, 1990; Aldrich, 1993.

<sup>107</sup> On Oxford Hellenism and homoerotics see Dowling, 1994; Orrells, 2011.

<sup>108</sup> See Davis, 2008; Davis, 2010; Carabelli, 1996; Funke, Forthcoming; Orrells, 2011; Dellamora, 1990; Aldrich, 1993; Blanshard, 2010; Cook, 2012, Potvin and Myzelev, 2009; Potvin, 2011.

<sup>109</sup> Potts, 1994; Barasch, 1990: 98; Aldrich, 1993: esp. 50; Dellamora, 1990; Flavell, 1979; Honour, 1968; Orrells, 2011: 37; Dowling, 1994; Blanshard, 2010:140-142; Davis, 2001. See also Murley, 2012: 98-100; Sox, 1991: 17; Green, 1989: 88.

<sup>110</sup> See Introduction n. 5.

which saw affirmative and even establishment endorsement of these images of the naked body in the modern period, having been seen by some, not as ‘obscene’, but as ‘heroic’ and even morally improving.<sup>111</sup> In this thesis I problematise the currently simplified historiography of the reception of images of ancient sex, such as those on the Warren Cup and phallic artefacts, in the way that has already been done for the Classical nude. This thesis breaks new ground in systematically studying the reception history of artefacts beyond the nude for their connection with modern same-sex sexuality in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>112</sup>

Throughout this thesis I do identify images lacking any nudity or sex which have been important in negotiating ideas relating to sexuality.<sup>113</sup> Again, these are not given considerable attention because, while they illuminate the role of the reception of antiquities in the history of sexuality, they do not help to further my challenge to the historiography of sexually-themed artefacts. Such imagery, which has some bearing on human sexuality but is not ‘explicit’, might be labelled ‘erotic’. This term, although complex, is usually thought to pertain to images (visual, textual or aural) in some way signifying or evoking the phenomena of human sexual activity. It can, however, very reasonably be inclusive of those images which do not feature the naked body or sexual acts in anyway.<sup>114</sup> This is one reason why I avoid using this term to describe the main body of material I deal with. An example of the label ‘erotic’ applied to non-sexual iconography concerns a scene-type found on Greek vases depicting an ancient *symposium* (all-male drinking party).<sup>115</sup> On a late Archaic *kylix* (drinking cup) at Boston,<sup>116</sup> for example, men, naked from the waist up, recline in languid postures and flick wine at one another (see fig. 3). Signifiers of (homo)eroticism in this scene, according to modern, Western cultural standards, might include the semi-naked bodies lying together, as well as the drinking. However, with additional knowledge of Greek history, other features of the scene reveal its eroticism. The ancient symposium has

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<sup>111</sup> Blanshard, 2010: 10.

<sup>112</sup> For work which has made this kind of study see Davis, 2001; Davis, 2010; Kaylor, 2009; Murley, 2012: 239.

<sup>113</sup> On this idea see Schmidt and Voss, 2000: 13; Kampen and Bergmann, 1996; Davis, 2010; Johns, 1982: 99.

<sup>114</sup> See Clarke, 1998: 13.

<sup>115</sup> See Topper, 2012: 11.

<sup>116</sup> MFA Boston: 01.8034.

been long associated with sexual desire in its associations, not only with drunkenness, but with discussions on love and the romantic connections between the men who shared two-to-a-couch and who might often be *erastes* (lover) and *eromenos* (beloved), according to the Greek institution of *paederastia*.<sup>117</sup> Flirting is thought to be depicted on the *kylix* in coded form<sup>118</sup> in the wine-flicking game of *kottabos*, in which the player directs flicks at the man he most desires.<sup>119</sup> Such images are not included in the scope of material which is the focus of this thesis; however, I do occasionally discuss such non-sexual imagery in order to fully explore the connections made between antiquities and ideas around sexuality in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

My research shows that vases, pottery ware, bronzes, terracottas and plaques were not only part of homoerotic art appreciation, but they played a role in the construction of comprehensive ideologies around male-male interpersonal relationships and the societal frameworks which could support them. I reveal that prolific collecting and study of Greek vases in this period provided a new body of evidence which illustrated a different model of relationships between men to that found in ancient literature. Two significant conclusions for Classical Reception studies and the History of Sexuality may be drawn from this. Firstly, that the modern study of Greek vase-painting was largely born out of the homoerotically-focused interests of many of the scholars first making sustained studies of them at the turn of the twentieth century. We might compare this with the already established notion, as seen above, that the birth of the modern study of sculpture, and Art History itself, is located in Enlightenment homoeroticism. Secondly, because scholarship on Greek vases was connected with Oxford University and was directly linked to the construction of modern models of same-sex desire, an archaeological version of Oxford Hellenism should be seen as surviving as a guiding force for ideas about ancient and modern homoeroticism into the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Recently research in Material Culture studies which considers expressions of the sexual self through collecting and display, as well as interior design and architecture, has reflected upon the role of Classical antiquities in the negotiation of same-sex desire

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<sup>117</sup> Topper, 2012: e.g. 13, 138.

<sup>118</sup> Coded only to the uninitiated, of course.

<sup>119</sup> Topper, 2012: 71.

in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>120</sup> Matt Cook and John Potvin have demonstrated that the collection of Greco-Roman artefacts could function as a signifier of homoeroticism in this period, especially in aesthetic circles.<sup>121</sup> They have shown how same-sex couples bought and filled their shared homes with Classical antiquities in an expression of 'queer' domesticity, inspired by Greek ideals of homosocial bonding and masculine pursuits – which they conceived as the antidote to the heteronormative model of the family home, dominated by female concerns.<sup>122</sup> This previous scholarship acknowledges an 'orientation' towards ancient civilisations as a feature of homoeroticism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and demonstrates that a collection of Hellenic objects affiliated such collectors with a 'self-consciously cultured homophile milieu'.<sup>123</sup> However, these accounts tend to make an especial note of sculpture, rather than other types of objects, and furthermore their analysis of the way sexual identity was mediated through Classical objects is somewhat un-deconstructed. In this thesis I am careful to pick apart the connection between ancient imagery and modern sexual identity. I show how artefacts facilitated the development of sexual ideals, not only how they were used as signifiers of homoerotic interests. I enhance existing research by setting out how individual sexually themed images and image-types from antiquity transmitted specific knowledge of ancient life which both informed and reflected personal and political models of modern same-sex relationships.

In doing this I contribute to an existing debate around the reception of antiquity and modern sexuality. Several scholars have challenged the notion that modern Hellenism - at least in terms of the reception of ancient literature - has functioned simply as a coded way of signalling one's homoerotic interests - a 'safe' way of expressing ideas viewed with hostility by contemporary morality.<sup>124</sup> As others have suggested in regards to ancient literature, I argue that engaging with ancient images was often a far more complex and profound process. I agree with those scholars who argue that terminology of the period, such as 'Uranian Love' or 'Greek Love', should not be seen as simply standing in for same-sex desire but could express specific principles which

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<sup>120</sup> Davis, 2001, Davis, 2010; Cook, 2012, Potvin and Myzelev, 2009; Potvin, 2011.

<sup>121</sup> Cook, 2012: 628; Potvin, 2011. See also Davis, 2001; Davis, 2010.

<sup>122</sup> See Potvin, 2011: 1.

<sup>123</sup> Cook, 2012: 628.

<sup>124</sup> Challengers include Mader, 2005: 388; Orrells, 2011: 17, 22, 218.

were drawn from engaging with ancient evidence. I argue that ancient imagery should be seen as an important part of this. A comprehensive set of ethical and societal codes was drawn from objects passed down from antiquity which played a crucial part in the *development*, as well as the negotiation, of complex and non-monolithic real and ideal sexual identities.

This thesis also contributes to a related and more fundamental debate for the study of ancient culture, the history of sexuality and Classical Reception. I follow the proposition that rejects 'homosexuality' as a catch-all term for same-sex desire across human history. Following Foucault's work this social constructionist argument has centered on an idea that sexual orientation defined according to the gender of sexual partner developed only in late nineteenth-century Europe and so would have been unknown in antiquity.<sup>125</sup> Furthermore, it has been argued that 'homosexuality' - a term created in the late nineteenth century - is an inappropriate transhistorical label because it now refers specifically to relations between two *adult* males, while normative relations in Greece and Rome involved an older and younger man - the age of the younger partner being a central aspect of the debate - and so should be called 'pederasty'.<sup>126</sup> My research contributes to the debate by illuminating the understanding of this relationship in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century at a time when our modern notions of sexual orientations were being conceived. I follow those who have rightly argued that some homoerotic discourse and actions in this period should also be referred to as 'pederasty' rather than 'homosexuality', precisely because they drew upon the ancient ideal of age differentiation between partners, at times as a deliberate way of

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<sup>125</sup> Foucault, 1986: Vol. 2. 187-246; Halperin, 1990; Halperin, Winkler and Zeitlin, 1990. 'Homosexual' was first used to describe *behaviour* rather than identity, as in its first use in English by Symonds, the common term being 'invert' or 'Urning'. Some scholars defend therefore using 'homosexual' to describe behaviour rather than a person, see Pollini, 1999: 22-25. Other more determined essentialists have defended the use of this label to describe a person in the ancient world, pointing to references to preferences for male-male sex rather than male-female, and to the label *cinaedi* which referred to a type of man considered 'effeminate', Richlin, 1993, 571. Kaylor, 2006: 36 suggests that a social constructionist position should be taken in regards to 'homosexuality' but that 'pederasty' should be treated ahistorically as this term and concept existed in antiquity.

<sup>126</sup> Skinner, 2005: 10; Kaylor, 2006: 34. Davidson, 2007 on the other hand defends the use of 'homosexuality' applied to ancient life and makes the controversial essentialist argument that relationships between two adult males not only existed but that relations with under 18 year old males were illegal.

differentiating from love between adults.<sup>127</sup> My contribution is to show the importance of visual material for the modern appropriation of this type of ancient relationship, for example, how ancient objects like the Warren Cup and the larger body of evidence from Greek vase painting were recognised as employing deliberate techniques for distinguishing the ages of male partners, such as facial hair (applied to the older *erastes* and not the younger *eromenos*) and body size (see fig. 1).<sup>128</sup>

### Primary Research

This thesis draws upon a wide range of primary sources in order to examine the nature, extent and motivations behind the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century collection and reception of sexual antiquities. In researching the material which was acquired in this period, I consulted the published and online catalogues of institutions now holding relevant material, where possible accessing the collections on display and in storage at these institutions, as well as using archival resources relating to collectors and their acquisitions, notably accession registers. All of these documents, as well as other archival material such as collecting reports and notes, also provided important data on the collection history of these objects, which was key in establishing that they were acquired systematically and deliberately acquired over a sustained period.

To understand the motivations behind this deliberate acquisition archival research was central. Accession documents provided information on the interpretation of objects and especially on their classification (the category or categories assigned to an object from a limited number of options) which is a basic but very useful tool for establishing how particular objects or types of objects were positioned in a collection's overall scheme. Archival resources also helped in filling out the broader ideas of collectors, especially around material culture, antiquities and sexuality. I also consulted published works by collectors, although often the collectors I study in this thesis did not publish on their own collections, hence the importance of archival material in which I sometimes found unpublished scholarship. The distribution and display of this material once collected was also explored in the archives, important material being handbooks,

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<sup>127</sup> Kaylor, 2006: 21; D'Arch Smith, 1970: Xx; Percy, 1996: 9; Mader, 2005: 378.

<sup>128</sup> On the age differentiation on the Warren Cup see Pollini, 1999: 31-32; Williams, 2006: 51; Clarke, 1993: 292. On this on Greek vases see Shapiro, 2000: 14-15.



distribution lists and contemporary photographs of collections and their display, and I also consulted contemporary commentary on collections, such as newspaper reports of museum exhibitions. In researching the serious study of sexual antiquities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, I also consulted published works ranging across scholarly, autobiographical, creative and overtly political material.

### Collections

Three of the biggest collections of sexually themed antiquities put together in this period form the focus of the extensive analysis of collecting in this thesis. The first was acquired by the British Museum from a range of private collections and donors between the 1880s and 1930s, and is in large part still on display and in storage at the museum.<sup>130</sup> The second was part of the anthropological and medical history collection of Henry Wellcome, put together between the 1890s and the 1940s (being continued by Wellcome's staff after his death in 1936). Much of Wellcome's collection was dispersed after his death and the remaining collection has been on long-term loan to the Science Museum, London since the 1980s, which is where the vast majority of the material featured in this thesis is now held.<sup>131</sup> The third collection was put together by Edward Warren with his collecting partner John Marshall. Most of the Warren material dealt with in this thesis is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, with a notable exception of the Warren Cup, now on display at the British Museum.

### Archival research

Substantial archival research was carried out in connection with these collectors and institutions and used to create a database of material acquired in this period, with information on their provenance, collection, interpretation, distribution and display.

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<sup>130</sup> I am grateful to the staff at the British Museum for giving me access to the remnants of the *Secretum* and to Ross Iain Thomas for showing me Egyptian material in storage and for his help identifying Wellcome's artefacts.

<sup>131</sup> Some of the material in this thesis is on display in the Science Museum's 'History of Medicine' galleries (predominantly displaying Wellcome material), some has been loaned back to the Wellcome Collection for their 'Medicine Man' permanent exhibition, and most is kept in storage in Blythe House, West London. I am grateful to Selina Hurley at the Science Museum for giving me access to and advice on the Wellcome material in Blythe House.

The British Museum holds the 'Secretum' register which reveals what material was being added to this 'secret' collection during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, as well as – through a comparison with other departmental accession records - which new acquisitions were not entered into it but registered in the relevant historical department. The museum archive also holds George Witt's catalogue of his collection, his scrapbooks and the remnants of his library, which were useful in establishing Witt's interpretation of his own, and other, sexual antiquities, especially as he did not produce his own scholarship.<sup>132</sup>

The Wellcome Library in London holds an archive of administrative papers relating to Wellcome's collection and his Wellcome Historical Medical Museum between the 1890s and 1940s, including handbooks, staff reports, correspondence and accession documents.<sup>133</sup> The contents of the library which Wellcome's staff put together in the early twentieth century to complement the collection, were also useful as a further indicator of how they interpreted objects. Wellcome and his staff also produced very little scholarly output relating to their collection.

A the time of writing, Lewes District Council in Sussex holds a small archive relating to the Classical collector Edward Warren, including acquisition records, some of his library, correspondence, photographs and other ephemera relating to Warren's life in Lewes.<sup>134</sup> Most useful for this project were the registers recording 2,705 objects that Warren acquired between 1894 until at least 1913, often also noting their provenance and where they were sent.<sup>135</sup> The remnants of Warren's library further illuminated his ideas relating to sexual antiquities. A tour of Lewes House gave me a sense of the display space which housed many of Warren's acquisitions between 1900 and his death in 1928.

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<sup>132</sup> I am grateful to the British Museum staff for giving me access to the British Museum archives.

<sup>133</sup> The Wellcome Library archivists have been very helpful on my many visits, in helping me locate and understand archival material, and in discussing my findings and conclusions with me - especial thanks go to Ross MacFarlane and Lesley Hall for useful and encouraging discussions and in promoting my research.

<sup>134</sup> At the time I was researching this was located in Lewes House - Warren's ex-property and then the Council's office building. Ann Spike, an ex-council employee and then looking after the archive as a volunteer, was very helpful and has continued to assist me in my research after my visit. The house has now been sold by the council and I believe the Warren archive is to go to the Sackler Library, Oxford to join the other archival material they hold relating to Warren.

<sup>135</sup> For a detailed description of these registers see Murley, 2012: 12.

The Sackler Library in Oxford holds a substantial archive of Warren and his collecting partner John Marshall's personal papers.<sup>136</sup> Over twenty notebooks, which I have dated as starting around 1890 until 1915, record their collecting ventures and visits to existing collections across Europe, as well as their studies in Classical archaeology. I found in these much crucial evidence of their interests in antiquities as well as their wider scholarly, political and sexual interests, despite remarks of previous scholars regarding the lack of useful information in these papers.<sup>137</sup>

The Beazley Archive, also at Oxford, holds papers relating to John Beazley (1885-1970) the classical archaeologist and close acquaintance of Warren's, who was also responsible for saving the Warren and Marshall papers now in the Sackler Library. The Beazley archive holds a small number of letters between Warren, Beazley and Beazley's wife and these were useful for examining the relationship between these two lovers of Greek art and establishing Warren's key influence on Beazley's important work in the study of Greek vase-painting.<sup>138</sup>

The archive of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston contains material relating to Warren's work for them as collector and donor of antiquities. At the time of writing this was unavailable for scholars to study but Warren's 'Sending Lists', and possibly some additional notes by Marshall, are entered on the online database.<sup>139</sup> Correspondence between Warren and Boston between 1894 and 1928 is available on microfilm through the Archives of American Art. This provided evidence of Warren's vision for the Boston collection and why he thought it so important for ancient antiquities to go to America, where he saw sexual repression and heteronormativity particularly dominant.

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<sup>136</sup> I am grateful to Graham Piddock, Librarian in Archaeology at the Sackler Library, who gave me access to the Warren and Marshall archive.

<sup>137</sup> Murley, 2012: 20, whose PhD thesis explores 'The impact of Edward Perry Warren on the study and collections of Greek and Roman antiquities in American academia'. He also refers to personal correspondence with Dyfri Williams of the British Museum, author of *The Warren Cup* for the *Object in Focus* British Museum series (2006), which suggests Williams also found the Sackler archives unhelpful. I think this may be because Murley and Williams did not see the notebooks, but only loose papers - the former, I believe, having been mislaid for a number of years.

<sup>138</sup> I am grateful to Peter Stewart at the Beazley archive for giving me access and assistance.

<sup>139</sup> Email correspondence between myself and Christine Kondoleon, George D. and Margo Behrakis Curator of Greek and Roman Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 22/03/2011 and 19/09/2011. Dr. Kondoleon has answered several queries about the collection. See <http://www.mfa.org/search/collections>.

Archival research presents particular methodological issues which I tried to address in my research and writing up.<sup>140</sup> In the process of finding and using evidence from archives it is necessary to consider the construction of the archive by the archivist(s), the decisions (if any) made about cataloguing and organisation of material and the access given to the researcher, all of which is influential in shaping what material is found. The organisation of the material is often shaped in large part by how it arrived in its original state, which archivists now try to reflect.<sup>141</sup> The Wellcome archive, for example, contains the bound registers and index cards used in several different accessioning systems applied to the collection throughout its lifetime, meaning that finding documents relating to specific objects can be difficult, and I had to locate original administration records in order to use accession documents in a useful way. In addition, the sheer quantity of archival material, as well as the breadth of Wellcome's interests, makes navigating this fully catalogued archive problematic. The Warren material at the Sackler Library, on the other hand, has not been catalogued or organised at all, and so here I needed to create my own cataloguing system, meaning my research was not led by organisation imposed by someone else.

The organisation and access of the material can therefore be a major barrier to finding relevant documents. In fact, theoretical studies of archival research accept that much relevant material will often be missed in a substantial archive.<sup>142</sup> The implication of this is that material which *is* found must be used with the acknowledgement that it is possibly only a sample of what exists. Archival researchers speak of 'serendipity' – the role of chance in research – and the need to be open to the potential of finding information by accident, while maintaining the methodical searching and recording of data.<sup>143</sup> This highlights the need for acknowledging, and allowing for, the necessarily incomplete nature of this research method. If relevant material is found by chance, how much else is not found? The thesis-changing piece of evidence might have been in the next box, or found on the next visit. Taking this into account, I tried to be careful in

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<sup>140</sup> E.g. Fink, 2006.

<sup>141</sup> Morris and Rose, 2010: 51.

<sup>142</sup> Ostergaard, 2010: 40.

<sup>143</sup> Ostergaard, 2010: 40. Serendipity, it should be said, is one of the biggest thrills of archive research, a large part of the satisfying 'treasure hunt' aspect of it – a metaphor which aptly reflects the shared root of the words 'archives' and 'archaeology', see Ramsey, 2010; Fink, 2006: 293.

making claims based on the 'argument from silence' - using the absence of evidence to argue something did not exist/happen.<sup>144</sup> With other primary sources such as published work this is a case of questioning why an author might have chosen not to mention some event or fact. In archival research it is quite possible not to be aware of pertinent material.<sup>145</sup> A pivotal argument based entirely on the silence of sources from archival material in particular would seem unwise. Any arguments based on an absence of evidence should be qualified by showing there has been a reasonably thorough search.

### Thesis Outline

Chapter 1 argues that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century many museums and private collectors were deliberately and routinely adding to, or creating new collections of, a wide range of Greek and Roman material featuring sexual imagery. This challenges the straightforward reception history of such material as one of censorship and suppression. The museum in particular has been presented as acting as a repository (by way of segregated storage in 'secret museums') to deal with disturbing but regrettably still archaeologically valuable material. This has made the purposeful acquisition of ancient sexual imagery seem incongruous. Where deliberate collection has been acknowledged it has been viewed as the action of maverick individuals.

Countering these ideas is the British Museum's acquisition history which reveals that between the 1870s and 1940s hundreds of new antiquities from Greece, Rome and Egypt with sexual imagery were not only accepted but often purposefully sought out to add to the material already segregated in their 'Secretum', challenging its reputation as a repository for problematic material. This suggests that the older Naples' 'Secret Cabinet' may have been seen by the British Museum not simply as a practical solution to deal with difficult material, but as a desirable feature which they wanted to emulate. In addition, many objects featuring sexual imagery never went to Britain's 'secret' storeroom.

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<sup>144</sup> Chitnis, 1979: 56; Henige, 2006: 176.

<sup>145</sup> Although Henige, 2006: 176 points to the danger of this across all sources.

Importantly this chapter introduces a new figure never before considered in the historiography of the modern reception of ancient sexual artefacts, although he is one of the most prolific collectors of this type of material in the modern age. Between the 1890s and the 1940s, Henry Wellcome, and collecting staff whom he employed for his Historical Medical Museum, went to great lengths to deliberately put together a colossal collection of nearly six hundred Greek, Roman and Egyptian phallic amulets and figures, as well as lamps, plaques and vases featuring sexual activity, together with several hundred comparable items from other cultures. These were not donations accepted and then hidden away in a 'secret' area but purposefully sought out material and sometimes put on general display. This challenges the 'secret museum' as the standard Museological model for the treatment of this material in this period. The famous 'secret cabinets' of European museums acted as archetypes for Wellcome in his attempt to put together a first-rate collection of sexually themed antiquities.

Lastly, I examine the acquisition by Classical collector Edward Warren of nearly two hundred Greek vases, Roman vessels, mirrors and plaques featuring images of sexuality activity, including the most famous of his acquisitions, the Roman silver *skyphos* showing men and youths having anal sex, as well as a number of phallic bronzes and terracottas. As we trace Warren's sustained and prolific acquisition of material we are shown a huge range of other, often prominent, collectors and dealers involved with the collection of sexual antiquities, demonstrating how widespread the trade in this material was across Britain, America and Europe at this time. Most of Warren's material was sold or donated to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and I examine how this further problematises the story of repression and the way in which it can co-exist with more liberal forces acting upon a museum collection.

Having established a widespread interest in sexual antiquities, Chapter 2 addresses why this material was acquired. Firstly I show that that it was seen as important evidence of the connection between sex and religion in antiquity. In this collectors and researchers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century consciously followed a tradition established in the Enlightenment period which looked for the universal origins of religion in the worship of procreation. A key methodology was the analysis of ancient, and notably Roman, iconography which was believed to contain

original sacred meanings relating to fertility, most obviously in images of the phallus. The importance of Roman material for this universal narrative of 'Phallic Worship' - originally inspired by the ubiquity of sexual imagery unearthed at Pompeii and Herculaneum - was maintained into the early twentieth century, even as increasingly diverse cultures became the subject of study.

This challenges the notion that phallic artefacts from antiquity, because of repressive attitudes in this period, were not understood in the way they have been in scholarship of the last forty years - as evidence of the supernatural qualities which the ancients found in much sexual imagery. I show that both private and institutional treatment of this material allowed it to be accessed, arranged and displayed in order to explore its significance for understanding ancient religious belief. The resistance to supposedly anachronistic interpretations of this material as 'obscene' or even 'erotic', now pervasive in scholarship on sexual antiquities, existed not just in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, but from its modern discovery in the Enlightenment period. This challenges the narrative of a greater scholarly and Museological openness in the 'liberated', post-censorship age of the past forty years. It moves the historiography of the reception of sexual material away from a dichotomous paradigm of prudery versus lasciviousness, in which research was either stifled by censorship, or undermined by prurient interests in the material.

This chapter challenges the notion that in this era interest in sexual antiquities was found only in marginalised areas of society. I show that their interpretation as religious artefacts fed into contemporary mainstream debates around religion, sexuality, health and culture and the academic disciplines of Archaeology, Anthropology, Ethnography, Comparative religion studies, Museology, Psychology and Sexology which were emerging around them. The sacred significance of ancient sexual imagery was an important resource for understanding other, more unfamiliar, ancient and modern cultures, and was bound up with the key discourses of the day around human culture and the evolution from 'primitivism' to 'civilisation'. The study of 'Phallic Worship' not only reflected these contemporary preoccupations but is shown to have been developmental in the key methods and approaches of evolutionary theory. The 'paganism' of Classical antiquity revealed in its sacred sexual imagery, which seems to

align it with the 'primitive other', has widely been thought to have been problematic in its challenge to antiquity as the founder of 'civilisation'. I show that this aspect of ancient culture was explored and even celebrated as an alternative to modern, Christian, Western attitudes to sexual imagery, sex and the body.

Chapter 3 examines another motivation for the deliberate engagement with Classical sexual imagery in this period: as a resource for negotiating ancient and modern same-sex desire. This chapter identifies a definitive moment at the turn of the twentieth century for the role of visual culture in the study of sexuality, in which ancient objects were beginning to be understood as evidence of real relationships between men in antiquity. Currently the Anglophone history of these scholarly developments begins in the mid-late twentieth century in the seminal work on Greek vase-painting by John Beazley and Kenneth Dover. I show that a key moment should be identified at the turn of the twentieth century with the new prolific collection and study of Greek vases and the beginning of serious cataloguing of scenes of sexual activity between men and boys. I argue that this culminated in Beazley's groundbreaking catalogue of late Archaic and early Classical Greek vases showing the conventions of *paederastia*. Most significantly Edward Warren, in his collection and scholarship, is shown to be a fundamental influence on Beazley.

The evidence drawn from these sexual antiquities, as they began to be understood as depictions of ancient sexual life, provided archaeologists, historians, sexologists, reformers and others with an alternative model of male-male attachment to that drawn from literary evidence, particularly regarding the physicality of these erotic-pedagogic attachments. Greek vases, and also Roman material such as the highly explicit Warren Cup, brought new evidence to a debate which in the nineteenth century had centred largely on the interpretation of the works of Plato.

This informed the construction of a new ideal of same-sex relationships, constructed as an alternative to what was seen as an effeminate and celibate attachment espoused by Plato. Ancient artefacts were also employed to express and transmit ideas about the modern revival of such ancient male-male attachments and the socio-political settings which had supported it. Their collection and display in both



private homes and notably Warren's donation of sexual antiquities to American museums, acted as promotion and even campaign for the emancipation of the type of relationship they embodied. As in the previous chapter, they provided an alternative to modern, Christian, Western attitudes to sexual imagery, sex and the body.

## Chapter 1

### Collecting Sex: the deliberate acquisition of sexual antiquities

On 1<sup>st</sup> March 1930 Peter Johnston-Saint (1886-1974), an ex-Indian Army General, was on a trip to Lebanon visiting local antique dealers. Later he wrote a report to his employer about one particular visit and the items which the dealer had sold him:

'... lastly a very unique piece which he said he believed was the only one extant and I myself have also seen nothing approaching it in the Naples museum or elsewhere. It is... in the form of a satyr with a large priapus... the very lowest price I could get the priapus for was £20 (I forgot to explain that it is in terra-cotta fine work and perfect). It was so important and unique that I decided to buy it.'<sup>146</sup>

The object Saint describes is a Roman oil lamp (200BC-AD300), found in Syria, in the shape of a torso, with a gnome-like head and a large phallus that forms the nozzle of the lamp where the wick would have been inserted and then lit (fig. 4).<sup>147</sup> Saint's use of 'priapus' here refers to both the phallus and the phallic figure.<sup>148</sup> Saint was employed as an overseas buyer by the millionaire collector Henry Wellcome and this extract tells of just one of the hundreds of antiquities which feature phallic and other sexual imagery which Saint purposefully and carefully sought out on Wellcome's behalf. This chapter traces this, and similar efforts, to deliberately acquire great quantities of a wide range of sexual antiquities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century by both museums and private collectors. This presents an alternative narrative for the reception history of such material where accounts have previously focused on its censorship and treatment as 'pornography' in the modern age.

In the passage above, Saint mentions the 'Naples museum'. This refers to the 'Secret Cabinet' of the Naples National Archaeological Museum which then contained, as it does today, artefacts of a sexual nature excavated from ancient Pompeii and Herculaneum, as well as additions from elsewhere. The existence of such 'secret'

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<sup>146</sup> Johnston-Saint Travel Diaries, Feb-Apr 1930: 41 (WA/HMM/RP/Jst/A.7). All reference beginning with WA/HMM refer to material in the Wellcome Archives.

<sup>147</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A79587. See WHMM Index Cards (WA/HMM/CM/INV/C.3) and Captain Saint's purchases 1926-1930 (WA/HMM/CM/LIS/23).

<sup>148</sup> This had been the convention since the eighteenth century, see Winckelmann, 2011, trans. Mattusch: 95.

collections, and other acts of censorship, has preoccupied many reception histories of sexual antiquities.<sup>149</sup> This censorship narrative tells of the discovery of explicit ancient objects by embarrassed archaeologists and their hurried removal to locked rooms by anxious museum curators, who unfathomably accept the material into their collection despite it upsetting their prudish sensibilities.<sup>150</sup> In this context, museums and collections are presented as acting as a repository (by way of segregated storage) to deal with disturbing (but regrettably still archaeologically valuable) material. Because of the focus on these negative, repressive responses, the acceptance of isolated donations of sexually explicit artefacts is viewed as bewildering, while a purposeful accumulation of such material is unthinkable. Private collectors who do collect such material are dismissed as seedy ‘pornophiles’.<sup>151</sup> This chapter shows that the sale and acquisition of these sexually themed artefacts was in fact widespread across the collecting culture of this period.

The Naples ‘Secret Cabinet’ was a closed collection when Saint visited it in 1929, but he was nevertheless able to gain access and make notes on its contents for his employer Wellcome.<sup>152</sup> In his report, Saint clearly presents the Naples cabinet as a benchmark for a first-rate sexually themed collection. In this chapter I show that the Naples collection, and similar collections with restricted access, were not seen as simply the solution for unwanted material, but were perceived in some contexts as a desirable feature of a museum which might be emulated.

The censorship narrative is usually presented as part of the story of prudish attitudes to sexuality in the Victorian era however accounts often implicitly or explicitly extend this period of inhibited treatment until at least the mid-twentieth century, prior to what is seen as the transformative effect of the 1960s and 1970s on Western attitudes to sex and sexual expression. The evidence presented in this chapter could signal a marked change in attitudes around the turn of the twentieth century,<sup>153</sup> although

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<sup>149</sup> De Simone, 1975; Kendrick, 1987, Johns, 1982; Beard and Henderson, 2001; Gaimster, 2000; Gaimster, 2001; Clarke and Larvey, 2003; Varone, 2001; Frost, 2007; Frost, 2008 Frost, 2010; Harris, 2007.

<sup>150</sup> Kendrick, 1989; Gaimster, 2000; Gaimster, 2001; Johns, 1982: 29.

<sup>151</sup> Lyons and Lyons, 2004: 59. See also Carabelli, 1996: 112; Gaimster, 2000; Gaimster, 2001: 134; Johns, 1982: 29. See Ch. 2, n. 135.

<sup>152</sup> Johnston-Saint Travel Diaries, Jan-Apr 1929: 19-20 (WA/HMM/RP/JST/B.3).

<sup>153</sup> Johns, 1982: 31 suggests the early twentieth century saw a change in attitudes at British Museum.

previous work has questioned the extent to which censorship existed in earlier periods.<sup>154</sup> In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, censorship did occur but it went on concurrently with sustained engagement, sometimes in response to the same material by the different individuals who worked with it. The picture is far more complex than has been generally presented.

The sustained interest in our modern ancestors' squeamish reaction to discovering the highly sexual art and everyday objects which Greek, Romans and other cultures left behind, began in scholarship in the 1970s and spread to the popular imagination.<sup>155</sup> The story has received attention across a number of genres, including Art History, Archaeology, Classics, the History of Sexuality and social history. The Naples 'Secret Cabinet' and the British Museum's comparable collection known as the 'Secretum' have been the main focus of these narratives of previous generations' prudish reactions to sexual antiquities. The story usually begins with the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum and the anxiety at the discovery that the 'snapshot of everyday life in the Roman Empire' which was being revealed, suggested that these Romans had surrounded themselves with masses of images of sex.<sup>156</sup> This threatened not only the sensibilities of the archaeologists who discovered this material, it is suggested, but the image of Rome itself as the forefather of modern civilisation.<sup>158</sup> According to these censorship histories, 'the only strategy, therefore, was to suppress the past'.<sup>159</sup> It is frequently suggested that the object which instigated the censorship of material from the Neapolitan excavations was a, now famous, small, marble sculpture of

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<sup>154</sup> Fisher and Langlands, 2011; Beard, 2012. See also de Caro, 2000b.

<sup>155</sup> See De Simone, 1975; Kendrick, 1987, Johns, 1982; Beard and Henderson, 2001; Gaimster, 2000; Gaimster, 2001; Clarke and Larvey, 2003; Varone, 2001; Frost, 2007 Harris, 2007; Frost, 2008 Frost, 2010. For popular accounts see also Bailey, M. 'Cupboard Love: Sex Secrets and the British Museum', *The Observer*, September 1991; Rogers, B. 'The Secrets of Cupboard 55', *Sunday Times*, 27/06/1999; Leake and Mulkerrins 'Sex Secrets Of The British Museum', *Sunday Times*, 11/8/2002 ; Morrison, R. 'A rude awakening', *The Times*, 30/8/02,. For more popular interest in 'secret' collections see Fisher and Langlands, 2011.

<sup>156</sup> Gaimster, 2000. See also Kendrick, 1987: 6; Gaimster, 2001.

<sup>158</sup> Gaimster, 2000; Harris, 2007: 113-16. See also de Caro, 2000: 11-12; de Caro, 2000b; Frost, 2010: 140; Johns, 1982: 21. For this idea in popular culture see Morrison, R. 'A Rude awakening', *The Times*, 20/08/2002: 16-17. Fisher and Langlands, 2011: 302 critique the idea that 'these objects challenged the foundations of Western ideas about civilization and imperialism'.

<sup>159</sup> Gaimster, 2000.

the god Pan having sex with a she-goat.<sup>160</sup> Found in the garden of the Villa of the Papyri just outside Herculaneum, several accounts describe how this artefact was simply too much for the authorities and that the Bourbon King Charles III himself ordered its locking up in the Royal Museum at Portici, later refusing even the prestigious Winkelmann access to it.<sup>161</sup> This act of censorship, as David Gaimster puts it, created 'a new taxonomy for the study of antiquity, that of the 'archaeological obscenity', which was to be 'perpetuated across Europe for almost two hundred years'.<sup>164</sup> The 'Secret Cabinet' was created in 1819 after the transfer of Portici material to the new Naples museum.<sup>165</sup> Following Walter Kendrick's 1987 work, the modern concept of 'pornography' itself is believed to have been invented in this act of delineating off certain ancient material because of its sexual content and preventing certain people from seeing it.<sup>166</sup> Although all this described so far took place prior to 1837 and in Italy, these activities are frequently associated with British 'Victorian' sexual repression. The Neapolitan 'solution' to the problem of sexual antiquities, it is suggested, was taken on by other museums, including the British Museum. Staff members of the museum, Catherine Johns, David Gaimster and Stuart Frost, have given us a number of self-flagellatory accounts of their own institution's censorship history: in the 1830s, they tell us, all the 'troublesome objects'<sup>167</sup> featuring sexual imagery, which had been formally, very sensibly 'mixed in with everything else', were removed to a special 'Secretum' with restricted access, thus imposing the newly created, artificial and anachronistic category of 'pornography' upon them.<sup>169</sup>

In this picture, the idea of new acquisitions of sexual antiquities is incomprehensible: why would a museum want to acquire more of the material which

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<sup>160</sup> Kendrick, 1987: 6; Harris, 2007: 46-8; de Caro, 2000: 12; Beard and Henderson, 2001: 6. See also Gaimster, 2000.

<sup>161</sup> Fisher and Langlands, 2011: 306-7 have highlighted the scant evidence and obvious embellishments which undermine the 'sense of immediate and absolute censorship of sexually explicit material' which these lively accounts of the Pan and goat sculpture give. Their article points out that Kendrick's influential account is 'derived almost word for word' from a 1950s monograph which offers little evidence for the story. Furthermore, they show that the piece continued to be accessed after being locked away and that Winkelmann was not denied access but himself chose not to apply for a permit.

<sup>164</sup> Gaimster, 2000. See Kendrick, 1987: 6.

<sup>165</sup> Gaimster, 2000. On the creation of the 'Secret Cabinet' in 1819 see Fisher and Langlands, 2011.

<sup>166</sup> Kendrick, 1987: 1-18.

<sup>167</sup> Frost, 2007: 65.

<sup>169</sup> Johns, 1982: 29, 31, 59; Gaimster, 2000; Frost, 2007: 65.

had caused them so much trouble in the first place? It should be pointed out that the accounts by British Museum staff acknowledge the acquisition of such material in the pre-Secretum era, such as that from the foremost collectors of Classical antiquities of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century who provided much of the founding material of the museum's Greek and Roman collections.<sup>170</sup> Sir William Hamilton, Britain's Extraordinary Envoy to Naples, member of the Society of Dilettanti and avid collector of Greek vases, sold and donated to the British Museum many Roman phallic amulets, lamps and figures, as well as several terracotta male genitalia.<sup>171</sup> Richard Payne Knight, fellow Society member also donated many phallic amulets and *tintinnabula*, such as the one we met in the introductory chapter.<sup>172</sup> Another member of the Society of Dilettanti, Charles Townley (1737-1805), collector of many famous marbles and whose material still forms the core of the museum's Greco-Roman collections, provided many more sexually themed artefacts.<sup>173</sup>

Both Johns and Gaimster also acknowledge the museum's acceptance in 1865 of a donation of hundreds of Greco-Roman phallic and other sexually-themed objects from around the world, by collector and amateur scholar George Witt. Both Johns and Gaimster are naturally surprised that this offer was accepted by the Trustees. It does not fit with their censorship narrative, having taken place in the era of supposed extreme repression.<sup>174</sup> However, this event is brought into line with the censorship model by Gaimster who, despite acknowledging that the museum had been segregating material since the 1830s, claims that Witt's substantial donation in 1865 instigated the 'official status' of the 'Secretum' as a special museum collection.<sup>175</sup> Donald Bailey, then of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities suggests instead that, although the Witt collection did 'add substantially' to the 'Secretum', the bulk of the material was assembled prior to the 1860s.<sup>176</sup> Gaimster's version of events thus highlights not the

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<sup>170</sup> Johns, 1982: 28; Gaimster, 2000; Frost, 2007: 65.

<sup>171</sup> e.g. British Museum: 1772,0305.161. On Hamilton see Scott, 2003: 15; Jenkins and Sloan, 1996.

<sup>172</sup> e.g. 1824,0471.15/Museum Secretum M281. On Knight see Scott, 2003: 15; Clarke and Penny, 1982.

<sup>173</sup> e.g. British Museum: 1814,0704.880. On Townley see Coltman, 2006 : 193; Scott, 2003: 15.

<sup>174</sup> Johns, 1982: 28-9; Gaimster, 2000.

<sup>175</sup> Gaimster, 2000; Gaimster, 2001: 132. Gaimster does not go as far as some in supposing the segregation of material altogether began with the Witt acquisition, see Johns, 1982: 30 on the 'Secretum' known incorrectly as the 'Witt Collection'. See also Frost, 2008: 31.

<sup>176</sup> Private correspondence Bailey to Bernard Cashman 11/07/1991, of which a copy was given to me by Geoffrey Woollard, Witt's descendent.

acquisition of sexual antiquities by the museum, but a repressive response to it: 'It is this collection of antiquities, and its subsequent fate', he suggests, 'that illustrates more than any other the growing anxieties of Victorian curators in relation to artefacts of an erotic nature'.<sup>177</sup> His account suggests, in a similar way that we have seen for the supposed Neapolitan response to the Pan and goat sculpture, that Witt's collection was so shocking that the museum wanted to absolutely ensure its segregation, and any objects like it, by strengthening its censorship policy. Seeing Witt's donation as the catalyst for the creation of the 'Secretum' proper neatly locates this latter event in the mid-nineteenth century, the supposed era of extreme prudery. Gaimster claims the 'Secretum' was given official status in the wake of the Obscene Publications Act of 1857, which for the first time made the sale of obscene material a statutory offence.<sup>178</sup> Like the new law, the new 'Secretum', he suggests, 'enshrined a new code for cultural consumption'.<sup>179</sup> According to this account, the museum retained enough scholarly decency to accept the donation, despite committing the unforgivable act of removing the material from its true historical context. The Witt donation and its acceptance is presented as the last straw for these prudish museum administrators and this large and diverse group of sexual antiquities viewed as acting as a catalyst for the strengthening of a policy to censor all offensive material.

These repressive treatments are often perceived as having perpetuated until at least the mid-twentieth century. According to censorship histories, the British Museum continued its segregation policy until the 1950s, with some material managing to 'escape' the 'Secretum' earlier in the twentieth century.<sup>181</sup> Indeed, the reverberations of this 'repressive' treatment are seen as surviving even into the present day. It should be acknowledged that the Naples museum officially continues a restricted access policy to the 'Secret Cabinet', but in practice this merely means that under-14s must have parental supervision, and this is not strictly enforced. The British Museum's 'Secretum' also still officially exists although most objects have been removed from it, the debate over its final disbanding having been played out in scholarship between staff members.

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<sup>177</sup> Gaimster, 2000.

<sup>178</sup> Gaimster, 2000.

<sup>179</sup> Gaimster, 2000.

<sup>181</sup> Johns, 1982: 31 tells us that the first material was returned to its appropriate department in 1912, but Frost, 2010: 140-1 and Frost, 2007: 65 gives this date as 1939.

Johns argues that it should be disbanded as it is destructive to our proper understanding of the ancient world, while Gaimster suggests it is 'a historical artefact in its own right' and 'serves as a warning to future generations of historians against imposing their own contemporary prejudices on the material culture of the past'.<sup>182</sup>

When it comes to private collectors of sexual antiquities in the period of supposed 'repression', the only example usually discussed is Witt, who is viewed as something of an eccentric oddity. This is in spite of Gaimster's comment that Witt's correspondence reveals he was clearly at the centre of an 'international nexus of collectors of antique erotica'.<sup>183</sup> Johns insists that, in the eighteenth century, Richard Payne Knight had been 'keenly interested' in sexual imagery amongst a range of subjects, as 'any honest person might be'.<sup>184</sup> She contrasts this with Witt's 'specialised' collecting of sexually themed artefacts, setting him apart from the mainstream, traditional world of Classical collecting.<sup>185</sup> This specialisation has also resulted in Witt's motivation for collecting viewed with scepticism, presenting him, not as an 'honest' collector of archaeological evidence, but as the sort of seedy 'pornophile' we met in the introductory chapter.<sup>186</sup>

In this context the deliberate collection of sexually themed antiquities seems incongruous - or carried out by only marginalised, shadowy figures.<sup>187</sup> However, this chapter brings forth new research which shows that acquisition of such material was widespread across British and American museums and private collections throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Johns, 1982: 30; Gaimster, 2000. On the debate between Johns and Gaimster see *Sunday Times*, 27/6/1999, 'The secrets of Cupboard 55'.

<sup>183</sup> Gaimster, 2000; Gaimster, 2001: 134; Johns, 1982: 29.

<sup>184</sup> Johns, 1982: 28.

<sup>185</sup> Johns, 1982: 28.

<sup>186</sup> Gaimster, 2000; Johns, 1982: 29; Carabelli, 1996: 112. See Lyons and Lyons, 2004: 59; Gaimster, 2001: 134; Janes, 2009: 122; Godwin, 1994: 22 : 31.

<sup>187</sup> Frost, 201029 acknowledges that 'some major museums' acquired 'relevant material' between 1830 and 1950.

<sup>188</sup> For the Naples' 'Secret Cabinet' deliberately added to in the nineteenth century, see de Caro, 2000: 13; Fisher and Langlands, 2011: 303.



## Section 1: The British Museum

We have seen that acquisitions of sexual antiquities by the British Museum in the supposed pre-censorship era (before around the 1830s) have been well documented, as has the museum's seemingly incongruous acceptance of Witt's donation in the mid-nineteenth century (thought to have only strengthened its censorship policy). What has not been reported is that, throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the museum was making regular new acquisitions of sexual antiquities, as indeed it since the creation of its segregated collection.

The Naples 'Secret Cabinet' has been identified as the inspiration for the creation of the 'Secretum' - as a model for how a museum might deal with 'indecent' material in its collection.<sup>189</sup> However, we should explore the possibility that it was viewed by other museums as a desirable asset which they wanted to emulate. As others have acknowledged, the 'secret' collection remains today one of the Naples museums' key attractions for scholars of sexuality and curious tourists alike.<sup>191</sup> The notion of the 'Secret Cabinet' as an asset which other museums might emulate is found in an early catalogue of the collection by Stanislas Marie César Famin (1799-1853). In *Musée royal de Naples; peintures, bronzes et statues érotiques du cabinet secret, avec leur explication, 1832*, Famin describes the Naples collection as 'the richest of its kind' within a selection of 'private galleries where obscene relics, brought from Egypt, Greece, and Etruria are kept', in Florence, Dresden, London, and Madrid.<sup>192</sup> The systematic and prolonged acquisition of new material for the British Museum's 'Secretum', as we shall see, suggests that the museum was deliberately building up this collection, rather than simply using it as a repository. 'Private galleries' in Europe may have been modelled on Naples, not for propriety's sake, but in an effort to rival it. In drawing together objects from across their collections, a museum could draw attention its own sexually themed assets.

In examining the acquisition of new material into any collection we should consider whether it was deliberately and systematically acquired, in order to establish if

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<sup>189</sup> Johns, 1982: 29.

<sup>191</sup> Blanshard, 2010: 32; Beard, 2012.

<sup>192</sup> Famin, 1871: xxvii. This anonymous translation of Famin's 1816 catalogue was published under the name 'Colonel Fanin'.

there was sustained and genuine interest in this material. It might be argued that the acquisition of sexual antiquities has been simply accidental – that unwanted items came into museums in small numbers within larger groups of objects. Or alternatively it could have been incidental - one-off acquisitions perhaps acquired which were not included to be part of the collection's overall scheme. If sexual antiquities were only brought into a collection in these ways and then quickly removed to a special segregated area, this could confirm the repressive model of treatment outlined above. I suggest four methods of collection which suggest a museum's genuine interest in material. This information can be gathered from the museum's accession or registration records. These are: 1) systematic acquisition - a consistent supply of new material over many years; 2) large acquisitions - arriving in a substantial group, not a small number of objects in a larger group; 3) individual selection - an object acquired on its own, rather than as part of a group; 4) purchased material - the museum spends its own money on material and does not solely accept donations. In the case of the British Museum, sexual antiquities were acquired in this period by means of all the methods outlined above. Furthermore, throughout this period, many of the new acquisitions of sexual antiquities were never housed in the 'Secretum', undermining the idea of an all-pervasive concern for censorship and segregation at this time. This increased in the twentieth century, when material also began to be taken out of the 'Secretum' and re-registered in the main departments. The museum acquired ancient sexual artefacts from a wide range of dealers and private collectors from mainstream collecting culture - from Dukes to Reverends to MPs – demonstrating that interest in this material went beyond a few maverick 'pornophiles'.

### 1.1 A. W. Franks and the Keeper as donor

In the late nineteenth century the museum accepted the donation of many new objects which were very similar to the material which it was already segregating in the 'Secretum'. This suggests the museum was trying to develop its collection of sexually-themed artefacts. Much of the material resembled the contents of the more famous Naples 'Secret Cabinet', which I suggest was a model for building such a collection. For

example, in 1882 the museum accepted a bronze ithyphallic dwarf from Egypt.<sup>193</sup> The 'Secretum' already contained several similar figures, such as a bronze dwarf holding his enormous phallus in his hand which had been donated by Richard Payne Knight.<sup>194</sup> As the next chapter will discuss, Knight and his colleague William Hamilton had produced an influential treatise on a theory of universal 'Phallic Worship', inspired by the material they collected and that which they studied at the British Museum. The Naples collection also contains six objects shaped as grotesque dwarf-like figures featuring outlandishly large phalluses in bronze and terracotta, three of which had been published in Famin's 1816 catalogue, and so would already be known to the collecting world.<sup>195</sup>

These acquisitions, like Witt's earlier in the century, were brought into the British Museum as donations from outside sources. However, a major source of sexually themed material came from inside the museum itself. Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826-1897), a museum administrator, is credited with having drawn together much of the material from the museum's existing collections in the 1850s to form a special collection which would eventually become the 'Secretum'.<sup>196</sup> However, we should not see this as an indication of Franks' prudish nature and attitude to the historical cultures he worked with every day. Between 1867 and 1897 Franks himself provided over thirty antiquities with sexual imagery, most of which went into the 'Secretum', building upon the sexually themed collection which he had helped form. For example, in 1893 he donated a fragmented *patera* (shallow dish) in opaque white glass (AD50-75), found in Beirut and showing several scenes of men and women having sex in different positions accompanied by figures of flying Eros and the inscription 'APHRO' (for Aphrodite).<sup>197</sup> The existing collection in the 'Secretum' already included many similar images of male-

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<sup>193</sup> British Museum: GR1912,1125.15. In 1889 the museum also accepted a Hellenistic figure of a grotesque actor with enlarged genitals (2nd - 1st century BC) which went into the 'Secretum' (British Museum: GR1889,1122.1).

<sup>194</sup> British Museum: M.349. See also a Ptolemaic terracotta dwarf-like figure from Egypt (2<sup>nd</sup> - 1<sup>st</sup> century BC) with his right leg raised to rest on his large horizontal phallus, purchased in 1837 (British Museum: GR1837,0717.162) and a plaster-cast of a grotesque winged dwarf holding an enormous phallus to his shoulder, the original in Paris and donated by Witt in 1865 (British Museum: WITT.84).

<sup>195</sup> Famin, 1871. See Naples: 27857; On Roman apotropaic phallic dwarfs see Clarke, 1998: 131; Barton, 1993: 168-172.

<sup>196</sup> Secretum Register, British Museum archives. On Franks compiling the 'Secretum' see private correspondence Donald Bailey (then of Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum) to Bernard Cashman 11/07/1999. On Franks at the British Museum see Wilson, 1984; Caygill and Cherry, 1997.

<sup>197</sup> British Museum: GR1893,1009.4.

female sex found on small vessels and lamps, as does the Naples collection.<sup>198</sup> Franks also donated a now well-known Roman lamp showing an image of a woman and horse having sex (fig. 5)<sup>199</sup> which joined other images of bestiality, such as a Roman lamp showing a monkey mounting a woman donated by Charles Townley,<sup>200</sup> and a fragment of a Roman wine-jar (AD 2<sup>nd</sup> century) showing a woman kissing a horse, excavated by Sir Charles Thomas Newton, Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities, in 1859.<sup>201</sup> Many modern collectors clearly had an interest in sexual material.

Franks had joined the Department of Antiquities in 1851 and was highly influential on the shape of its collection and that of the newly developed department of 'British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography', of which he became Keeper. He donated thousands of objects, including sexual antiquities, which he acquired using his own considerable wealth (and often that of his friends) and his skills as an archaeologist and connoisseur.<sup>202</sup> Franks' story demonstrates the way in which museum administrators could, and in many ways have been expected to, shape a collection by spending their own funds on the museum. Judith Hill has highlighted Franks' work at the British Museum as an example of how senior curatorial staff could have decisive influence on the development of collections.<sup>203</sup> In Franks' time this practice was left over from the museum's founding, which had relied heavily on wealthy private collectors to provide material. As late as the 1950s, private collectors were thought to make good museum Keepers, as they were considered to have the best resources, skills and contacts.<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> e.g. British Museum: GR1814,0704.38 from the Townley collection; GR1865,1118.242/Lamp Q888/W242 from the Witt collection. Also Roman intaglio e.g. GR1814,0704.1516 from the Townley collection. E.g. Naples: 27864.

<sup>199</sup> British Museum: 1971,0426.39/Q3271/Museum Secretum M543.

<sup>200</sup> British Museum: GR1814,0704.54.

<sup>201</sup> British Museum: GR1859,1226.507/M481. In 1868 Franks had added to the extensive collection of phallic amulets in the 'Secretum' with ivory and faience examples (see British Museum: GR1912,1125.19/M513, GR1993,0408.4/M86). In 1867 he had also donated several Romano-Egyptian pieces including a terracotta flask (2nd-1st century BC), found in Egypt, in the shape of a fat, squatting woman, with her legs wide open and touching her exposed genitals, possibly a 'Baubo' figure, British Museum: GR1982,0406.5/M77Terracotta 3139.

<sup>202</sup> Wilson, 1984: 12, 17, 20, 36, 60.

<sup>203</sup> Hill, 2004: 36. She compares him to the nineteenth century staff at the Horniman museum.

<sup>204</sup> This idea was still current in the mid-twentieth century as a letter between Winifred Lamb, honorary Keeper of antiquities at the Fitzwilliam Museum and the director, Carl Winter attests, 12/01/1951, Fitzwilliam archive (envelope number 337). Thanks to Abigail Baker for the reference.

That the sexual antiquities we have considered so far came in as donations indicates that the museum trustees were not prepared to spend museum (i.e. public) money on this material. However, the deliberate and consistent acquisition of these sexually themed artefacts by a museum Keeper presents a very different story from that told in censorship histories - of museum trustees reluctantly accepting a donation of disturbing, but unfortunately scholarly important, material from an unconnected outside source. Franks' activities show a chief member of the British Museum's staff, who was responsible for shaping the collections, not only collecting this material but enabling the museum to own it. This demonstrates the importance of examining different individuals' contributions to the history of a collection. My research suggests modern reactions to, and treatment of, sexual antiquities within a single institution could be varied and nuanced.

However, the British Museum trustees did decide to also spend public money on a number of sexual antiquities during this period. A substantial Romano-Egyptian collection, which was purchased in the 1880s from Rev John Chester, included many sexually-themed artefacts, such as phallic amulets.<sup>205</sup> Amulets from Greece, Rome and Egypt in bronze, ivory, horn, bone and faience featuring male genitalia in combination with a variety of other symbols, and identified as pendants to be worn around the neck or as 'horse trappings', made up over three hundred of the objects in the existing 'Secretum'. These had come from the collections of Hamilton, Payne Knight, Townley and Witt and are found ubiquitously across the Roman world.<sup>206</sup> An equally diverse group makes up the phallic amulet collection in the Naples collection. As we will see, the ancient phallic amulet has played an important role in the relationship between the modern world and ancient sexual imagery. The Rev Chester also sold the museum a group of terracotta ithyphallic figures (2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD), found in Faiyum, Egypt. These depict Romano-Egyptian deities such as Silenos, Harpocrates and Amun-Kamutef, all of which are portrayed with obvious phalluses.<sup>207</sup> We will see shortly that

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<sup>205</sup> British Museum: 1887,0706.13.

<sup>206</sup> e.g. British Museum: GR1772,0314.108; GR1814,0704.1278, GR1824,0471.15, GR1865,1118.192. On the ancient phallic amulet see Johns, 1982: 63.

<sup>207</sup> E.g. British Museum: GR1874,0314.6. In 1888 the museum also purchased a terracotta Ptolemaic figure group of two actors one with large phallus, found Akhmim, Egypt from Sir Ernest A T Wallis Budge, Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities from 1894-1924 (British Museum: GR1926,0930.61)

many Egyptian phallic artefacts were made available to the museum through a friend of Chester's, the renowned archaeologist, William Flinders Petrie (1853-1942).

The material from Chester, although very similar to that already in the 'Secretum', was never registered as part of this segregated collection, but instead as part of the general department of Greek, Roman and Egyptian antiquities. We find this to be the case for material acquired even soon after the apparent official sanctioning of the 'Secretum' in the 1860s, when the censorship policy was apparently newly strengthened.<sup>208</sup> These different treatments of very similar material demonstrate that relegation to the 'Secretum' was not the only treatment of sexually explicit material by the museum.<sup>209</sup> Johns has identified a turning point for the treatment of sexual antiquities in the museum in 1912, when material was first taken out of the 'Secretum' and registered in the main Greek and Roman department. At this time, she says 'scholarship was beginning to rebel against delicacy'.<sup>210</sup> The actual removal of material from the 'Secretum' does seem to indicate a significant change in thinking about how such material should be classified and accessed, but it is also significant that throughout the life of the 'Secretum' many newly acquired sexual antiquities were never placed there but rather treated in the same way as non-sexual material.

## 1.2 The Egypt Exploration Fund and Naukratis donations

While the sexual antiquities purchased by Franks and bought from other private collectors had been relatively small in number, the British Museum demonstrated its committed interest in this type of material in the late nineteenth century by accepting a massive donation of phallic material. This was presented periodically throughout the 1880s (and some later in the twentieth century) by the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF) as part of the 16,000-strong donation to the museum from their excavations of the ancient city of Naukratis. This city, a Greek trading post since the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, was

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<sup>208</sup> E.g. British Museum: GR1872,0604.1114.

<sup>209</sup> For example, in 1895 a faience Roman plaque showing a man and woman having sex on a couch, was accepted by the museum. This was found in Qus, Egypt and donated by the pre-Raphaelite painter and collector Henry Wallis. This did not find its way into the 'Secretum' either, but remained unregistered until the 1970s (British Museum: GR1971,0603.1).

<sup>210</sup> Johns, 1982: 31-32. Frost, 2010: 140-1 and Frost, 2007: 65 gives the date when objects first 'escaped' from the 'Secretum' as 1939.

excavated by William Flinders Petrie, funded by the EEF, in 1884-5.<sup>211</sup> Within the donations were hundreds of small limestone and terracotta phallic figures. Many of these have been identified as Harpocrates, the Greek name given to the Egyptian child-god Horus (Egyptian 'Harpechruiti') believed to be associated with fertility, particularly in early crops, and found in the area of the Nile Delta in Egypt. In the Late Period Egyptian and Ptolemaic era (664-332 BC) he is portrayed as a naked seated child with an enormous phallus protruding out in front of him, or sometimes wrapped around his neck, and often depicted with harps, bowls, wine jars, dancing women and frogs, as we find in the British Museum's collection (see fig. 6).<sup>212</sup> Thanks to the Witt and Franks donations, the 'Secretum' already contained several very similar examples of limestone and terracotta Late Period Egyptian and Ptolemaic Harpocrates which are unprovenanced but almost certainly from Naukratis or nearby (see fig. 7).<sup>213</sup> This modest collection was joined in the museum by around 150 limestone and terracotta figures of the overtly phallic Harpocrates from the EEF. These objects from the EEF were not only similar, but are likely to have been from the same moulds, created in a small number of workshops in Naukratis, as those in the 'Secretum'. Thus the British Museum gained one of the largest collections of this figure-type in the world. The museum was given a large percentage of the antiquities excavated from Naukratis; however, material from the excavations, including sexual artefacts, was also distributed across international collections.<sup>214</sup> Between 1896 and 1908 the Ashmolean museum, Oxford, also acquired phallic material from Naukratis. The Fitzwilliam accepted a large collection of it from the EEF in 1914, and in 1943 from a private collector named Gayer-Anderson, a specialist in Egyptian phallic and sexual antiquities, who we will meet again below.

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<sup>211</sup> See Petrie, 1866. On these excavations see James, 1982; Spencer, 2007.

<sup>212</sup> Peck, 1898: 'Horus'. Bailey, 2008 has identified these simple phallic figures as a Late Period and Ptolemaic Egyptian representation of Harpocrates. The later Ptolemaic, Hellenistic or Roman Egyptian image of a naked boy with a finger to his lips (such as the Rev Chester sold to the museum see British Museum:1880,1112.2) has been identified as Harpocrates since the nineteenth century, see Peck, 1898; Ollivier-Beauregard and Godard, 1866.

<sup>213</sup> e.g. British Museum: GR1865,1118.7/Museum Secretum W7.

<sup>214</sup> Of the approximately 13,000 surviving finds from the early excavations at Naukratis, currently in more than 60 museums and collections worldwide, only around half have ever been catalogued or studied. The British Museum is currently running a project to catalogue the entirety of this material. I am sharing my research on Wellcome's material from Naukratis, which has thus far not been published.

The acceptance of other material featuring sexual imagery from the EEF by the British Museum indicates that it took this opportunity to build upon its already impressive collection of sexual material. The EEF offered several sexually-themed Greek vases found at the Egyptian excavations which the museum accepted, including an Archaic Greek cup made at Chios (c.625-600BC) shaped as a phallus with crude painted depictions of female genitalia at the base,<sup>215</sup> as well as several black figure vases (c.530BC) showing ithyphallic satyrs.<sup>216</sup> One vase from Naukratis which the museum accepted from the EEF displays both sexual activity and bodily functions: a fragment of a black-figure Archaic column *krater* (wine mixing vase) shows a satyr having sex with another figure from behind and defecating at the same time.<sup>217</sup>

None of the material donated by the EEF was ever kept in the 'Secretum' despite being very similar to the material already stored there from Witt's and Franks' donations. Around thirty phallic objects from the EEF were registered in the department of Egyptian antiquities and the rest were left unregistered. This might appear to be another form of censorship.<sup>218</sup> While the 'Secretum' has been criticised for its removal of antiquities from their original context, it had a register which could, with more or less difficulty, be accessed. Simply to leave material unregistered is arguably a greater act of censorship, although on the other hand, material did at least stay in its appropriate museum department. However, since around one fifth of the total material from Naukratis, sexually themed or not, was left unregistered, this likely indicates the museum's priority for registering better preserved or better provenanced material, rather than an act of censorship. Phallic images of Harpocrates from the same mould were variously registered and left unregistered. The only difference in these objects is their preservation. In fact, the better preserved examples, which were often registered, are arguably more 'explicit' in both the original sense of the word ('clearly expressed') and its more recent meaning connected with sexual content; badly preserved examples for example often have had their phallus worn down or broken off.

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<sup>215</sup> Found at Naukratis and donated in 1888 (British Museum: GR1888,0601.496.a-c).

<sup>216</sup> British Museum: GR1865,1118.47/ Museum Secretum W47Vase E817).

<sup>217</sup> British Museum: GR1886,0401.1174.

<sup>218</sup> See Frost, 2008: 31.



Further indication of the British Museum's interest in building a collection of Egyptian phallic material is found in the fact that in the early twentieth century they spent museum money on adding to the collection. For example, a number of objects were purchased by the museum from Rev Chauncey Murch, part of the American Presbyterian Mission in Luxor, who between 1890 and 1907 provided the museum with over 3,000 Egyptian artefacts. These included a Greco-Roman pottery mould for a representation of Harpocrates with a large phallus resting on the floor, and a New Kingdom steatite scarab with a phallus flanked by two baboons.<sup>219</sup> Like the EEF material, these objects were registered in the general department of antiquities (or left unregistered) and never went into the 'Secretum'.<sup>220</sup>

### 1.3 Léon Morel and the major Gallo-Roman purchase

In 1901 the museum made a major purchase of sexual antiquities. This act combined together two methods of acquisition that I have suggested indicate genuine interest in this material: a large acquisition and spending of museum funds. These objects came within a group of Gallo-Roman antiquities from amateur French archaeologist Léon Morel (1828-1909), who had excavated in the region of the River Marne in north-eastern France.<sup>221</sup> Approximately thirty objects from Morel were sexually decorated and these did go into the 'Secretum', including several phallic amulets of the type probably used as horse-trappings<sup>222</sup> and bronze rings with the image of the phallus engraved in bezel.<sup>223</sup> Tiny phallic rings are thought to have been given to Roman children in antiquity<sup>224</sup> and several gold examples appeared already in the 'Secretum' from the eighteenth-century Hamilton Collection<sup>225</sup> and a purchase of material in the 1870s from Alessandro Castellani, a member of a famous family of jewellers in Rome and a major

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<sup>219</sup> British Museum: GR 1907,0611.1185, 1896,0618.48. Following Murch's death, a large proportion of his collection was given to the Metropolitan Museum of Arts, New York in 1910.

<sup>220</sup> The museum also acquire a glazed figure of Harpocrates from Naukratis from Raymond G B Sabatier in 1890 (British Museum: GR1891,0511.63); a glazed squatting figure from Naukratis, supporting his phallus with hands in 1893 (British Museum: GR1893,0514.137) and blue glazed figure seated with phallus held upright from Naukratis from R J Moss & Co and E.A. Wallis Budge (British Museum: GR1893,0514.138).

<sup>221</sup> Johns, 1982: 31.

<sup>222</sup> e.g. British Museum: GR 1912,1125.44.

<sup>223</sup> See British Museum: GR 1912,1125.54/ Museum Secretum ML37.

<sup>224</sup> Johns, 1982: 63.

<sup>225</sup> e.g. British Museum: GR1772,0314.24/32/34 from Hamilton.

collector of Roman art.<sup>226</sup> Several more Roman gold phallic rings were also bequeathed by Franks to the museum on his death in 1897.<sup>227</sup>

Other sexually decorated objects in the Morel purchase included a horse harness (AD 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century) with the stylised image of a vulva.<sup>228</sup> The 'Secretum' already contained ancient depictions of the vulva, for example on two stone lamps from the Witt Collection.<sup>229</sup> The museum's collection of Roman images of sexual activity was expanded by the Morel purchase which included several medallions from pottery vessels found in the Rhône valley showing scenes of women and men, and women and fauns, performing sexual acts. One example (AD150-200) depicts a man and women on a bed with the inscription FELICIS ('happy') (fig. 8).<sup>230</sup>

Johns has pointed to the treatment of the Morel purchase as evidence of a shift in the museum's attitude to censorship in the early twentieth century. The material, although initially entered into the 'Secretum', was taken out and moved to the Greek and Roman department in 1912.<sup>231</sup> However, as we have seen, throughout the late nineteenth century much material was never entered into the 'Secretum' in the first place, and this inconsistency continued into the early twentieth century as new acquisitions were added to the 'Secretum', while comparable material was not.<sup>232</sup> What is clear is that in the early twentieth century we find increased acquisitions of sexual

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<sup>226</sup> Weber and Walker, 2004; British Museum: GR1872,0604.1114.

<sup>227</sup> British Museum: GR1917,0501.149/257/255, AF.425.

<sup>228</sup> British Museum: ML.3767.

<sup>229</sup> British Museum: WITT.362/3. The museum also owned a Greek marble tablet in the shape of a large stylised vulva, found in Athens and given to the museum in 1816 by later Prime Minister George Hamilton Gordon (British Museum: GR1816,0610.216).

<sup>230</sup> British Museum: GR1912,1125.23/Museum Secretum ML4, see also GR1912,1125.41, ML.23, probably a nineteenth century copy of a Roman original.

<sup>231</sup> Johns, 1982: 31-32.

<sup>232</sup> For the continuing inconsistency in the museum in regards to new acquisitions and the 'Secretum' see the treatment of two new acquisitions, both featuring phallic imagery in 1907 and 1912: a small bronze Greek model herm with a portrait head of a bearded man and erect phallus (c. 450-400BC) donated anonymously (British Museum: GR1912,1125.13) was entered into the 'Secretum' but a Greek silver figure of an ithyphallic man (c.725-675BC) excavated at the Temple of Artemis, Ephesus (British Museum: GR1907,1201.191) was registered in the Greek and Roman department. Two modern reproductions of Roman pottery lamps, made in Naples and decorated with scenes of sexual activity were likewise registered in the department. On one a woman and Hercules have sex and on the other a man and woman seated on a bed masturbate, donated by S B Burton, 1911 (British Museum: GR1911,1017.1,2).

antiquities and increased instances of museum money spent on them.<sup>233</sup> This signifies a change in this period, although not as radical a change as has previously been thought.

In particular the museum continued to add to their phallic collection throughout the twentieth century. For example, in 1923 the museum accepted a donation from the British School at Athens of four Archaic Greek terracotta figures (8<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century BC) each squatting and grasping a large phallus, found in the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, Sparta.<sup>234</sup> Between 1912 and 1936 the museum added to their Egyptian sexual antiquities with material from well-known Egyptian dealer, Mohammed Mohassib from Luxor, as well as other sources, including several more figurines of the phallic Harpocrates, as well as other Egyptian deities depicted as ithyphallic, such as Osiris and Min.<sup>235</sup>

We have seen that throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, a period usually characterised by 'repressive' attitudes to sexual antiquities, the British Museum acquired a great number and wide range of this type of supposedly 'troublesome' material. These new acquisitions often added to similar material which the museum was supposedly so anxious about owning that it had created a special restricted collection to deal with it. New material was accepted in large donations but was also acquired by the museum using either the funds of its staff or the museum's own money, indicating its genuine interest in such material, perhaps to try and compete with the Naples collection of material from Pompeii and Herculaneum. This increased in the early twentieth century, and while this does indicate a generally more open approach to this material, there had been a steady acquisition of sexually themed ancient artefacts throughout. In fact, if we look back further we find that acquisitions were made regularly throughout the entire time that material was segregated. What this

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<sup>233</sup> See British Museum: GR 1912,0210.54, GR1919,0208.22, GR1928,0414.61, GR1928,0414.53. Other examples of acquisitions in this period include: in 1922 a bronze Roman knife from AD 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century, found in Ashmunein, el, Egypt featuring a dwarf with an enormous phallus with a frog perched on the end of it, purchased from the collection of doctor and collector Dr Daniel Marie Fouquet, British Museum: GR1922,0712.5; and in 1931 a black figure *kylix* featuring an ithyphallic ass (c.540-480BC), found in Boeotia was accepted as a donation (British Museum: GR1931,0216.22).

<sup>234</sup> British Museum: GR1923,0212.291, GR1923,0212.300, GR1923,0212.294, GR1923,0212.290.

<sup>235</sup> From Mohassib were British Museum: GR 1912,0210.54, GR1919,0208.22, GR1928,0414.61, GR1928,0414.53. On Mohassib see Dawson and Uphill, 1972: 204. In 1920 the museum accepted a donation from Walter Llewellyn Nash of another Ptolemaic figure of Harpocrates (c.300BC) from Egypt (British Museum: GR1920,0612.151). Other Harpocrates acquired in this period include British Museum: GR1927,0224.1, GR1930,0715.1, GR1936,0215.1.

shows is that censorship, in the form of the 'Secretum', existed concurrently with interest in the material. In this new way of looking at the reception of sexual antiquities we move away from a focus on negative responses. In the next section we examine a museum which very obviously spent a great deal of effort and money in deliberately putting together a collection of sexual antiquities which could rival that in the 'Secretum' and the Naples 'Secret Cabinet'.

## Section 2: The Wellcome Historical Medical Museum

Unlike those collections at the British and Naples museums, the collection of sexual antiquities addressed in this section has not been well documented - in fact it has barely been acknowledged in any scholarship, despite containing much of the same type of material, and in similar numbers, as these better known collections. In the early twentieth century, over seven hundred Greek, Roman and Egyptian artefacts with sexual imagery, as well as around three hundred comparable items from other cultures, were gathered together as part of a wide-ranging collection encompassing archaeological, anthropological and ethnographic material, by the pharmaceutical giant and millionaire Henry Wellcome. Wellcome's material was collected primarily for his Historical Medical Museum (WHMM). This opened in 1913 and closed in 1932, although the collecting continued into the 1940s. It was designed to 'illustrate the history of medicine and allied sciences throughout the world from prehistoric times'.<sup>236</sup> Wellcome's vast collection totalled over one million items (five times the size of the Louvre), with £400,000 spent in total on it and an annual expenditure sometimes greater than that of the British Museum.<sup>237</sup> The museum administrative records reveal that sexually themed antiquities were part of the museum's acquisition policy and that they were very deliberately and systematically sought out by the museum throughout the early twentieth century.

### 2.1 Not a magpie collection

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<sup>236</sup> WHMM Handbook [1913] (WA/HMM/PB/Han/8).

<sup>237</sup> Skinner, 1986: 383; Engineer, 2000: 394

As with the history of the British Museum's collecting, we need to establish that the Wellcome museum did not simply acquire this material accidentally or incidentally. This is particularly important in the case of Wellcome, as he has a reputation for being an indiscriminate, 'compulsive collector of virtually anything'.<sup>238</sup> This reputation was gained largely because of the seemingly endless variety of objects he collected and the quantities in which they were acquired. Joan Braunholtz, who worked at the museum between 1928 and 1932, recalled in 1985:

'Sir Henry was at this time buying through his agent anything and everything, almost regardless of its connection with the history of medicine – coaches, carriages, prams, African spears, skeletons, porcelain, Japanese netsuke all arrive almost daily in huge consignment'.<sup>239</sup>

A similar statement was made by the director of the Wellcome Foundation, L.G Matthews, in post several years after Wellcome's death, from 1944-60:

'...he had started as a genuine collector but it had become a magpie collection. He could not leave anything alone in the field. He lost the medical and historical science theme and would collect anything...'.<sup>240</sup>

Wellcome's first full length biography suggests that there was 'no discernible theme' at all to his collecting.<sup>241</sup> A story often repeated is that much material seemingly unconnected with the history of medicine was acquired when shrewd dealers would offload unwanted material onto Wellcome by adding items they knew he could not resist to group lots.<sup>242</sup> It is this indiscriminate collecting which could be used to explain the acquisition of sexually themed material, which perhaps does not immediately seem relevant to a museum of medical history. Perhaps all the sexual material was bought within such group purchases and not actually wanted by Wellcome at all? This explanation would confirm the ideas found in those histories whose focus on negative responses to this material have made its active acquisition seem incongruous.

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<sup>238</sup> Mack, 2003: 214.

<sup>239</sup> Braunholtz to H. J. M. Symons 29/7/1985 (WA/HMM/ST/LAT/A.29).

<sup>240</sup> Quoted in Gould, 2007: 14.

<sup>241</sup> James, 1994: 272.

<sup>242</sup> On Wellcome and group lots see Turner, 1980: 37, 42; Russell, 1986: 4; Larson, 2009: 83.

Chapter 2 will address Wellcome's rationale behind this collection and how and why this material was in fact considered an essential part of his history of human health and culture. In this chapter, we will look at the evidence that, despite previous suggestions, there was a clear collecting policy, guided by Wellcome,<sup>243</sup> and that this included the acquisition of sexual antiquities and in particular phallic imagery. In addition to the museum's accession documents which, like those at the British Museum, give us vital information regarding collecting activities, surviving correspondence between Wellcome and his staff provides further evidence of the collecting policy and the sort of material they were seeking out. These show that sexual antiquities were acquired by means of the four methods which I identified above, indicating genuine interest in the material. They were acquired consistently from the time Wellcome began collecting at the turn of the twentieth century until 1936 (when his death brought collecting mostly to a close, although some further relevant material was acquired in the 1940s). The majority of the material was purchased for the collection and Wellcome spent a considerable amount of money on it: unlike the world-renowned British Museum, which, as we have seen, had plenty of donors wishing to provide material, Wellcome's new project was required to enter the competitive world of collecting. Fortunately he had purchasing power on his side, being fabulously wealthy, and possessed with shrewd skills learnt in business which he applied to ensure he got a bargain - skills which he also encouraged in his collecting staff.<sup>244</sup> Sexual antiquities were acquired in large numbers and even in specialised collections, as well as being individually selected by the museum for purchase.

It is clear from its records that this new museum was aiming to rival the Naples and British museums in their collections of sexual antiquities. However, while the 'Secret Cabinet' and the 'Secretum' have been characterised as repositories for dealing with difficult archaeological material once it had been unearthed or donated, Wellcome's comparable collection, as we shall see, was very clearly deliberately put together. Wellcome's museum was not a major national institution and was personally financed, thus having much greater freedom to spend money and effort on acquiring material

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<sup>243</sup> See Skinner, 1986: 395, n. 79; Gosden, 2003 :161; Hill, 2007: 70-71.

<sup>244</sup> Turner, 1980: 30.

other museums may have been considered inappropriate (although, as I have shown, large institutions like the British Museum had many regular donations of this type of material, and so had less need to spend money on it). It should be acknowledged that, as a personal venture unattached to any larger institution like a university, Wellcome's project was to some extent detached from very mainstream museum culture, and he furthermore maintained a certain secrecy around his activities.<sup>245</sup>

Despite this, however, Wellcome as a collector should not be seen as conforming to the image of the clandestine 'pornophile', specialising in naughty imagery to share only with his likeminded friends. Sexual antiquities, although evidently a special interest of the museum's, were collected as part of a much wider 'scientific' attempt to reconstruct the history of human culture, as Chapter 2 will describe. Furthermore, Wellcome did maintain something of a prominent presence within the collecting scene. The secrecy, as Frances Larson has shown, was motivated by his competitive desire to put together a first-class collection to better that of his rivals, which the records show he considered to include the British Museum.<sup>246</sup> Likewise, Wellcome did intend to share his material with the wider world of academia, convinced that what he was building up was a key resource for the study of human culture, and he was connected with some major academic figures, as we will see in Chapter 2. However, because of his focus on its academic and 'scientific' use, Wellcome's museum was not open to the public, thus it might be suggested that his institution does not fully challenge the 'secret cabinet' model: his whole museum was theoretically a restricted access collection.<sup>247</sup> In reality a wide range of members of the public did visit, including the then Queen (the present Queen's mother) and parties of schoolchildren.<sup>248</sup> Furthermore, these artefacts were not restricted to the public because they had been deemed 'obscene' and subjected to

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<sup>245</sup> Gould, 2007: 12. Larson, 2009: 81, 112, 123.

<sup>246</sup> On the secrecy as competitiveness see Larson, 2009: 81, 200, 202 -3. In 1932 Wellcome terminated the contract of one of his staff, Joan Brauholtz Nee Raymont, ostensibly because she had got married and there was an official policy that women should leave their positions once married. However, the reports between the senior members of staff show that the real reason was because her new husband worked for the British Museum and Wellcome was unhappy that he should know what material Wellcome was collecting. The report states that Mr Brauholtz complained that Wellcome was always getting to material he had wanted first, Raymont to Malcolm 9/2/1931 (WA/HMM/ST/LAT/A.29).

<sup>247</sup> On not opening to the public see 'Oral evidence, memoranda and appendices to the final report' 1929: 107 (WA/HSW/OR/L.5).

<sup>248</sup> WHMM reports (WA/HMM/RP/HMM/1/2).

ensorship. Thus Wellcome's project should be seen as moving us away from ideas of prudery and repression, and from underground, private lascivity, and providing instead important new evidence for thinking about the Museological reception of sexual antiquities.

## 2.2 The Oppenheimer collection of anatomical votives

Wellcome began his acquisition of sexual antiquities with a major purchase:<sup>249</sup> a large group of Etrusco-Roman terracotta and clay representations of male and female genitalia as well as breasts, vulva and uteri (fig. 9). Identified as votive offerings, these have been found in healing sanctuaries in the Roman and Greek World, and are thought to have been dedicated in thanks for having been, or in appeal to be, cured of a health-related problem.<sup>250</sup> Sexual types of votive objects, including the uteri, appeared in the British Museum's 'Secretum' and Naples' 'Secret Cabinet' at the time Wellcome was collecting.<sup>251</sup>

In 1896 Wellcome had taken on his first museum employee to begin the serious business of collecting.<sup>252</sup> Dr Charles John Samuel Thompson was to become the museum's first conservator and would build up a collection ready for exhibition in 1913. One of Thompson's proudest achievements came in 1910, when he secured a collection of Italian medical antiquities, put together in the late nineteenth century by another London-based producer of pharmaceuticals-turned-collector, Oppenheimer Son and Co Ltd.<sup>253</sup> This collection included, as well as a large number of Roman surgical instruments, many hundreds of terracotta and clay votives, including dozens shaped as sexual parts of the body. Some votives had been gathered from a deposit found in 1887 on the Via Carlo Botta in Rome and thought to belong to the Minerva Medica, a temple

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<sup>249</sup> He had already accepted some individual donations. Wellcome had been building up a personal collection for his home for many years when in 1903 he sent out a request for material, with the intention of forming an 'Historical exhibition of rare and curious objects relating to medicine, chemistry, pharmacy and the allied sciences', 'Historical Medical Exhibition London', 1903 (WA/HMM/PB/HAN/1). In response to this request Wellcome received several phallic amulets from India, for example from Mr. Hill Esq. who described the objects as 'phallic charm from India to induce pregnancy', Hill-WHMM, 16/2/1905 (WA/HMM/CO/HME/22, no.724).

<sup>250</sup> Rouse, 1902: 201; Johns, 1982: 56-59; Potter and Wells, 1985; Blomerus, 1999; Hughes, 2008.

<sup>251</sup> British Museum: GR1974.081216/Museum Secretum M512; 1865,1118.111). They were acquired by Naples in the 1860s from an excavation at Cales, de Caro, 2000: 17.

<sup>252</sup> See Turner, 1980: 39.

<sup>253</sup> Their address was Oppenheimer Son & Co Ltd 179, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.4.



mentioned by Cicero and other authors of the Republic.<sup>254</sup> Other votives came from the Temple of Maternity near Capua, as well as the Etruscan towns Corneto, Civitavecchia, Lavinia, and Veii.<sup>256</sup> Some votives in the Wellcome collection also came from Tiber Island, Rome, the site of the temple to Aesculapius, though it is unclear whether these were originally from Oppenheimer.<sup>257</sup>

Thompson declared he had been 'stalking this collection' for many years and the votives were considered one of its highlights.<sup>258</sup> They had been much admired at the British Medical Association annual meeting in Bristol in 1894, where the Oppenheimer collection was exhibited, including the sexual pieces.<sup>259</sup> As Thompson outlines in a report from 1910, a representative from the Oppenheimer firm approached him and asked if he would make an offer. It was asked, however, that he pretend to be a private collector, as Messrs Oppenheimer had expressly stated the collection should not go to Wellcome. He did not explain why, but it may have been a dislike of the multi-millionaire's already zealous collecting and supposedly bullying tactics.<sup>260</sup> The two carried out an elaborately clandestine operation in which Thompson played nonchalant so as to conceal how much he wanted the purchase. True to reputation he managed to secure the collection at two thirds of its true value and a third of the price which Cambridge University had apparently previously offered. Wellcome was delighted and declared that it filled a 'very important place' in the collection.<sup>261</sup> Securing the collection was a great coup for Wellcome as it had been coveted by other major collectors, not only Cambridge but the Royal College of Surgeons, who were to become one of Wellcome's biggest collecting rivals.<sup>262</sup> Visitors to the Wellcome Museum, once opened, especially praised the exhibit of anatomical votives, which, as we will see in Chapter 2,

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<sup>254</sup> Sambon, 1895; 'Medical Antiquities' *The Times*, 02/08/1895. Another building, now thought to be a *Nymphaeum* from the late antique was erroneously identified as the Medica Minerva in the seventeenth century, Gatti Lo Guzzo, 1978: 13-14, 150.

<sup>256</sup> 'Medical Antiquities' *The Times*, 02/08/1895; WHMM Handbook 1920: 33 (WA/HMM/PB/Han/17).

<sup>257</sup> WHMM Handbook 1920: 33 (WA/HMM/PB/Han/17).

<sup>258</sup> Thompson to Wellcome 18/11/1910, 'Sambon Collection' (WA/HMM/CM/COL/87).

<sup>259</sup> 'Medical Antiquities' *The Times*, 2/8/1895: 4; Pamphlet by Oppenheimer and Son, 1/9/1894. See also Larson, 2009: 103. It was also displayed at the Harvoian Society meeting and the International Medical Congress 1896, see *This Morning's News, London*, 17/1/1895; *The Times*, 02/08/1895; Larson, 2009: 103.

<sup>260</sup> On the Wellcome museum's bullying tactics see Larson, 2009: 97.

<sup>261</sup> 'Sambon Collection', WA/HMM/CM/COL/87.

<sup>262</sup> 'Medical Antiquities' *The Times*, 2/8/1895.

formed the centrepiece of the museum with the terracotta genitals, breasts and vulva prominently displayed.<sup>263</sup>

Thompson's report to Wellcome, like that of Peter Johnston-Saint discussed at the beginning of the chapter, demonstrates the control which Wellcome held over the collecting. As his venture expanded Wellcome retained his close control over collecting by insisting on reports from his growing team on each item purchased.<sup>264</sup> He also insisted on personally approving spending over a certain amount, as we will see below.<sup>265</sup> While the British Museum had a board of trustees to direct acquisition policy, the Wellcome collection had essentially one person directing it, although the many different individuals that worked on it naturally made greater or lesser impact on the shape of the collection.<sup>266</sup> The sexual antiquities, however, had clearly been a part of the collecting policy from the beginning. Wellcome's approval of the Oppenheimer purchase in 1910 shows that this major purchase, which included many sexual antiquities, was not the result of his staff going 'off message', but that Wellcome closely directed the acquisitions.<sup>267</sup> Further evidence that the interest in sexually explicit artefacts came from Wellcome himself is found in the fact that he personally purchased many examples, such as a collection of Roman bronze phallic amulets (fig. 10) (as well as two pieces of jewellery from Northern India with model phalluses) from an auction in Cambridge in 1919.<sup>268</sup> He paid 2/6 for each of them and they would be the first of hundreds of ancient phallic amulets acquired for the museum in bronze, ivory, bone and faience and in a variety of designs, a collection which would rival that at the British Museum's 'Secretum' and Naples' Secret Cabinet (see fig. 11).

### 2.3 Peter Johnston-Saint as 'foreign secretary' in Europe and the Middle East

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<sup>263</sup> 'The Historical Medical Museum', *The Times*, 24/6/1913: 6

<sup>264</sup> On Wellcome's insistence on staff reports in particular see Larson, 2009: 72, 116; Engineer, 2000: 8.

<sup>265</sup> See Skinner, 1986: 395, n. 79; Larson, 2009: 87, 240.

<sup>266</sup> Hill, 2004: 33; Larson, 2009: 105, 157-9.

<sup>267</sup> Skinner, 1986: 395, n. 79. See also Gosden, 2003 :161; Hill, 2007: 70-71.

<sup>268</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: R23446; A665718/R23448; A665717/R23449; A665707; R23456; R23447; R23451; R23452; A665706/R23453; R8880; R23444; A665712; R23445; R8879. For provenance details see: 'Objects etc. purchases by Mr. Wellcome at Cambridge Aug 1919' (WA/HMM/CM/LIS/2) See also WHMM Accession Register/Index Cards (WA/HMM/CM/INV/C.3WA/HMM/CM/INV/A.12; WA/HMM/CM/ACC.3).

In 1929 the collection of sexual antiquities increased dramatically with a new method of collecting. The correspondence resulting from this new method provides us with the best evidence of the deliberate acquisition of this material by Wellcome. In the 1920s he formulated a new 'international policy' and decided he was going to invest serious energy into collecting on the continent and further afield, targeting Italy, Greece and the Middle East, where there was still a large market for the sort of material he wanted including historical medical equipment, manuscripts, and sexual artefacts.<sup>272</sup> Wellcome employed a dedicated overseas collector, Peter Johnston-Saint, a 'suave and well-connected ex-army officer'<sup>273</sup> described as 'handsome, dashing and with a love of sports cars'.<sup>274</sup> Johnston-Saint used skilful networking and shrewd hunting<sup>275</sup> to acquire thousands of items for Wellcome between 1929 and 1932, including over four hundred Greek, Roman, Egyptian, as well as Persian and Japanese, objects featuring sexual imagery. This newly focused method of collecting and the resulting mass of new acquisitions show a significant interest in sexual antiquities and other sexually related material - my estimates suggest that on average these comprise one tenth of Johnston-Saint's purchases. Furthermore, Johnston-Saint's comprehensive reports sent back to London, which describe in detail his prolific collecting campaign, provide irrefutable evidence of Wellcome's desire to own an extensive collection of sexual material. Johnston-Saint's reporting skills in large part secured his appointment as, what Wellcome jokingly called, 'foreign secretary' to the museum.<sup>276</sup> First employed as secretary of the museum, Johnston-Saint made a trip to Paris and undertook some collecting, sending Wellcome a report which detailed every person he visited, every inquiry made and every object seen or acquired. Wellcome was very impressed and, within an unusually long response, told him: 'I want to express my deepest appreciation at this report. It is very clear, concise and comprehensive'.<sup>277</sup> It is lucky for us that Johnston-Saint was such a meticulous reporter. While the museum's accession documents might tell us some information about how an object was acquired, the

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<sup>272</sup> On Wellcome's new 'international policy' see Larson, 2009: 232-3.

<sup>273</sup> Larson, 2009: 232-3.

<sup>274</sup> Gould, 2007: 23.

<sup>275</sup> Larson, 2009: 232-3.

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<sup>277</sup> Wellcome to Saint, 11/6/1927 (WA/HMM/RP/JST/B.1).

corresponding entry in Johnston-Saint's reports provides much more detail, particularly about the process of collecting, indications of the type of material he is seeking out, and sometimes the rationale behind acquisitions. It is clear from these documents that Johnston-Saint has been directed to search for certain types of objects, including Roman phallic material in particular, but also antiquities from a variety of cultures featuring sexual imagery.

The process of his collecting sexual antiquities outlined in Johnston-Saint's reports confirms its deliberate and systematic nature, as part of a definite collecting policy. His reports tell us exactly how items and collections were selected. As far as it is possible to tell, none of the sexual antiquities Johnston-Saint purchased were unwanted items within group purchases of other material. Instead, each was carefully chosen, and determinedly bargained for, at the antique shops and private collections he visited, where material of interest was often kept back for him.<sup>278</sup> His reports also shows us the widespread market that existed for this material in the 1920s and 1930s .

Johnston-Saint was clearly instructed to search out phallic material in particular. A typical entry from Johnston-Saint's reports reads:

'... then at a shop of an Arab close by I found an interesting collection of Roman and Egyptian phallic objects, these were 8 in number and I paid £3 for them.'<sup>279</sup>

Johnston-Saint's fastidious record keeping, to Wellcome's delight, saw him list every item acquired. Wellcome, upon receiving the reports, made comments in the margin. These annotated documents demonstrate beyond doubt that Wellcome approved of each one of the purchases which Johnston-Saint describes in his reports. Such descriptions include:

'a huge terracotta Priapus from Pompeii... a fine Greek terracotta vase portraying a phallic scene.... an Etruscan bronze phallus...a Roman bronze phallic statue on wood stand... terra cotta figure of an hermaphrodite... another votive bronze phallus in a leather case... a curious bronze group of a phallus and a post with a snake coiled around it... Etruscan plaques of very early glass on which are

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<sup>278</sup> See Johnston-Saint Travel Diaries, Feb-Apr 1930: 70 (WA/HMM/RP/Jst/A.7); Larson, 2009: 228.

<sup>279</sup> Johnston-Saint Travel Diaries, Jan-Mar 1929: 10 (WA/HMM/RP/JST/A.3).

beautifully and finely etched pornographic subjects of the period. ... A Greek pornographic vase in terra cotta in perfect condition'.<sup>280</sup>

Note that the word 'pornographic', usually associated with repressive responses to sexual material, is used here in the context of deliberate engagement with this material. Wellcome's other control mechanisms over his staff's purchases provide more evidence of how closely he managed acquisitions, and still further proof of his desire to collect sexual antiquities. Johnston-Saint's initial instructions were to consult the museum conservator for any individual purchases over £20 and Wellcome himself for those over £100.<sup>281</sup> Johnston-Saint notes in his reports that he sometimes misses out on objects while waiting for a reply.<sup>282</sup> Sexually themed ancient artefacts were included in those expensive purchases for which Johnston-Saint had to seek Wellcome's advance permission, and amongst those which Wellcome expressly approved for purchase. For example, in 1929 Johnston-Saint describes in his report a 'Priapie collection' – a group of ninety-eight phallic amulets apparently from Pompeii, held by A. Rocchi of the 'Arte Antica E Moderna' near the Forum in Rome - one of his regular dealers. Johnston-Saint is sure Wellcome will want the collection but Rocchi's asking price is greater than £20. In his response Louis Malcolm, the then conservator of the museum, tells Johnston-Saint to 'please acquire this at the lowest price possible' as Wellcome was especially interested in this collection.<sup>283</sup>

Because Wellcome's museum spent its own money on large groups of sexual antiquities, this does suggest a greater active desire to own it than the acceptance of donations of similar collections, as we have seen at the British Museum. However, it should be acknowledged that these larger, well-known institutions had the privilege of

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<sup>280</sup> Johnston-Saint Travel Diaries, Jan-Apr 1929: 81 (WA/HMM/RP/JST/B.3). From other cultures: 'a collection of erotic drawing and paintings which were formerly in the collection of one of the Sultans... a 16th C ivory pornographic figure mounted on pedestal... a very fine Italian miniature in ivory XVIII century in a leather case stamped tooled in gold a pornographic subject which in France would command a high price... two black stone phallic groups which must be at least 3000 years old... 18th century French pornographic book in vellum and of considerable rarity... a Persian lacquer box with pornography Paintings used for containing toilet instruments...'.  
<sup>281</sup> Wellcome to George Pearson, Wellcome's deputy and general manager, 19/8/1927 (WA/HMM/RP/JST/B.1); see Larson, 2009: 239.  
<sup>282</sup> See Johnston-Saint Travel Diaries, Sep-Nov 1930: 16 (WA/HMM/RP/JST/A.9).  
<sup>283</sup> Johnston-Saint Travel Diaries, Jan-Apr 1929: 25, 46, 77-78 (WA/HMM/RP/JST/B.3).

being regularly offered such material for free. It was necessary for Wellcome to spend large amounts of his own money in order to compete with them.

In more detailed descriptions of certain objects, Johnston-Saint's reports provide further evidence of a desire to acquire good quality and unique examples of ancient sexual artefacts. We have already seen an example of this in the extract on the 'important and unique' phallic lamp from Lebanon, which began this chapter. A few weeks after this report was written, Johnston-Saint was in Istanbul visiting a dealer, Andromikos Kidaoglon. He later wrote to Wellcome:

'I got a very fine Greek TC statue of a Priapus. This statue is a fine specimen of Greek work and is perfect. I cannot recall seeing anything similar at the Naples museum or elsewhere. He stands about 10" in height. He was asking for a good deal for it - £20 - but I know that for this statue in Italy we would have to pay at least double.'<sup>284</sup>

#### 2.4 Copying the Naples 'Secret Cabinet'

The entry above is part of a body of evidence which strongly suggests that Wellcome wanted to build up a collection of sexual, particularly phallic, antiquities to match or even rival that at Naples. It is one of several examples, as we have seen, in which Johnston-Saint compares sexual antiquities he has seen to those in other collections.

Occasionally he mentions Rome's National Museum, but more commonly the Neapolitan collection.<sup>285</sup> The 'Secret Cabinet' was clearly viewed, by Wellcome and his staff, as a model for a first-rate collection of ancient phallic and sexually related material culture. In 1929 Johnston-Saint visited the 'Secret Cabinet' during a trip to Naples. Here he was able to study 'many of the friezes and stucco found in various houses in Pompeii' and the 'collection of lamps, phallic objects and several bronzes', as he reported to Wellcome.<sup>286</sup> In order to study them further Johnston-Saint purchased 'a complete set of photographs in colour of all the frescoes in the Cabinetto Pornographico in the Museum of Naples, and all the pornographic frescoes in Pompeii itself – about 30

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<sup>284</sup> Johnston-Saint Travel Diaries, Feb-Apr 1930: 55 (WA/HMM/RP/Jst/A.7).

<sup>285</sup> See Johnston-Saint Travel Diaries, Feb-Apr 1930: 41 (WA/HMM/RP/Jst/A.7). For reference to the Rome National Museum see Johnston-Saint Travel Diaries, Feb-Apr 1930: 34 (WA/HMM/RP/Jst/A.7).

<sup>286</sup> Johnston-Saint Travel Diaries, Jan-Apr 1929: 19-20 (WA/HMM/RP/JST/B.3).

in number' as well as other images of the Naples collection.<sup>287</sup> This research, as his reports show, allowed him to compare the material he found on the market to that in Naples.

The resulting collection which Wellcome put together demonstrates its debt to Naples, and yet does not feature in scholarship on Roman sexually themed imagery. Like the British Museum, which I suggested may have also self-consciously modelled its collection on Naples; Wellcome acquired objects which were similar to, and in some cases actual modern copies of, Neapolitan artefacts. The Wellcome collection contained three hundred sexually themed Roman artefacts, much of it from Pompeii and Herculaneum. While the Naples museum collected material from its surrounding area, collectors like Wellcome appear to have attempted to replicate this local collection in their own countries. Johnston-Saint's reports demonstrate an interest in material from these ancient cities. In his report of his visit to Naples, during which he was shown around the excavations at Pompeii by Professor Spano of the University of Naples, he especially notes the sexual imagery at the site. He was also shown a collection of material which he was told had been excavated just two years earlier. He wrote to Wellcome:

'Spano assures all genuine from Pompeii and has permission from Italian gov. I bought some very interesting objects: Roman bronze lancet; probe or spatula, surgical needles, tweezers, A terracotta figure of woman very interesting anatomically and a marble phallus about 4" long with bronze wings and chain and ring for suspending, perfect, used against the evil eye. A fine votive leg and foot, life size and intact. All for L.1500. This man also has... 4 pornographic lamps, one very unique, asking L.2500. Also two more phalli similar to the one I purchased but in smaller sizes – all excavated at the same period'.<sup>288</sup>

The alabaster and bronze object (fig. 12)<sup>289</sup> to which Johnston-Saint refers is one of many phallic-shaped objects with a chain for suspension which have been found at Pompeii and Herculaneum. Many are *tintinnabula*, like the one we saw in the introductory chapter, meaning they have bells attached by chains below, although the

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<sup>287</sup> Johnston-Saint Travel Diaries, Jan-Apr 1929: 19-20 (WA/HMM/RP/JST/B.3).

<sup>288</sup> Johnston-Saint Travel Diaries, Jan-Apr 1929: 19-20 (WA/HMM/RP/JST/B.3).

<sup>289</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A67895.

example purchased by Johnston-Saint for Wellcome does not.<sup>290</sup> The Naples museum contains thirteen such objects.<sup>291</sup> Wellcome acquired two more phallic *tintinnabula* in bronze similar to those in the Naples collection in which the phallus have animal features such as hoofs, paws and a tail (fig. 13).<sup>292</sup> Some of the Wellcome and Naples examples also feature a woman riding the phallus (fig. 14).<sup>293</sup> The Wellcome museum purchased one such object from a London dealer called Cyril Andrade within a special selection of Roman phallic and sexual objects, supposedly from Pompeii.<sup>294</sup> This is one of several sexually themed entire collections of antiquities which Wellcome purchased, demonstrating his particular interest in this material and the number of private collectors specialising in it.

In Johnston-Saint's report of material purchased at Pompeii (above) he also refers to a group of 'pornographic lamps'. We have already seen that the 'Secret Cabinet' held several terracotta lamps featuring sexual activity. We find fourteen such objects in the Wellcome Collection, five of which Johnston-Saint purchased from a regular dealer in Rome in 1931, and several more which were bought at auction in 1933 (fig. 15).<sup>295</sup> From elsewhere Wellcome also collected several marble plaques which, like those at Naples, show sexual activity between mythical figures. In one, possibly Greek, a satyr pursues a maenad, and almost succeeds in entering her from behind with his erect penis.<sup>298</sup> In Naples, a similar plaque from Herculaneum might depict the next moment in the story as the maenad turns to face her pursuer and grabs him by the face.<sup>299</sup> The 'phalli... in smaller sizes' Johnston-Saint mentions in his report probably refers to Roman phallic amulets. Many of Wellcome's hundreds of phallic amulets are

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<sup>290</sup> On these objects see Johns, 1982: 68-70; Varone, 2001, 2001: 18; Clarke and Larvey, 2003: 97. Often *tintinnabula* is used to describe any object featuring one or more phalluses designed to be hung up (i.e. not those small objects referred to as amulets and designed to be worn around the neck or attached to horses) but technically the word *tintinnabula* refers to those objects with bells attached.

<sup>291</sup> See de Caro, 2000: 8.

<sup>292</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A97578, A154056.

<sup>293</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A97578.

<sup>294</sup> WHMM Accession notebooks (WA/HMM/CM/Not/97 for A97578)

<sup>295</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A96782, A96783, A96784, A96785, A96786; A129359, A129360, A129365, A129369; A665703, A665708.

<sup>298</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome collection: A641231.

<sup>299</sup> Naples: 52873.



listed as being found at Pompeii.<sup>300</sup> We have already noted the similarities between the Wellcome and Naples phallic amulet and terracotta votive sexual body parts collections (see figs.10, 11).<sup>301</sup>

Wellcome not only replicated the shape and scope of the Naples' 'secret' collection but also collected modern copies and replicas of specific pieces. As Frances Larson has shown, Wellcome was happy to include - indeed, she suggests, relied upon - a range of non-original material for his collection.<sup>302</sup> This included casts, copies, reproductions, replicas and modern pastiches. Wellcome's project encourages us to consider the difference between these terms. He often commissioned copies of material from other collections, including some material from the Naples Museum<sup>303</sup> and even set up his own plaster casting workshop.<sup>304</sup> This was in line with the late nineteenth-century material culture-based anthropological methodology which Wellcome followed, as outlined in the introductory chapter. This approach, prominently employed by anthropologist Augustus Pitt Rivers, saw material culture as able to communicate the lives and thoughts of the people that created them and the acquisition, display and interpretation of such objects as central to the 'scientific' research of human cultural history, seen in terms of physically 'reconstructing' the world and its past.<sup>305</sup> This approach suggested that the more 'every day' objects which could be drawn together and compared to each other, the more accurate a picture of the world would result.<sup>306</sup> For Wellcome, this elucidates his competitive and obsessive attitude to acquisitions: there was an enormous sense of urgency to 'complete' his collection and not miss out on potentially important material.<sup>307</sup> Therefore, Wellcome's inexhaustible acquisitioning should therefore not be viewed as necessarily indiscriminate and unfocused. With his

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<sup>300</sup> Science museum/Wellcome collection: A129122, A129123, A129124, A129125. See WHMM Index Cards (WA/HMM/CM/INV/C.3 for A67789). For Naples amulets see de Caro, 2000: 8. In Chapter 2 we discuss these varieties in more detail.

<sup>301</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: e.g. A67801, A67797, A665839 etc..

<sup>302</sup> Larson, 2009: 171-179.

<sup>303</sup> Georgina Russell to D. Bailey, British Museum, 8/11/1982 (WA/HMM/TR/ABC/C.4/6).

<sup>304</sup> Larson, 2009: 171.

<sup>305</sup> Bowden, 1991: 49; Chapman, 1985. See also Larson, 2009: 88-90.

<sup>306</sup> Skinner, 1986: 391; Bowden, 1991: 49. On Wellcome and this approach see Larson, 2009: 67, 76, 88, 90, 178-179. Skinner, 1986: 402-3.

<sup>307</sup> For comments about needing to 'complete' the collection see Wellcome's address at the opening of the museum quoted in WHMM Handbook 1913 (WA/HMM/PB/Han/5). See Larson, 2009: 144; Skinner, 1986: 404-5. On collections as a 'paradigm for perfection' see Elsner and Cardinal, 1994: 8

almost unlimited finances, Wellcome expressed his genuine interest in a particular type of material through the acquisition of as many relevant examples as he could lay his hands on, according to his version of the Pitt Rivers methodology.<sup>308</sup> As we have seen, there was a clear collecting policy in the Wellcome museum, which included the acquisition of antiquities featuring sexual imagery. In his attempt for 'completeness', Wellcome thought it better to represent an object as a reproduction than to exclude it from the collection.<sup>309</sup> The same thinking was displayed in nineteenth-century art museums, where a cast collection of the standard canon of great works of ancient sculpture was thought to provide a 'comprehensive overview of art history'.<sup>310</sup> For both these approaches, the key concern was being able to make comparisons between objects.<sup>311</sup> However, at the turn of the twentieth century there was a turn away from cast collecting by art museums and collectors, fuelled by a desire for original material, as ideas moved away from pedagogy and towards notions of aesthetic fulfilment and artistic inspiration. This was thought to be achieved better through engaging with the original ancient piece in its original material, rather than a plaster shell of it.<sup>312</sup> Wellcome's priority, however, was not aestheticism but providing a resource for the study of world history and this was best achieved, he believed, by presenting together in one space as much material as possible, which represented as many world cultures as possible, even if these objects were not created by the original culture they represented.<sup>313</sup> Casts and 'faithful copies' were an acceptable means to fill a gap where an original might have been, and get one step closer to the goal of 'completing' the collection.<sup>314</sup>

Larson has suggested that Wellcome was only interested in reproductions which were as accurate as possible.<sup>315</sup> However, I have found that Wellcome also acquired many modern reproductions and replicas which are similar but not identical (or

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<sup>308</sup> Larson, 2009: 179.

<sup>309</sup> Larson, 2009: 171.

<sup>310</sup> Haskell and Penny, 1981: 120; Whitehill, 1970: 146-7.

<sup>311</sup> See Haskell and Penny, 1981: 120; Larson, 2009: 179.

<sup>312</sup> Cambareri, 2011: 104.

<sup>313</sup> On Wellcome's persistence in using casts in the twentieth century in a research context, see Larson, 2009: 177.

<sup>314</sup> Larson, 2009: 171.

<sup>315</sup> Larson, 2009: 171.

sometimes even near identical) to the original. These objects do not reproduce antiquities faithfully but they do give a sense of the original material. I suggest that Wellcome still saw these as valuable additions to his collection, believing that they could convey something meaningful about the original culture which they drew upon. Wellcome's anthropological approach, rather than an aesthetic interest, meant that he was less concerned if the modern object resembled an ancient artistic style, as an art collector would be, and more whether it could accurately say something about the lives and beliefs of historic peoples. This was apparent in the reconstructed historical pharmaceutical shops and medical surgeries that Wellcome made created in the museum, which used both 'original' artefacts and reproductions, as well as waxwork models.<sup>316</sup> These displays were meant to give a sense of what the medical past had been like, without absolutely faithfully reproducing it. By Wellcome's time there was already a long heritage of accessing material antiquity through not entirely 'accurate' reproductions. These had appeared not only as three dimensional objects, but as modern drawings and engravings of antiquities, reproduced in catalogues and publications. This included sexual material, as we will discuss below.

Johnston-Saint was able to acquire many reproductions of material from the Naples 'Secret Cabinet' for Wellcome. In his report of his visit to this collection Johnston-Saint describes the purchase of an (unidentified) reproduction (in bronze) of a bronze object.<sup>317</sup> In 1932 Johnston-Saint visited one of his regular dealers in Rome and, in addition to several original Roman artefacts (four small ivory and bone phallic amulets and two medallions with 'erotic' scenes) he purchased three modern copies of objects in the Naples 'Secret Cabinet'.<sup>318</sup> One is a bronze figure of a dwarf dressed in a tunic with beard and pointed hat and an enormous phallus stretching out horizontally in front with his right leg raised in line with it (fig. 16).<sup>319</sup> This is a replica, but not an exact copy, of a bronze figure in Naples. Among other differences, the modern version misses the original's large testicles which feature a loop from which a bell would have hung off them. We noted above that there are several of these grotesque phallic dwarfs in

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<sup>316</sup> Larson, 2009: 173-4.

<sup>317</sup> Johnston-Saint Travel Diaries, Jan-Apr 1929: 19-20 (WA/HMM/RP/JST/B.3).

<sup>318</sup> WHMM Accession Notebooks and Index Cards (WA/HMM/CM/Not/83; WA/HMM/CM/INV/C.3; 'd.Jones' WA/HMM/CM/INV/A.84).

<sup>319</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A129185.

Naples and similar objects at the British Museum. Johnston-Saint also purchased a plaster cast of a *tintinnabulum* which is listed in the accession document as a 'reproduction from Pompeii' (fig. 17).<sup>320</sup> This is a phallus with hooved legs and a tail and naked woman astride it. She is leaning forward to place a crown on the end of the phallus.<sup>321</sup> Finally, Johnston-Saint's purchases included a reproduction of a bronze *tintinnabulum* at Naples in the shape of a gladiator with a gigantic phallus terminating in the head of a panther, against which he is raising a knife in attack (fig. 18).<sup>322</sup> The replica again omits the original's large testicles - on which a bell still hangs - as well as having legs bent slightly back, rather than striding forward like the Naples' version. Found in Pompeii on 8<sup>th</sup> February 1740, the original had been well known since at least the early nineteenth century, a fairly accurate drawing of it (complete with testicles and their pendent bell) having appeared in Stanislas Famin's 1816 catalogue of the 'Secret Cabinet'.<sup>323</sup>

Two years later Johnston-Saint purchased a small-scale copy of an even better known object at Naples. It is a bronze tripod with its legs in the shape of ithyphallic satyrs (fig. 19).<sup>324</sup> Aside from its size, the faces of the Wellcome replica are quite different, being more mischievous looking than the original, which are quite serene. A drawing of the original had also appeared in Famin's catalogue with the satyr's looking much stockier than the graceful forms which Famin describes and which feature on both the original and Wellcome's copy.<sup>325</sup> An earlier engraving of the original had been produced by Pierre-Philippe Choffard in 1782 in which the satyrs are positively butch and quite cross-looking.<sup>326</sup> Langlands and Fisher have highlighted how, despite the collection's restricted nature, publications of the 'Secret Cabinet' spread knowledge of

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<sup>320</sup> WHMM Index Cards (WA/HMM/CM/INV/A.84 (d.Jones for A129192).

<sup>321</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A129192.

<sup>322</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A129185; Naples: 27853. See Johns, 1982: 68; Grant, De Simone, Merella and Mulas, 1975: 142. There is disagreement over which type of fighter he is. Famin, 1832: XXII calls him a *retiarius* - literally 'net man' - because he carries of what seems to be the net and the dagger of the *retiarii*. More recent scholarship has called him a *murmillio* (Harris, 2007: 113) though on what grounds it is not clear, or a *bestiarius* (Barton, 1993: 74) - not technically a gladiator but a man who fought animals - on account of the fact that he is attacking the beast which his phallus has turned into.

<sup>323</sup> Famin, 1832: PL. XXII.

<sup>324</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A155233; Naples: 27874.

<sup>325</sup> Famin, 1832: XVIII.

<sup>326</sup> Reproduced in Winckelmann, 2011, trans. Mattusch: 105, n. 73.

its contents throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century.<sup>327</sup> The, not entirely accurate, sketched depictions of the tripod clearly made the object well known, a painted version of it appearing for example in Jean-Leon Gérôme's *Greek Interior* in 1868 where the piece 'helps to underscore the particular relationship being drawn between the material culture of Pompeii and the sexual freedom of antiquity'.<sup>328</sup>

The tripod had been publically admired from the time of its modern discovery: Winckelmann praised it for its quality in his open letter on the Herculaneum finds just six years after its discovery on 15<sup>th</sup> June 1755 in the *sacrarium* (a room with a shrine) of the House of Julia Felix.<sup>329</sup> Famin had later particularly commended it:

'This wonderful tripod was found in a votive chapel at Herculaneum. The gracefully-formed corbel is supported by three exquisitely-finished figures: satyrs with their members erect. They are resting their right hands on their hips, and closing their middle fingers in token of silence. They stretch forward their left hands, as if to keep off the profane, who must not take part in the sacrifice. Their tails are gracefully entwined round the central ring. The elegance and perfection of this bronze place it among the most precious treasures of this mine of antiquities.'<sup>330</sup>

It was also given a special mention in catalogues of the Naples museum published during the time Wellcome was building his collection.<sup>331</sup> Wellcome evidently wanted to be able to represent 'the most precious treasures of this mine of antiquities' in his own collection, together with other key pieces from this well known hoard of Roman phallic artefacts.

There was a precedent of producing and collecting three dimensional reproductions of sexual antiquities from the Vesuvian ancient cities, dating back to the time of their discovery. Winckelmann tells us in 1762, just years after their discovery, that fake Pompeian frescoes featuring Priapus were sold to visitors at Rome.<sup>332</sup> The most famous reproduction from the body of material at Naples is a terracotta object also made around the 1770s by esteemed eighteenth-century sculptor and member of the

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<sup>327</sup> Fisher and Langlands, 2011: 9. See also Beard, 2012: 68.

<sup>328</sup> Betzer, 2011: 121.

<sup>329</sup> Winckelmann, 2011, trans. Mattusch: 105. See also de Caro, 2000, 2000: 32; Harris, 2007: 115; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, 1990, 157, 261; Grant, De Simone, Merella and Mulas, 1975.

<sup>330</sup> Famin, 1832: Pl. XVIII.

<sup>331</sup> Monaco and Rolfe, 1883: 67, no. 7461.

<sup>332</sup> Winckelmann, 2011, trans. Mattusch: 31-2.

Royal Academy, Joseph Nollekens (1737-1823). It is a copy, made from memory, of the Pan and goat marble from Herculaneum.<sup>333</sup> As we have seen, the original has been used as the mascot of the censorship narrative, being the object which, it is claimed, instigated the first act of segregation of antiquities from the Neapolitan excavations.<sup>334</sup> However, the copy by Nollekens has also been used as key evidence of the knowledge of, and access to, segregated material in the late eighteenth century - Nollekens had clearly seen the Pan and goat and his copy disseminated knowledge about the object.<sup>335</sup> As the Nollekens statue is such an inaccurate copy, much like Choffard's engraving of the tripod, it might be argued it does not give remote 'access' to the original. However, it did provide a sense of the piece, and advertised what sort of material from the excavations was kept in the restricted collection. Another, now famous, piece of evidence about access to the original Pan and goat comes from Richard Payne Knight, who wrote that the object 'kept *concealed* in the Royal Museum of Portici, is *well known*'.<sup>336</sup>

Johnston-Saint's acquisitions of reproductions of material he had seen, perhaps first in print and then in person, at the 'Secret Cabinet', show us, like Nollekens' Pan and goat, that access, interest, and indeed a commercial market for this material survived into the early twentieth century. Wellcome's engagement with the material at the famous collection at Naples could not stop at study of it. His way of expressing interest in a particular object or type of material was by owning an example or a replica of it. Wellcome was clearly attempting to build a comparable collection to the 'Secret Cabinet' for his museum. He saw it as an asset which he wanted to emulate. In this way he was able to give his visitors the opportunity to visit a world-class collection of sexual antiquities in London, without the need to go abroad. As we will see in Chapter 2, at Wellcome's museum this material could be viewed and studied within a different context from that at Naples, in which it was found in a segregated cabinet at an archaeological museum. Wellcome provided an anthropological context in which Roman artefacts

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<sup>333</sup> British Museum: M.550; Naples: RP 27709. For the Nollekens piece see Johns, 1982: 23.

<sup>334</sup> Kendrick, 1987: 6.

<sup>335</sup> Fisher and Langlands, 2011: 308; Beard, 2012: 68.

<sup>336</sup> Knight, 1894: 33.

showing sexual images could be compared with material from cultures around the world and throughout history, both sexually themed and otherwise.

## 2.5 Gayer-Anderson and the Naukratis purchases

At the end of the 1920s, while Johnston-Saint was building up a Roman collection to rival that in the Naples 'Secret Cabinet', the Wellcome museum was also putting together a collection of Egyptian phallic material. This collection, which came mostly from the Nile Delta area, would rival that at the British Museum. Despite this, Wellcome's objects have not yet been properly studied by archaeologists or historians of sexuality.<sup>337</sup> The Wellcome museum purchased large specialised groups made up entirely of these Egyptian sexual antiquities.<sup>338</sup> Correspondence with its Egyptian dealers shows that the Wellcome museum was known for its interest in sexual antiquities. It also provides a snapshot of the market for this material in Egypt in the early twentieth century, involving key collectors of the day.

The dealer with whom the Wellcome museum made a significant connection was the Orientalist Major Robert Grenville 'John' Gayer-Anderson (1881–1945), another medical man-turned collector, who lived much of his life in Egypt, embracing the Arabic lifestyle.<sup>339</sup> He presented his considerable collection of Egyptian antiquities to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, in 1943, as well as some to the British Museum. His best-known acquisition, the Gayer-Anderson cat, which he smuggled out of Egypt from the Nazis, is now at the British Museum.<sup>340</sup> His former home, Bayt el-Kiridliya, a sixteenth-century Arab house in Cairo, is now the Gayer-Anderson Museum and houses his remaining collection.<sup>341</sup> Gayer-Anderson was associated with many well-known Britons who explored the near East in the early twentieth century, such as Lawrence of

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<sup>337</sup> I am sharing my research on Wellcome's material from Naukratis with the British Museum's Naukratis Project.

<sup>338</sup> In 1928 the museum also purchased a group of forty Egyptian phallic figures including Harpocrates, at Sotheby's auction house, WHMM Index Cards (WA/HMM/CM/INV/A.87). These are Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A63571-63759.

<sup>339</sup> Dawson and Uphill, 1972: 115.

<sup>340</sup> British Museum: EA 64391.

<sup>341</sup> Dawson and Uphill, 1972: 115.

Arabia, Lord Kitchener and Howard Carter (Gayer-Anderson was present when Carter opened Tut-ankh-Amen's Tomb in 1923).<sup>342</sup>

Unlike the material which Gayer-Anderson provided for other institutions, he dealt only in sexually themed artefacts for Wellcome and in total provided over 150 such objects. In 1929 Gayer-Anderson wrote to the museum to offer a 'Phallic Collection about which I told you last year (which I think might interest you)'.<sup>343</sup> We see that the Wellcome museum was known for its interest in his material. 'The phallic collection is quite unique,' the Major wrote, 'and has taken me many years to collect'.<sup>344</sup> This was written during a session of haggling between the museum and the Major, who was also a savvy dealer and was clearly trying to boost the collection and its uniqueness to get the best price. The Wellcome museum, as usual, drove a hard bargain and eventually bought the whole collection at a 15% price drop for around £130.<sup>345</sup>

In fact, what is striking about this 124-piece collection is its similarity to that Late Period Egypt and Ptolemaic sexually themed material, and especially representations of the phallic god Harpocrates, from Naukratis which we have seen was acquired by the British Museum in great numbers. The material from Gayer Anderson is largely lacking in provenance but, as with the non-provenanced material at the British Museum (given by Witt and Franks), it is very likely to have come from Naukratis and the surrounding area, given the similarities between this material and that excavated by Petrie in the late nineteenth century. As we have seen, material from Naukratis is thought to have been made in a small number of workshops with a limited number of moulds. A small number in the Gayer-Anderson purchase are listed as having been found at Alexandria and Faiyum, however it is still likely they were made in ancient Naukratis and the surrounds, and taken in the early twentieth century to areas where there were many Westerners, among them Gayer-Anderson, looking to buy antiquities.<sup>346</sup> A profitable market existed for this material at this time for both Egyptian locals and Western dealers. This market - as the collector Witt's purchases of similar material shows - went back to at least the mid-nineteenth century.

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<sup>342</sup> Foxcroft, Forthcoming.

<sup>343</sup> Gayer-Anderson to Wellcome 9/7/29 (WA/HMM/CO/COL/42).

<sup>344</sup> Gayer-Anderson to Wellcome 9/7/29 (WA/HMM/CO/COL/42).

<sup>345</sup> Gayer-Anderson to Wellcome 16/12/1929 (WA.HMM.CO.COL.42).

<sup>346</sup> Foxcroft, Forthcoming.



Detailed examination of the collections of the British and Wellcome museums reveal their similarities. We find a number of objects from Late Period and Ptolemaic Egypt (664-332 BC) in limestone, which feature very simple representations of Harpocrates leaning against his own enormous phallus (see figs. 20, 6, 7).<sup>347</sup> A Late Period terracotta ithyphallic figure with a beard, which has been described as Priapus by the British Museum, also appears several times in both collections.<sup>348</sup> Another repeated motif in Late Period terracotta shows a bearded ithyphallic figure, this time reclining and holding his large phallus level with his head.<sup>349</sup> Numerous instances of this figure have been found at Naukratis and they are believed to come from only two moulds.<sup>350</sup> Like the EEF donation to the British Museum, the Gayer-Anderson donations included several Greco-Roman images of sexual activity: on Roman 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD terracotta lamps we find a scene of domestic sex and another scene of bestiality between a woman and a horse (or possibly a donkey), similar to that on the Greek lamp donated to the British Museum by Keeper AW Franks (see figs. 21, 5).<sup>351</sup>

This is the first of several specialised collections of ancient sexual artefacts which Gayer-Anderson offered to Wellcome, and demonstrates that by the late 1920s the Wellcome museum was known for its interest in such material. A set of correspondence beginning in 1930 reveals that Gayer-Anderson thought he had found in Wellcome a guaranteed buyer of Egyptian phallic material and other sexual antiquities. In 1930 and 1931 Gayer-Anderson sent two shipments of over forty 'phallic pieces' in terracotta from Egypt which he thought 'would interest the Museum'.<sup>352</sup> The museum rejected the offer because, as conservator Louis Malcolm wrote to the Gayer-Anderson: 'we have duplicates of practically all the objects already in our collections.'<sup>353</sup> The Major was put

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<sup>347</sup> Science museum/Wellcome Collection: A87303/4; British Museum: GR1965,0930.968, 1865,1118.430, 1965,0930.973 etc.

<sup>348</sup> Science museum/Wellcome Collection: 87261-2; British Museum: GR1973,0501.33, 1974,0822.29, 1982,0406.8.

<sup>349</sup> Science museum/Wellcome Collection: 87269; British Museum: GR1973,0501.52; 973,0501.25, 973,0501.46, 973,0501.52, 973,0501.73;1982,0406.9.

<sup>350</sup> Curators notes, <http://www.britishmuseum.org>, accessed 19/07/2012.

<sup>351</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A87264 (see WA/HMM/RP/JST: WA/HMM/CM/INV/A.116). Also in the donation was a terracotta Ptolemaic or Roman lamp (300BC-AD300) in the shape of man, possibly Harpocrates again, astride a phallus, from Alexandria, Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A87283 (see WA/HMM/CM/INV/A.116).

<sup>352</sup> Gayer-Anderson to Malcolm 15/7/1930 (WA/HMM/CO/COL/42).

<sup>353</sup> Saint to Gayer-Anderson 18/7/1936 (WA/HMM/CO/COL/42).

out. He had been sure Wellcome would take the shipments because he had purchased the phallic collection from him in 1929, and Wellcome clearly had a reputation for being interested in this type of material. In his letters Gayer-Anderson insists he will be financially put out without the sale, but this is clearly a bargaining ploy as in reality he was never short of money.<sup>354</sup>

‘These objects of ancient medico-historical material are, as you know, hard to come by and even harder to disperse and so that, if not had by the museum, I shall be left with this collection on my hands through no fault of my own and be in consequence, very seriously out of pocket’.<sup>355</sup>

Clearly the Major had collected these items with Wellcome’s museum in mind and thought he would make a guaranteed profit in doing so. It is fairly unusual to find Wellcome’s museum concerned about accepting ‘duplicates’, as I have noted. Wellcome’s stress on acquisitioning, according to his nineteenth-century anthropological methodology, saw him collecting many of the same object-type. However, at the time of this correspondence the museum’s conservator Malcolm had resolved to try and rein in the frenzied collecting and focus on processing their existing material. Nonetheless, he rejected the purchase, not because the museum was uninterested in this material, but precisely because the museum already owned a substantial collection of it. The museum not only left the collector, as he claimed, ‘out of pocket’ but neglected to return the objects to him until years later. In 1933 he wrote again to say he was ‘decidedly hard up’ and needed to settle the ‘outstanding affairs’.<sup>356</sup> Finally, the collections were returned in 1936 after another request from their owner.<sup>357</sup>

Unlike his rivals, the long-standing national and university museums, Wellcome was not privileged with gifts straight from Flinders Petrie’s discoveries at Naukratis. Instead he had to use money and the private market to replicate such collections. Luckily for Wellcome, sexual antiquities from Naukratis and the surrounds, as with comparable material from Pompeii and Herculaneum, was still available on the market to Western collectors in the early twentieth century, due in large part to the sheer

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<sup>354</sup> On Gayer-Anderson’s finances see Foxcroft, Forthcoming.

<sup>355</sup> Gayer-Anderson to Malcolm 4/12/1931 (WA.HMM.CO.COL.42).

<sup>356</sup> Gayer-Anderson to Wellcome 18/4/33 (WA.HMM.CO.COL.42).

<sup>357</sup> Gayer-Anderson to Wellcome 18/7/1936 (WA.HMM.CO.COL.42).

amount produced in ancient times. Long after the initial distribution by the EEF, locals in the Nile Delta area could make money by finding and selling ancient artefacts to collectors and tourists, including sexual pieces, just as local Italians continued to do in the Bay of Naples. Wellcome's connection with this market through his relationship with Gayer-Anderson enabled him to rival the British and Fitzwilliam museums' Egyptian phallic collections. Before he died the Major would bequeath a final phallic collection in 1943 to Wellcome, although not before first offering the pick of all his collections to the Fitzwilliam.<sup>358</sup>

The acquisition of large quantities of phallic Egyptian material from Naukratis, as well as Roman phallic artefacts from Pompeii (and their reproductions) shows Wellcome deliberately putting together material in order to buy into two major modern discoveries of historic sexually themed antiquities. Wellcome's collection encourages us to consider modern collections of sexual antiquities, previously associated with suppression of knowledge about sexual imagery, as models to be accessed and studied in order to replicate and propagate their visual records of ancient sexuality. In this section we have seen very clear evidence of sustained interest in acquiring a large number of sexual antiquities; there is no sense that this material was accepted into the collection reluctantly or with anxiety. Furthermore, contrary to how Wellcome's project may first appear, these were not brought into his wide-ranging collection as the result of indiscriminate collecting. Rather, they were clearly an important part of an established schema and closely directed acquisition policy. In particular, the large acquisitions made up entirely of sexual material demonstrate how greatly the museum valued this material, but we should stress that this special interest was located within the context of a wider exploration of human history. Wellcome's museum provides a new case study for thinking about the treatment of sexual antiquities beyond ideas of repressive censorship or furtive lasciviousness. In the next section we meet a collector who specialised in sexual antiquities, was very much connected to the mainstream of Classical collecting and considered that these materials should be a vital asset of both private and public collections.

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<sup>358</sup> Gayer-Anderson to WHMM 24/4/1943 (WA.HMM.CO.COL.42).

### Section 3: Edward Perry Warren and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

In this final section we examine a collection of sexual antiquities put together by the foremost Classical collector at the turn of the twentieth century, Edward Perry Warren. We find that Warren had a special interest in this material and went to great lengths to ensure that major museums could also represent it in their collections. Like Wellcome, he was also inspired by studying established collections. While previous work has drawn attention to Warren's collection of sexually themed artefacts,<sup>359</sup> I map for the first time its true size and nature. This material was acquired in Warren's role as buyer and donor for museums across Europe and America, and as a personal collection, which he also bequeathed to institutions. Most of his sexually themed acquisitions went to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, as he developed the Classical departments of his home town's foremost museum. As Chapter 3 will explore, Warren believed Bostonian society had the most need of images of ancient sexuality. In examining Warren's story we see how an outside source could shape a museum's collection of sexual artefacts, even where there was resistance from inside the museum. This suggests an alternative approach to the narrative of Museological treatment of this material, to one focused on resistance fuelled by prudery. Warren's status within the collecting world, and his work for major, public museums, challenges the characterisation of the seedy 'pornophile' collector, with which other collectors of sexual antiquities have been marginalised. In looking at Warren's specialist collecting of sexual material, we also see how widespread the trade in this material was, engaging dealers, collectors and museums across Britain, America and Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

#### 3.1 The *kantharos*: private collecting of sexual antiquities

Before we examine the material which Warren acquired, we begin by tracing the (modern) biography of just one object which eventually found its way into Warren's hands and then into the collection at Boston.<sup>361</sup> The story of this object demonstrates the way in which sexual antiquities in this period, as with other artefacts, might pass through the hands of many collectors and dealers, before arriving at a museum. We find

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<sup>359</sup> Murley, 2012; Williams, 2006; Green, 1989; Sox, 1991; Kaylor, 2009.

<sup>361</sup> Biographical studies of material culture have become increasingly popular in recent years, see Hill, 2004: 23-24.

a long line of prominent collectors and distinguished individuals interested in this piece, as they were in other sexually themed artefacts. The object in question is an Archaic Greek red-figure *kantharos* (drinking pot) (c.545-510BC) with a scene of sexual activity between multiple naked figures (fig. 22).<sup>362</sup> It was found at the Etruscan city of Vulci in Central Italy between 1824-1836.<sup>363</sup> It was likely unearthed from one of the Etruscan tombs on the estate of Lucien Bonaparte near Vulci, given to him by the pope, and which when excavated released many vases made by ancient Greeks for ancient Etruscans, as well as other antiquities, onto the market.<sup>364</sup> On one side of the Greek *kantharos* two women dance while men with erections reach out to grab their breasts, with a third male dancing in the middle. On the other side a man lowers, or attempts to lower, a woman down onto his erect penis while another man inserts an *olisbos* (dildo) into a woman who bends over to fellate a reclining man. An inscription reads 'Nikosthenes made it'. Two other vases by this painter also feature *olisboi* and it was clearly a favourite subject of this Archaic painter. A red-figure *kylix* (drinking cup) which Warren also acquired shows a naked woman lowering herself onto the gigantic phallus of a satyr, who braces himself against a plank. In her hands she holds a double-ended *olisbos*.<sup>365</sup> Another red-figure cup (520-500BC) shows a naked woman holding an *olisbos* in each hand, one held up to her mouth, the other to her genitals.<sup>366</sup> This cup was purchased in the mid-nineteenth century by the British Museum (two years after the 'Secretum' apparently gained 'official' status) from French collector Louis Charles Pierre Casimir or the Duc de Blacas d'Aulps, whose collection also came from Lucian Napoleon's estate. These *olisboi* vases have featured in recent discussions about ancient male fantasy, masculine power and female sexuality and the meaning of the image of the phallus in Greek art.<sup>367</sup>

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<sup>362</sup> Boston MFA: 95.61. See Johns, 1982: 120.

<sup>363</sup> de Witte and Durand, 1836: no. 662.

<sup>364</sup> Eydoux, 1966: 37.

<sup>365</sup> Boston MFA: RES.08.30a.

<sup>366</sup> British Museum: GR1867,0508.1064.

<sup>367</sup> See Keuls, 1985: 82-86 on this vase and others featuring women with *olisboi* as a reflection of Greek male fantasy about notions of female desire 'projected onto women'. These vases, she points out, were made for use at parties with men and *hetairae* (courtesans), thought to be the women pictured pleasuring themselves with dildos. Rabinowitz and Auanger, 2002: 154 discuss the difficulty of deciding if such phallic objects should be labelled 'dildos' and thus 'erotic', or 'ritual' artefacts. They criticise Keuls for assuming these should always be read as images of *hetairae* acting out men's fantasies. On *olisboi* art

The *kantharos* had already had a number of significant owners before the late nineteenth century. It had first been acquired by French official and prominent collector Edmé Antoine Durand (1768-1835).<sup>368</sup> The *kantharos*, and many other vases with sexually themed imagery, had been published in a catalogue of Durand's collection by Jean de Witte (1808-1889), a publication which, as we will see in the following chapters, would be influential on the modern understanding of Greek vase-painting with sexual themes.<sup>369</sup> The *kantharos* had been sold by Durand to another French collector, Viscount Beugnot and then to Swiss collector Comte James Alexandre de Pourtalès-Gorgier (1776–1855), Chamberlain to the King of Prussia, who created a major gallery of antiquities and art in Paris.<sup>370</sup>

In the late nineteenth century the *kantharos* continued on its journey as a private collector's piece, appearing in the collection of French collector Eugène Piot (1812-1890), who had purchased it at a sale of the Pourtalès collection in 1865, a sale at which George Witt had also been present and bought several items.<sup>371</sup> Piot was an archaeologist, art historian, critic, photographer and Fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of France.<sup>372</sup> He made it his goal to improve contemporary 'taste' through

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see also Vermeule, 1969: 12 Pl. 9; Dover, 1989: R 223; Kilmer, 1993: 23, 29-30, 98, Figures 1 & 2. The juxtaposition of the image on the cup by Nikosthenes and another object in the Duc de Blacas d'Aulps' collection highlights these issues about the modern interpretation of ancient sexual imagery. This is a Ptolemaic terracotta figure of a naked squatting woman holds in each hand a model phallus, from Egypt and found in Italy (2nd-1st century BC), British Museum: R1867,0508.636. She has the features of the 'Baubo' figure – a naked, fat, old woman – although we do not usually find Baubo combined with phallic imagery. The images of young naked women holding model phalluses are associated with sexual pleasure and fantasy but the phallus held by the old, fat, naked woman is labelled 'religious / ritual equipment' by the British Museum (Curators notes, <http://www.britishmuseum.org>, accessed 19/07/2012). Grottesque figures coupled with phallic imagery have often been associated with apotropaia and fertility (Clarke, 1996: 195).

<sup>368</sup> Durand had sold much of his collection to the Louvre in 1824, significantly increasing their collections, Giroire and Roger, 2007: 30.

<sup>369</sup> de Witte and Durand, 1836: no. 662. In this de Witte describes the *kantharos* as depicting dancing figures in 'very obscene' attitudes. Other vases Durand collected featuring sexual imagery include a cup in which a woman lowers herself onto the penis of a horizontal man and several showing erotic encounters between men and boys, de Witte and Durand, 1836 no. 46, 47, 665, 666, 722, 752.

<sup>370</sup> On Beugnot see Bingham, 1896. de Witte was also the author of the catalogue of Beugnot's collection, *Description de la collection d'antiquités de M. le Vicomte Beugnot*. For the *kantharos* see de Witte and Beugnot, 1840: no. 12.

<sup>371</sup> E.g. a cup which on the inside shows a woman lying face down on a couch with a man kneeling above her while she reaches behind to touch his penis, found in the tombs of the grounds of Lucien Bonaparte, British Museum: GR865,1118.46. See Keuls, 1985: 178 fig. 158. Also a *pelike* (amphora-like vase) whose unusual image has provoked debate in recent years: this is a woman anointing four large upright phalluses, British Museum: GR1865,1118.49. See Johns, 1982: 48-49.

<sup>372</sup> Perrot, 1894; Bonnaffe, 1890; Piot, 1999; Piot, 2000.

engagement with the art of antiquity (both Classical and other ancient cultures) in a typically nineteenth-century ‘scientific’ manner. His journal *Le Cabinet de l’amateur et de l’antiquaire, revue des tableaux et des estampes anciennes, des objets d’art et de curiosité* aimed to ‘reduce to the condition of exact science that which is still among many amateurs an activity of inclination and instinct, and add a stone to this vast monument ... the History of Art’.<sup>373</sup> In particular he aimed to improve the aesthetic tastes of his fellow collectors. On his death in 1890 Piot’s foundation founded a journal on his intellectual principals: *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* was designed to continue the ‘contribution Piot made to taste’.<sup>374</sup> Piot collected several sexual antiquities: in addition to the *kantharos*, he owned an *aryballos* (perfume bottle) (510-520BC) shaped as penis and testicles on one side and the image of a bull’s head in relief on the other, which Warren would later buy for Boston<sup>375</sup>, and a red-figure vase (c.500-475 BC), now in the Musée du Petit Palais in Paris, in which a woman holds a creature with a bird’s body and a head shaped as a phallus with eyes, and uncovers a basket full of seemingly similar phallus-bird creatures.<sup>376</sup> This image - and others depicting the phallus-bird - has prompted recent debate around sexual and religious imagery.<sup>377</sup> If we take Piot’s own collection as an illustration of his ideal aesthetic and archaeological judgment, these sexual images from Greece would be an exemplar of the type of ancient art he recommended for modern connoisseurs to purchase and admire. Sexual imagery, then, seems for Piot to have been part of the canon of material which was thought to improve contemporary engagement with art and beauty.

The *kantharos* was purchased in the 1890 sale of Piot’s collection by Belgian collector Adolphe Van Branteghem and sold two years later in the major sale of his material of 1892 at Paris’ premier auction house, the Hôtel Drouot, at which it was bought by Warren and passed to Boston.<sup>378</sup> As Chapter 3 will explore, Warren believed

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<sup>373</sup> Piot, 1842: 13, my translation.

<sup>374</sup> Perrot, 1894: my translation.

<sup>375</sup> Boston MFA: 95.55.

<sup>376</sup> Piot and Chamerot, 1890: no. 214. For other sexual antiquities in the collection see numbers 173, 43, 120, 163.

<sup>377</sup> On the phallus-bird creature on Greek vases, see Johns, 1982: 67, Keuls, 1985: 67, 76, 84. Other extant Greek vases featuring the phallus-bird include Boston MFA RES.08.31c.

<sup>378</sup> The sale catalogue had been written by curator of the Louvre and prominent antiquities collector Wilhelm Fröhner (Froehner, 1892). On Fröhner see Hellman, 1992.

in the enhancement, not only of taste, but of attitudes to sexuality through engaging with ancient art and its frequent sexual themes, especially in regards to relationships between men. Warren stands out in his especial passion for sexual antiquities, his wide ranging acquisitions providing an especially varied picture of ancient sexuality and still feature prominently today in scholarly debates about this subject. However, the collection history of the *kantharos* demonstrates that Warren was in no way radical in his desire to collect this and other sexually themed pieces. Over a sixty year period this vase was part of many different collections, often with other sexually themed vases. Nevertheless, Warren brought this vase together with a larger number and variety of other sexual antiquities than ever before. In Chapter 3 we will examine the way in which Classical material culture, not least his silver *skyphos* with precise detail of homoeroticism, was central to Warren's 'Uranian' campaign to promote contemporary male-male attachments and masculine-centred social organisation.<sup>379</sup>

### 3.2 Warren and Marshall studying in European museums

As with Wellcome, we find important evidence for Warren's particular interest in sexual antiquities from his study of existing collections which he clearly wished to emulate. The notebooks and papers of Warren and his collecting (and life) partner, John Marshall, provide much evidence of the type of antiquities which especially interested them. Their friend, the eminent archaeologist John Beazley, would later praise their fastidious study in museums and the resulting superior knowledge of ancient art and archaeology.<sup>380</sup> This research allowed Warren and Marshall to become first-rate connoisseurs in the sort of material they were keen to acquire for themselves, and the museums for which they were benefactors. From their notebooks we see that they repeatedly picked out ancient imagery relating to sexuality, but in particular male-male sex. Unlike Wellcome, whose sexually themed collecting has thus far gone largely unnoted, Warren has been recognised as successfully matching, or even bettering, those collections which he had carefully studied when he was starting out as a young collector. The so-called 'Erotic Collection' of sexually themed antiquities which he later donated to Boston in 1908 has

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<sup>379</sup> On Uranianism see Chapter 3.

<sup>380</sup> Beazley, 1941: 335-6.



been described as 'one of the finest of such groups outside the Vatican or Naples'.<sup>381</sup> We do not have evidence of Warren's interest in Naples but the Vatican museums certainly held much material which he and Marshall closely studied.

At the beginning of their collecting career, Warren and Marshall regularly visited the Classical collections of the major museums of Europe where they would take notes on the vases and statuary on display. Marshall was taken on officially as Warren's secretary, although the relationship between them, both professionally and personally, would be closer and more complex than this role implies.<sup>382</sup> Marshall was also Warren's collecting agent and was considered the more learned of the two, thus the notebooks containing fastidious studies of Classical collections are primarily his.<sup>383</sup> Studying and collecting in Europe, he would send reports to Warren, in the way that Peter Johnston-Saint would later do for Wellcome. However, unlike the professional nature of the Wellcome papers, Marshall and Warren's correspondence is also of a personal nature: in them they use their pet name for each other, 'Puppy', and describe how much they miss each other when Marshall is away in Europe.

In Warren and Marshall's notebooks we find accounts of their trips to European museums and the particular material which interested them. In 1892 Marshall visited the Vatican's museums and made particular note of certain vases. In the Gregorian Etruscan Museum he especially noted those decorated with Bacchic rituals of Dionysus and his followers, taking care to mention whether the satyrs depicted are 'ithyphallic' or not.<sup>384</sup> In the Museo Papa Julio he noted a black-figure bowl featuring a phallus between two 'great eyes'.<sup>385</sup> During a later visit to the Central Museum at Athens Marshall would also make note of ithyphallic satyrs and other phallic imagery, such as on a black-figure *lekythos* (oil flask) which features another bird-phallus creature

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<sup>381</sup> Vermeule, 1969: 9–15.

<sup>382</sup> See correspondence between Warren and Marshall in Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library and quoted in Burdett and Goddard, 1941: e.g. 100. This biography written by two of Warren's friends, Osbert Burdett and E. H. Goddard, after his death, includes an unfinished autobiographical section by Warren, a chapter by John Beazley on 'Warren as Collector' and much (now lost) correspondence between Warren and Marshall, and others, quoted in full. On Warren and Marshall see also Sox, 1991: 38–44.

<sup>383</sup> Beazley, 1941: 335–6.

<sup>384</sup> Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (26.0406-4012, 0438, 0474). Reference numbers for the Sackler Library are my own, the archive is currently uncatalogued.

<sup>385</sup> Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (26.0480).

between a seated woman and a man.<sup>386</sup> At the Archaeological Museum of Piraeus, Greece, a vase in the shape of a phallus caught Marshall's eye, and in his notes he compares it to another he and Warren had seen in the collection of a friend.<sup>387</sup> Male-female sexual imagery also features in the notebooks, such as from a cup Warren and Marshall has seen at the Museo Kircheriano in Rome, upon which is depicted a 'man kneeling enjoying a woman whose legs are over his neck and whose waist he grasps with both hands'.<sup>388</sup>

The vases afforded the most attention in these visits, however, are those showing sex between men. On his 1892 visit to the Vatican Museum only one piece inspired Marshall to make a full sketch for later study (fig. 23). This is an Archaic black-figure *amphora* (a vase used to transport wine or oil) (575-525BC) showing a pair of male figures facing each other, accompanied by several others on either side.<sup>389</sup> In a design which we find repeated throughout Warren's collection and across our extant Greek vases dated between c.560-475 BC, an older man reaches across and places his hand on the shoulder or face of a younger male, while also reaching down to fondle the other's flaccid penis. This is what John Beazley would later dub the 'up and down' gesture, and the whole motif his 'Alpha' scene type, in his ground-breaking 1947 catalogue of scenes of 'male courtship' on Greek vases.<sup>390</sup> Warren and Marshall made similar sketches and notes of other 'Alpha' scenes which they found on vases at the Athens museum and Munich's *Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek*.<sup>391</sup> As we shall explore further in Chapter 3, we know that Marshall and Warren recognised this scene as depicting a sexual act between older and younger men as they describe it as 'erotic' or 'paederastic'.<sup>392</sup> This understanding, together with a wider interest in homoerotic Greek vases, would be influential on Beazley and thus the shape of twentieth century scholarship in this area.

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<sup>386</sup> Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (19.2288; 20.2580). This is Athens: 471; Beazley Archive: 305429.

<sup>387</sup> Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (20).

<sup>388</sup> Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (20.2582). This is Athens: 408, Beazley no. 4823.

<sup>389</sup> Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (26.4013f). This vase is Vatican Gregorian Museum: 352; Beazley Archive: 301064.

<sup>390</sup> Beazley, 1989: 3f.

<sup>391</sup> Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (20. 2575); Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (1).

<sup>392</sup> Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (26.4016).

Although their notebooks show an especial interest in vases, Warren and Marshall also made a study of other types of sexual antiquities. At the Central Museum in Athens, Marshall made note of a 'caricature of a man with big penis' in bronze,<sup>395</sup> and a collection of 'indecent bronzes from Olympia' - a group of figurines with 'prominent' sexual parts.<sup>396</sup> We note, as above in regards to Johnston-Saint's use of 'pornographic', the word 'indecent' is not a barrier to Marshall's scholarly interest in this material. On the same trip, Marshall visited a collection at the home of Athanasios Rhousopoulos (1823–1898), a major collector, art dealer and Professor at the University of Athens. Marshall made note of eight terracotta items which interested him, all of them featuring sexual imagery:

- 1) TC Vase moulded as a scrotum and pubes of man (*Peos* [penis] broken off)
- 2) On back man enjoying *aversa Venere* [Venus turned away] with a woman. Over the woman 'it hurts me', over the man 'I don't care'.
- 3) Frag TC ass enjoying *aversa Venere* with woman, both standing, she guides the instrument.
- 4) Impression of lamp in possession of Sabonoff. Woman lies on bed being enjoyed by horse, she guiding instrument. A lamp with similar subject in Central Museum, gallery, central case 88.
- 5) TC relief, man entering woman from back, much same position as EPW mirror
- 6) Several TC lamps with *coitus a tergo* [sex from behind] between men and women
- 7) TC statuette from waist down, large phallus stretching to ground
- 8) TC from Tanagra, two dogs copulating<sup>397</sup>

In this list we are shown the great variety of sexual imagery which interested Warren and Marshall. The comment on the 'EPW mirror' refers to the now well-known Hellenistic 'Boston Mirror' which Warren acquired, as we shall see below.

Warren and Marshall's notebooks indicate a preference for Greek vases showing sexual imagery over Roman lamps or phallic objects. This suggests their collecting blueprint was not the material in the Naples 'Secret Cabinet', which I have suggested influenced both the British Museum and Wellcome. Although, as we will see, Warren and Marshall did collect a number of phallic figures and amulets which are comparable to material at Naples, they otherwise seem to have shown little interest in this famous

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<sup>395</sup> This is Central Museum: 7733

<sup>396</sup> Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (20.2546).

<sup>397</sup> Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (20.2603).

collection. Their primary concern was to emulate the great vase collections of Europe. We have seen above that Wellcome's model was that of the anthropological and archaeological museum and that he saw his main goal as acquiring 'every day' material in great numbers to reconstruct humanity's past. In terms of Classical collecting, this resulted in the purchase of many small, similar phallic amulets, which are also found in great number at the archaeological museum in Naples. Warren's acquisitions of vases were primarily for art museums like Boston - these one-off pieces were needed, so he thought, for American museums to compete with the established Classical art collections of Europe. In terms of his interest in ancient sexuality, Greek vases demonstrated the ancient propensity for depicting sexual imagery for Warren just as well as the evidence from Pompeii and Herculaneum. As Chapter 3 will show, vases revealed just the type of ancient attitudes to sexuality which Warren wanted to promote and which was lacking in the Roman collection: a celebration of sex between men.

### 3.3 Major vase sales

After studying this material in museums, Warren and Marshall were ready to build their own collection and to help major museums to build theirs. They employed the knowledge they had gained in connoisseurship and this took precedent over their producing published scholarship. Although he celebrated the wealth of Classical material which Warren and Marshall brought to many institutions, Beazley later regretted the lack of scholarship produced by Marshall in particular, whom he considered the best archaeologist of his age.<sup>398</sup> Marshall spent much of his time studying to be a better collector for Warren. Like Wellcome, Warren also prioritised acquisitions over scholarly output and like Wellcome, arguably Warren's most potent skills also lay in collecting, rather than academia, not least because of his considerable wealth. However, as Chapter 3 explores, Warren and Marshall's notebooks reveal that they were much more scholarly than is indicated by their lack of publications, and their knowledge of ancient art contributed to some very important developments in understanding sexually themed ancient vase-painting in particular. Warren applied his collecting skills together with Marshall's archaeological knowledge to create a highly

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<sup>398</sup> Beazley, 1941: 336, 331 etc.

successful collecting partnership, which saw its zenith in the years 1892-1902, known by their friends as the 'great collecting years'.<sup>399</sup> This included the acquisition of over a hundred sexual antiquities which they acquired at major art sales and from their regular dealers. The account of this collecting, as we have seen in the collection history of the *kantharos*, confirms that major antiquities dealers and important collectors were very much interested in sexually themed ancient material at the turn of the twentieth century.

Warren and Marshall acquired sexual material at all of the 'great collections' of Greek vases of their day, revealing both their interest in this material and its frequency in the major collections. According to Beazley, these important sales were those of the van Branteghem, Forman, Bruschi, Bourguignon, and Spinelli collections.<sup>400</sup> They eventually cornered the market in antiquities to the extent that Alexander Murray, director of Greece and Rome at the British Museum, would complain: 'There is nothing to be got nowadays, since Warren and Marshall are always on the spot first.'<sup>401</sup> The van Branteghem sale of 1892 was the first major event after Warren and Marshall decided to set up as collectors full time. The importance of this sale for starting their collection was commented on by Warren at the time and has been agreed upon by later commentary.<sup>402</sup> They did very well at the sale, as Dyfri Williams of the British Museum explains:

'Despite the presence of the major museums, great private collectors, such as Carl Jacobsen, and powerful dealers such as Count Michel Tyszkiewicz, Warren and Marshall came away with a huge haul.... They were instantly major players.'<sup>403</sup>

Among the thirty vases Warren and Marshall took home from the sale, seven had sexual themes. In addition to the *kantharos*, another scene of male-female group sex is found on an Archaic black-figure *hydria* (water jar) (540–530 BC) found in Etruria which shows, according to Warren's records, an 'erotic dance' between ten male-female

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<sup>399</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 151-223; Sox, 1991: 50.

<sup>400</sup> Beazley, 1941: 360.

<sup>401</sup> Quoted in Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 79.

<sup>402</sup> Warren quoted in Beazley, 1941: 341. Later commentators are Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 69, 148, 150-1, 152, 180, 207; Beazley, 1941: 331, 341, 343, 360; Green, 1989: 125, 144; Williams, 2006: 20 Kaylor, 2009: lv.

<sup>403</sup> Williams, 2006: 20.

couples, the males painted black and the females white, in various energetic sexual positions.<sup>404</sup> This piece had been previously owned by prominent French nineteenth-century collector, Julian Gréau, from whom Warren would later purchase another object described as ‘mythological eroticism’: on a second-century Roman marble plaque an old man sleeps while a siren - a female figure with wings and birds’ feet - descends upon him in order either to ‘ravish’ him or to pour a drug or potion onto him, according to various interpretations.<sup>405</sup> Warren clearly recognised the sexual significance of this scene as it formed part of his ‘Erotic Collection’ which was later donated to Boston in 1908.

Phallic imagery was also represented in Warren and Marshall’s haul from the van Branteghem sale: a late Archaic Greek red-figure *kylix* (510–500 BC), found in Italy, shows an ithyphallic satyr sat on a wine skin (fig. 24).<sup>406</sup> Two other vases from the sale are shaped as genitalia: an *aryballos* in the shape of penis and testicles, which had previously been in the collection of Eugene Piot,<sup>407</sup> and a breast-shaped cup with two handles.<sup>408</sup> Finally, their purchases included two vases showing male-male sexual activity. A late Archaic red-figure *kylix* found at the Etruscan city of Corneto (490-485 BC) shows a winged male figure, usually identified as Eros, holding a young man in the air as he thrusts forward, pressing their groins together (fig. 25).<sup>409</sup> This image was recognised as an ‘erotic’ encounter between two males when Warren bought it and has more recently been identified as showing the act of intercrural sex, in which the penis is rubbed between the other’s thighs.<sup>410</sup> Another black-figure Archaic Greek (530 BC) piece, thought to be a knob of a great lid, shows an older man handing a boy a chicken while reaching down to touch his genitals (fig. 26).<sup>412</sup> This is a variation on Beazley’s ‘Alpha’ scene-type, incorporating a feature of his ‘Beta’ type - the giving of gifts from

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<sup>404</sup> Boston MFA: 95.62. Lewes House Register (1 Pt 1 P3. No.14). Reference numbers for the Lewes House Registers are my own. The catalogue for the sale at which Van Branteghem purchased this piece was also written by Fröhner, Fröhner and Gréau, 1891.

<sup>405</sup> Johns, 1982: 105; Comstock and Vermeule, 1976: 115; Vermeule, 1988: 109.

<sup>406</sup> Boston MFA: 95.34. Beazley and Caskey, 1954: no. 005.

<sup>407</sup> Boston MFA: 95.55.

<sup>408</sup> Lewes House Register (1 Pt 1 P3. No.12).

<sup>409</sup> Boston MFA: 95.31. See Shapiro, 1981: 410 n. 71; Vermeule, 1969: 25; Dover, 1989: 93, R574; Beazley and Caskey, 1954: no. 127.

<sup>410</sup> Dover, 1989: 93 R574; Shapiro, 1981: 410; Beazley, 1989: 25.

<sup>412</sup> Boston MFA: RES.08.30d.

*erastes* to *eromenos*.<sup>413</sup> These were the first of eleven Archaic and Classical Greek vases showing sexual encounters between men which Warren would acquire.

Warren and Marshall's collecting went from strength to strength, and sexual antiquities remained part of the collecting policy as they attended the sales of the other prominent collections. Warren declared that the Forman sale of 1899: 'contained objects which could not be missed'.<sup>414</sup> The sale of the collection of Romano-Britain archaeologist William Henry Forman was held at Sotheby's in June 1899. Amongst Warren's purchases was an Archaic Greek black-figure *amphora* (540–530 BC) by The Affecter, with a scene of Dionysus, Hermes, and Ariadne flanked by two satyrs with very long and thin phalluses.<sup>415</sup> The ithyphallic satyrs on this vase are especially eye catching, as the right-hand figure in each scene has a frontal face, an arresting and unusual technique often associated with satyrs and Bacchic imagery.<sup>416</sup> It has been suggested that the front-facing satyr motif signifies that he is drunk, or symbolises his function as an intermediary between the god Dionysus, whom they serve, and the human viewer, and to whom one of the satyrs on this particular vase points.<sup>417</sup> However, it also serves simply to draw attention to these sexually aroused figures. The satyr, although his face looks out at the viewer, is painted side-on below the waist, so that his black phallus is still prominent against the red-orange ceramic field, ensuring his sexuality is still obvious.

A substantial group of Greek vases showing ithyphallic satyrs was purchased by Warren and Marshall at the sale of Naples-based collector Alfred Bourguignon in 1899 and a larger sale of his collection in Paris in 1901.<sup>418</sup> A Late Archaic red-figure *kylix* (510–500 BC) by the Ambrosios Painter shows on the outside four drunken satyrs dancing, each with a thick and long phallus.<sup>419</sup> One of them balances a *kantharos* upon his erection. This stunt is also performed by a satyr on a *psykter* (wine cooling vase) by

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<sup>413</sup> Beazley, 1989: 14.

<sup>414</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 341. See Smith and Forman, 1899; Smith and Forman, 1900. The Greek and Roman objects were described in the catalogues of the Forman Collection by Cecil Harcourt Smith, who had co-written the first work on Naukratis with Flinders Petrie and later would be involved in a debate with Marshall over his and Warren's 'Chios Head'.

<sup>415</sup> Boston MFA: 01.8053.

<sup>416</sup> Korshak, 1987, 45ff. See Ogden, 2007: 333.

<sup>417</sup> <http://www.mfa.org>, accessed 2/2/11; Isler-Kerényi, 2004, trans. de Sena: 43.

<sup>418</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 170.

<sup>419</sup> Boston MFA: 01.8024.

Douris in the British Museum and its original meaning has been interpreted by recent commentary as a humorous depiction of the superhuman powers of satyrs, able to put their incessant sexuality to work in defying the laws of gravity.<sup>420</sup> Again, this motif serves to draw attention to the satyr's erect and sturdy member. At the Bourguignon sale, Warren also acquired a South Italian Late Classical red-figure *oinochoe* (wine jug) (350-335 BC) which shows an image of Oedipus with a long dangling phallus, perhaps part of a stage costume. He is described by Warren as 'dolichophallic [having a long phallus] and circumcised',<sup>421</sup> which is typical of the detailed observations which he and Marshall made about sexual body parts.<sup>422</sup> Also described as 'dolichophallic' by Warren are two satyrs and Pan-like figures dancing around a female figure on a Classical Greek red-figure *kylix* (c.450BC) by the Penthesilea Painter, and found in Naples.<sup>423</sup>

Finally, at the Bourguignon sale, Warren purchased a fragment of an Archaic Greek black-figure cup showing a scene of drunken procession between naked men, perhaps a *komos* (ritual drunken revelry) as in the description in Plato's *Symposium* of Alcibiades and his friends.<sup>424</sup> One man, who is urinating, carries another on his back while a third appears to hold the first's penis from behind and catch his flow in an *oinochoe*. This is clearly a joke around what would usually fill the *oinochoe* - the wine which these now rowdy young men have just drunk.

The sale of the Bruschi collection from Tarquinia (modern day Corneto) in 1900 provided Warren and Marshall with an early Classical red figure *kylix* (c.470BC) by Douris depicting another common sexual motif: the attack of satyrs on women. Here a satyr seizes a maenad by wrapping his leg around her. She prepares to defend herself by smacking him with a *thyrsus* (fennel stalk) (fig. 27). In the field are also many flower blooms with a distinctly phallic shape.<sup>425</sup> Two other vases which Warren acquired elsewhere show the same subject-matter. An Archaic Greek (530–520 BC) black figure amphora by the Mastos Painter was purchased in La Tolfa in the province of Rome and

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<sup>420</sup> British Museum: GRVaseE76. See Johns, 1982: 33; Halperin, Winkler and Zeitlin, 1990: 58.

<sup>421</sup> Lewes House Register (3 p75 photo 9146-7).

<sup>422</sup> Boston MFA: 01.8036. See Padgett, 1993: no. 081.

<sup>423</sup> Boston MFA: 01.8032. At the sale they also acquired a late Archaic Greek red-figure *kylix* (c. 500 BC) by Onesimos whose interior shows a satyr with a large and very erect phallus, sitting on an *amphora*, Boston MFA: 10.179.

<sup>424</sup> Boston MFA: RES.08.31f. See Plato *Symposium* 212d-e.

<sup>425</sup> Boston MFA: 00.343.



shows a satyr with a particularly large erection grasping a maenad, as fellow satyrs and Dionysus make wine around him.<sup>426</sup> A late Archaic (c.490BC) red-figure Attic *kylix* by Makron also shows a maenad who is asleep on a couch with her legs wide open, about to be molested by two ithyphallic satyrs, one of which already has his hand up her skirt.<sup>427</sup> On the other side the maenad has awoken and raises her *thyrsus* to fight them off.

### 3.4 W. T. Ready and the Boston Mirror

Warren and Marshall also acquired sexual imagery in other media, such as sculpture, figures, gems, plaques and objects. These often came from the network of private dealers with whom they engaged, who were themselves often private collectors, museum practitioners or scholars. These connections were paramount for Warren and Marshall's success in collecting. These dealers alerted them to important material and advised their acquisitions.<sup>428</sup> Most of the regular dealers they became involved with would be able to arrange the purchase of items of a sexual nature, this material being widely available across the market.

Warren and Marshall often worked closely with certain dealers who became trusted advisors and sources of material. In 1893, the year after the van Branteghem sale, they began purchasing material from a British dealer who also dealt with the British Museum and the Pitt Rivers Museum. William Talbot Ready had been a repairer at the British Museum until 1884 when he became a dealer of Classical coins and gems.<sup>429</sup> He would go on to work closely with Warren for many years and become a regular provider of antiquities, as well as teaching him and his friends about restorations.<sup>430</sup> Beazley tells us that Warren had a 'very high regard' for the character and opinion of Ready and learned valuable connoisseurship from him.<sup>431</sup> The network of

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<sup>426</sup> Boston MFA: 01.8052.

<sup>427</sup> Boston MFA: 01.8072.

<sup>428</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941 148, 153.

<sup>429</sup> Wilson, 2002: 357, n.128; Caygill, 2005: 55.

<sup>430</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 140-1: 'It was he [Pritchard] who took the interest in vase-cleaning and repairing, teaching me all he knew, and learning tips from W. T. Ready (to hand on to me), or getting Ready to come down from London for a day's work on Sunday, when of course I was only too delighted to be asked to be present.' See also Beazley, 1941: 337.

<sup>431</sup> Beazley, 1941: 336-337.

men like Ready with whom Warren was involved, as his notebooks attest, operated between London, Europe and America as middlemen between other collectors, dealers and buyers. They would see a piece which they thought would interest a collector they knew and then alert them to it, taking a commission for arranging the purchase. Or they might buy the piece on the spot and then try and sell it on for the best price. W. T. Ready sold Warren a number of gems with sexual subjects, such as a fourth-century Greek 'erotic gem' from Damanhous - a large scaraboid showing '*coitus figura*' [sex figure].<sup>433</sup> Warren sometimes sold material to Ready, including sexual antiquities.<sup>434</sup>

In 1896 Ready added to Warren's sexually themed collection with a now well-known Hellenistic bronze mirror cover (350-300BC), originally from Corinth and decorated on both sides, with depictions of sex between a man and a woman (fig. 28).<sup>435</sup> Now known as the 'Boston Mirror', this is intricately detailed in its representation of two different, but equally complex, scenes of sex. On the exterior, an image in bas-relief shows a couple lying on a couch, facing the same way, he entering her from behind as she lifts her right leg. She leans back and with her right arm pulls his head to hers for a kiss. Above them a small Eros flies. On the interior an incised image shows rear entry sex, this time not on the bed but on the floor next to it. A woman stands bent over and guides her male partner, stood upright behind her, into her with her right hand. Another Roman first-century mirror cover shows a similar image in relief to the Boston Mirror's exterior decoration - however, the interior decoration is particularly unusual. Warren and Marshall's notes on this object demonstrate the sort of in-depth analysis of ancient sexual imagery they were making at this time. Warren's records describe it as showing:

*'coitus a posteriosi in vas debitum inter marem et feminam* [vaginal sex from behind between man and woman] but in an unusual position apparently intended to show to the full the genitals... the incised representation is likewise a *coitus a posteriosi in vas debitum inter marem et feminam*... with her R

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<sup>433</sup> Boston MFA: 23.597. Ready-Warren 13/04/1893, Lewes House Register (1 Pt 1 Pg21 No.70. 9020). Ready told Warren that he could not be absolutely sure of its provenance as, revealing the Western-centric bigotry of the age, his client had 'depended on an arab's word'

<sup>434</sup> E.g. an early Imperial Arretine ware mould depicting ithyphallic Priapus which he sold to Ready Lewes House Register (1 Pt 1 P111. No.192. 9013).

<sup>435</sup> Boston MFA: RES.08.32c. See Johns, 1982: 118, 135; Clarke, 1998: 22-28; Comstock, 1971: 257 no.369; Stewart, 1996: 147-9.

hand she guides the instrument of the man.. Her right leg is bent and somewhat raised from the ground, a movement nowhere necessitated by her actions but intended to expose the action'.<sup>436</sup>

These observations about the position of the two couples having been deliberately chosen to give maximum viewing access to the sexual activity and sexual parts of the participants' bodies, is found in recent scholarly work on the mirror.<sup>437</sup> This demonstrates the level of scholarly expertise which Warren and Marshall were developing and their especial interest in explicitly executed sexual imagery.

According to Warren's records the mirror was found at 'Baron Hirsch's estate', possibly referring to Maurice de Hirsch, a German-Jewish philanthropist (1831–1896). Warren listed it as having been bought from 'Rollin and Feuarent', a prominent dealership at Haymarket, London. Claude Camille Rollin (1813-1883) had taken fellow dealer Felix Feuarent (1819-1907) into partnership in 1867. W. T. Ready, as he often did as one of a small number of trusted individuals, served as a middleman between these dealers and Warren for this purchase, taking an appropriate commission for his services.<sup>438</sup> In 1907 Ready took over the company Rollin and Feuarent himself.<sup>439</sup> Around the time of the Boston Mirror purchase, Rollin and Feuarent also sold Warren another Greek vase showing Beazley's 'Alpha' scene in which a man fondles a younger man's genitals.<sup>440</sup>

### 3.5 Paul Hartwig and male courtship vases

It was vital for Warren and Marshall to have networks set up at the important collecting hubs and in 1894 Warren bought a flat in Rome for Marshall to provide him with his own base in the capital of the European antiquities market.<sup>441</sup> However, they also needed trusted contacts in each place. Another of Warren's close connections in the art-market was made at this time and reveals that the intertwined worlds of collecting and scholarship included the collection and sale of sexual antiquities. Warren and Marshall

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<sup>436</sup> Lewes House Register (1 Pt 2 Pg 149 No.486 Photo9037f).

<sup>437</sup> Clarke, 1998: 24; Johns, 1982: 134-5.

<sup>438</sup> John Marshall to unknown 2/1/1986, Lewes House Register (1 Pt 2 Pg 149-159 No.486 Photo9037-47).

<sup>439</sup> Lewes House Register (1 Pt 2 Pg55 No.352. 9025).

<sup>440</sup> This is an Archaic Greek black-figure *lekythos*, Lewes House Register (1 Pt 2 Pg55 No.352. 9025).

<sup>441</sup> See Sox, 1991: 97.

began dealing with the German Classical archaeologist Paul Hartwig (1858-1919) who was based mainly in Rome and is now known for his pioneering publications on Greek vases.<sup>442</sup> They would become ‘old friends’ and Hartwig would help them to acquire many vases, often acting as middleman between them and other dealers.<sup>443</sup> In 1907 Marshall wrote to Hartwig to thank him, telling him ‘my stock of vases is not bad this year, thanks in good part to you’.<sup>444</sup> This eminent scholar helped them to acquire several vases featuring ithyphallic satyrs such a red-figure *kylix* showing an ithyphallic satyr carrying wineskin, and an Archaic *lekythos* (c.490 BC) by the Diosphos Painter, from Gela, with a black background and the image of a nymph painted in white being chased by a satyr who is incised onto the vase.<sup>445</sup> Hartwig, like Warren, was especially interested in homoerotic images on Greek vases, as Chapter 3 will further explore.<sup>446</sup> In 1894 Warren bought through Hartwig probably the most well-known of his Greek same-sex acquisitions which shows a unique extant variation on Beazley’s ‘Alpha’ scene-type.<sup>447</sup> A Late Archaic Greek black-figure cup (c. 520 BC) from Boiotia shows on one side an *erastes* fondling the genitals of a much younger male figure. On the other side the same scene is depicted, except here the *eromenos* has put his arms around the man’s neck and is jumping up (fig. 29). Chapter 3 will discuss the significance of this image for Warren’s non-Platonic, physical ideal of ‘Uranian Love’ and for later scholars of Greek male-male relationships.

### 3.6 Ludwig Pollak and the Heracles and Omphale marble relief

Other connections made in Rome were also useful. Soon after 1893, Warren and Marshall began dealings with Czech collector Ludwig Pollak (1868-1943), who had recently moved there and was becoming known as one of the best art-dealers around.<sup>448</sup> His memoirs recall his acquaintances with some of the great collectors and

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<sup>442</sup> On Hartwig see von Bothmer, 1995: 98. On Hartwig and Warren see Pollak and Merkel Guldan, 1994; Nørskov, 2002: 96-7; Rouet, 2001, trans. Nash; Murley, 2012: 85.

<sup>443</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 78.

<sup>444</sup> Marshall to Hartwig 28/1/1907, Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (23.0076).

<sup>445</sup> Boston MFA 98.885. Lewes House Register (2 Pt 2 Pg80 No.1150 photo 9104, 1 Pt 4 Pg70 No.771photo 9066).

<sup>446</sup> See Hartwig, 1893: 659.

<sup>447</sup> Boston MFA: 08.292. See Vermeule, 1969: 9:15; Dover, 1989: B598; Keuls, 1985: fig. 252-3; Hubbard, 2003: fig. 10a-b; Neils, Oakley, Hart and Beaumont, 2003: 17.

<sup>448</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 192.

scholars of the day in Rome, such as Count Michel Tyszkiewicz, of whom Warren was a great admirer, Augusto Castellani, Auguste Dutuit and Count Gregor Stroganoff, as well as his work with Warren and Marshall.<sup>449</sup>

In 1895 Pollak arranged the purchase of a sexually decorated piece of exceptional craftsmanship from the collection of Giovanni Barracco (1829-1914), an Italian politician from an ancient and exceedingly wealthy family from Ionian Calabria. A Roman marble relief (mid-late 1<sup>st</sup> century AD) shows a man and woman having sex, with her on top (fig. 30).<sup>450</sup> He lies on the ground and the appearance of ionic columns and a herm (squared block with head on top) of Priapus behind them suggests they are in a garden. The club leaning against the herm and the lion skin laid under the man indicates that he is Heracles and the woman possibly Omphale, the mythical queen of Lydia who made the hero her slave for a year, as told in Ovid's *Fasti*.<sup>451</sup> Warren's register describes the scene as: '*coitus in vas debitum* [vaginal sex]. Schema κλητίζειν [to ride]... Hetaira with strophion under her breasts'.<sup>452</sup> The register continues: 'Cross reference Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 59.60 - woman on top'.<sup>453</sup> Here Warren compares the position of Omphale to one described by the character Lysistrata in the ancient Greek comedy of the same name, as part of list of sexual positions which are prohibited for the women of Athens in their sex boycott. As in their analysis of the Boston Mirror, this entry demonstrates Warren and Marshall's increasingly detailed knowledge of ancient sexual imagery and sexuality.

### 3.7 Setting up connections in Rome and Athens

Warren and Marshall also conducted more casual relationships with other dealers in Rome, who would be on the lookout for sexually themed antiquities on their behalf. These were often small Roman pieces, often phallic, of the type found at the Naples 'Secret Cabinet', perhaps suggesting that Warren and Marshall were influenced by the contents of that collection. One dealer in Rome sold them a Roman Imperial Period (AD 24-170) marble statue of Priapus holding up his tunic to carry fruits, and to expose his

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<sup>449</sup> Pollak and Merkel Guldan, 1994.

<sup>450</sup> Boston MFA: RES.08.34d

<sup>451</sup> Ovid *Fasti* ii, 303ff.

<sup>452</sup> Lewes House Register (1 Pt 1 Pg107 No.87 photo 9023f).

<sup>453</sup> Lewes House Register (1 Pt 1 p107 no.186).

large phallus (fig. 31).<sup>454</sup> Warren also acquired a much more unusual Hellenistic bronze Priapus statuette, in which his tunic is filled with babies, rather than fruit (fig. 32).<sup>455</sup> In the next chapter we examine the significance of these image-types for the modern study of fertility cults.

In Rome, Warren and Marshall acquired several terracotta lamps in which the nozzle is in the shape of a long and protruding phallus, such as is found at Naples, as well as at the British and Wellcome museums, as we have seen.<sup>456</sup> One of the examples in the Warren collection is very similar to a piece at Naples, in which a man sits reading a scroll with a gigantic phallus poking out from under it. It is labeled ‘the sexually frustrated scholar’ in the current Naples catalogue.<sup>457</sup> While these acquisitions demonstrate that Warren was interested in the Roman phallic material found at Pompeii and Herculaneum, he only ever collected one bronze Roman phallic amulet, which features in great numbers in other collections, as we have seen.<sup>458</sup>

In addition to setting up semi-permanently in Rome, Marshall visited Greece and made connections with the local people who could help him in acquiring material, including sexual pieces. As Beazley later explained:

‘From December 1895 to March 1896, and again during the first four months of 1897, Marshall paid two visits to Greece, and did perhaps some of his most valuable work there. He was at his best in the letters he wrote during his Greek travels. In Athens he lighted on a cheap and very good hotel of which the only drawback was the fleas. But it had a porter who dealt in antiquities and who introduced him to many important dealers with whom a valuable and lasting connection was thus established.’<sup>459</sup>

Jean Paul Lambros was one such important dealer, based in Athens.<sup>460</sup> Warren and Marshall would often buy vases and antiquities from him when they visited Athens, and would also have him send them material in England. Lambros would often be ‘put up’ by

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<sup>454</sup> Boston MFA: RES.08.34. Comstock and Vermeule, 1976: no. 206; Vermeule, 1988:112. Around 1893 a dealer in Rome sold them a South Italian terracotta lamp (120–70 BC) shaped as a squatting satyr-like figure with prominent genitals, Boston MFA: 01.8149

<sup>455</sup> Boston MFA: RES.08.32p. See Vermeule, 1988: 118.

<sup>456</sup> Boston MFA: 13.104, RES.08.35a.

<sup>457</sup> Boston MFA: RES.08.35b; Naples: 109411.

<sup>458</sup> Boston MFA: 68.42.

<sup>459</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 193.

<sup>460</sup> See Marshall to Lambros 29/8/2012, Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (23.0078). On Lambros and Warren and Marshall see Murley, 2012: 238.

Hartwig or Ready to send a particular item for inspection.<sup>461</sup> Such dealers acted as an intermediary between buyers and the 'peasants' who were 'harvesting' ancient material in Greece - gathering it for sale to foreigners.<sup>462</sup> In 1894, Warren purchased a satyr-vase from Lambros, a Classical Greek (c. 420 BC) red-figure *oinochoe* by the Dinos Painter, showing an ithyphallic satyr approaching a sleeping maenad.<sup>463</sup> Lambros also acquired for Warren's 'erotic collection' a Hellenistic Greek terracotta mould for a plaque of a Pergamene vase (2<sup>nd</sup> century BC) showing what Warren described as an 'indecent relief' in which a 'youth lies nude and very massive on a couch, his legs slightly straddle, his left arm hanging down. A girl is astride him her arms around his neck kissing him. She is a *hetaira* wearing anklebands'.<sup>464</sup> Again, we note that the word 'indecent' is used, not in the context of censorship of this material, but as part of a serious interest in it.

In Athens, Marshall was introduced to many other dealers whom he mentions often in his letters home to Warren, describing their provision of much material, including sexual antiquities.<sup>465</sup> One Geladakis, whom Marshall met in Greece,<sup>466</sup> provided them with a late Hellenistic or Early Imperial (150BC-AD10) bronze statue of Priapus pouring a libation on his own phallus, which we examine further in the next chapter.<sup>467</sup> He also added to their collection with further 'dolichophallic' figures from Archaic Boiotia in Greece, in which he seems to have specialised, including an early fifth-century BC terracotta figurine of a satyr with a long phallus described as 'tripodic' because his legs and tail create a tripod base.<sup>468</sup> Warren added to those figures from Geladakis to create a small collection of terracotta rough-worked phallic figurines, including a satyr on horseback whom Warren described as 'excellently endowed', and

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<sup>461</sup> Lewes House Register (1 Pt 2 Pg 149 No.486 Photo9037f). Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 202 suggests that Lambros was sometimes viewed with suspicion. There does seem to be a bias in terms of trust toward Northern European dealers in Warren and Marshall's opinions.

<sup>462</sup> Murley, 2012: 238.

<sup>463</sup> Boston MFA: 01.8085. From the Sabonoff collection, Lewes House Register (2 Pt 4 Pg31 No.1356 photo 9116f).

<sup>464</sup> Boston MFA: RES.08.33a. Lewes House Register (2 Pt 3 Pg46 No.1247 photo 9109; 1 Pt 4 Pg70 No.771photo 9066).

<sup>465</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 200.

<sup>466</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 200.

<sup>467</sup> Boston MFA: RES.08.32m.

<sup>468</sup> Boston MFA: 01.8013. See also Boston MFA: 01.8009. See Lewes House Register (3 2020 photo 9170; 3,1968 photo 9166; 3 p142 1969 photo 9167; 3 p144 1977 SP148-126a photo 9168; 1 Pt 5 Pg20-1 No.808. photo 9075-6).

which he bought in Athens or perhaps Paris from another Greek dealer, J.M. Triantaphyllos in 1900 (fig. 35).<sup>469</sup>

### 3.8 Fausto Benedetti, Arretine ware and Roman homoerotic pieces

We have seen that Warren and Marshall built up a substantial collection of Greek vases. Another dealer in Rome assisted them with acquiring a number of Roman vessels with similarly varied sexual imagery, including homoerotic scenes, to add to and enhance their collection of comparable images on Greek vases. In 1900 Warren and Marshall met and became close with the Italian excavator Fausto Benedetti, upon whom they often relied for advice.<sup>470</sup> He was a specialist in early Imperial period (30 BC-AD 30) Arretine ware, the red-brown pottery made in the Roman city of Aretinum (ancient Arezzo) and whose relief decoration was created using stamps to decorate a pottery mould. These stamps were used in various combinations to create a variety of moulds, as we shall see. From Benedetti, Warren acquired six fragmentary bowls or moulds showing sexual imagery, as well as several others decorated differently.<sup>471</sup> In these we see that the same stamp, for example depicting pairs of figures in different sexual positions, has been used across several different moulds. One fragment of a bowl shows a woman squatting above a man who is reclining on a couch, facing away from him, and about to be penetrated by his erect penis.<sup>472</sup> Another bowl (originally in four fragments and now in three) shows two similar, but slightly different, variations on one sexual position: a woman lies back on a couch while a man kneels between her legs, lifting one of them in order to enter her. Warren's register describes him as 'performing his office in a very prone and tiring position', hinting at the misogyny which, as we shall see in Chapter 3, characterised Warren's relationship with the ancient past.<sup>473</sup> In one

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<sup>469</sup> Boston MFA: 01.8011. Lewes House Register (2 Pt 3 Pg7 No.1167 photo 9106). A very similar tripod satyr to Boston MFA: 01.8013 was acquired in Greece, in 1898 and another in 1900 in Paris, Boston MFA: 13.98, 01.8010.

<sup>470</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 78, 201, 209, 211, 255. *They tell us that Marshall fell out with him later on.*

<sup>471</sup> For sexual activity on Arretine ware in general see Clarke, 1998: 72-78, 108-118; Brendel, 1970: 58-59.

<sup>472</sup> Lewes House Register 3 P102 1876 photo 9155.

<sup>473</sup> Boston MFA: RES.08.33d. Lewes House Register (3 P104 No.1878 photo9157-8); Clarke, 1998: 112-113. In May 1899 Warren purchased another Arretine fragment from the major sale of the Henri Hoffmann Collection, at the Hôtel Drouot, showing a variation on this motif in which the woman has



variation the woman's back is to the viewer, and in the other we see her front, giving the viewer sight of both bottom and breasts and increasing the sexual explicitness of the piece. We recall Warren's comments about the Boston Mirror's use of different sexual positions to increase the visibility of sexual parts of the body.<sup>474</sup> A further bowl (in three fragments) features the second of these motifs, having been made using the same stamp. In this piece it has been used in combination with another stamp – one showing a man reclining on a couch while a woman straddles him on her knees, facing him but leaning away.<sup>475</sup> This latter motif is found again on two fragments of moulds which Warren acquired from an unknown source.<sup>476</sup>

This technique of using these couple-stamps in different variations to create moulds for bowls, includes the combination of male-female and male-male imagery.<sup>477</sup> One of the fragments Warren purchased from Benedetti shows three couples, divided from each other by phallic herms.<sup>478</sup> The reclining man and squatting woman stamp has been used twice but the third motif depicts two naked men lying one behind the other with the front man looking back into the other's eyes, although much of the scene is lost and we only see the men's chests and faces. Although we do not have extant a complete vessel of this sort, John Clarke has suggested they were probably decorated all the way round using alternate male-female and male-male stamps.<sup>479</sup> That the male-male couple are having anal sex seems very likely when compared to other, more complete pieces. Warren had clearly concluded this also, as he describes the scene as: 'two youths on a couch copulating'.<sup>480</sup> That Warren used other pieces of Arretine ware showing men having sex in order to compare and draw this conclusion is evident from his acquisition registers. He had earlier acquired two more complete pieces, in 1898 and 1899. The motifs found on these pieces, and that on the Benedetti piece, are all similar

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thrown her right leg over the left shoulder of the kneeling man, Boston MFA:RES.08.33h. See Hoffmann, 1899: Lot 109.

<sup>474</sup> See Clarke, 1998: 112-3, who examines more differences between the two scenes. See also Boston MFA: 98.865.

<sup>475</sup> Boston MFA: RES.08.33g. See Clarke, 1998: 109-111.

<sup>476</sup> Boston MFA: 98.863; Boston MFA: 98.864.

<sup>477</sup> On the Arretine ware, see Clarke, 1998: 72-78, 86; Clarke, 1993; Pollini, 1999.

<sup>478</sup> Boston MFA: RES.08.33c. Chase, 1916: pl. 48. See Clarke, 1998: 74, 114 who argues there are only two designs from which these fragments all come from: one featuring the ithyphallic herms and the other the *erotes*.

<sup>479</sup> Clarke, 1998: 72.

<sup>480</sup> Lewes House Register (3 P101 No.1874 photo9151).

but slightly different, thus clearly from different stamps. The two earlier purchases each show two men lying on a couch, both facing the viewer while the front partner is penetrated from behind by the other, or as Warren's register describes it: 'one is turning the other and enjoying him from behind *in vas indebitum*' [up the bum] (fig. 33).<sup>481</sup> This is the standard position used for male-male sex, almost uniformly, across Roman imagery, something which Warren noted in his studies.<sup>482</sup> The scholarly observations Warren was making about these scenes is comparable with the important work carried out today, notably by John Clarke.<sup>483</sup> A fragmentary Arretine ware bowl very similar to the Benedetti piece was later acquired in 1912 and shows a similar male-male motif in which naked men lie together and look into each other's eyes, here very clearly having sex. The image of the male couple is divided from another instance of the reclining man and squatting woman motif, this time by a statue of Eros (fig. 34).<sup>484</sup>

Warren and Marshall's acquisition of Greek vases showing male-male sex emulated the collections they had seen in the great European collections, however these much rarer Roman purchases made their homoerotic collection unique. Images of Roman male-male sex on Arretine ware were not common in the other museums which Warren visited. As Chapter 3 will explore, the addition of Roman objects made Warren's collection the most varied of ancient homoerotic artefacts ever put together, unsurpassed to this day. In total Warren managed to acquire eight Arretine fragments showing male-male sex.<sup>485</sup> The year after the Benedetti major purchase of Arretine ware, W. T. Ready secured for Warren more examples of Roman homoerotic imagery. Three Roman *spintria* (tokens) show 'Coitus of two youths' in the standard Roman position.<sup>486</sup> These tiny objects added to the small, but highly significant, collection of Roman male-male sexual imagery which Warren was building up.

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<sup>481</sup> Boston MFA: RES.08.33e; RES.08.33f. Lewes House Register (3 Pg41 No.1745 photo 9125). See Clarke, 1998: 77; 1993 (fig 14) 282.

<sup>482</sup> Lewes House Register (3 Pg41 No.1746 photo 9125-6).

<sup>483</sup> Clarke, 1998: 72-78.

<sup>484</sup> Boston MFA: 13.109. See Clarke, 1998: fig 3.

<sup>485</sup> MFA Boston: RES.08.33f, RES.08.33e, RES.08.33c, 13.109; Metropolitan Museum: 21.88.165; Ashmolean Museum: 1966.251, cat.62, number unknown.

<sup>486</sup> Boston MFA: RES.08.32r; RES.08.32s; RES.08.32t. Lewes House Register (4 p270 2617 photo 9183).

However, the most striking same-sex imagery from Rome, and indeed from the whole of the ancient world, which Warren acquired is the silver *skyphos* (AD5-15), thought to be from Bittir, near Jerusalem, on each side of which shows a scene of male-male sex, not stamped but delicately hammered out from the inside of the cup using the ancient craft of toreutics (fig. 1).<sup>487</sup> One side (B) shows a variation on the standard male-male motif in which a young boy is entered from behind by an older youth. On the other side (A) we see a new position for male-male sex in which a youth lowers himself onto the penis of a bearded man.<sup>488</sup> Dyfri Williams has argued convincingly that the cup was acquired on a visit to Rome in 1911, long after the ‘great collecting years’, costing Warren £2000.<sup>489</sup> We will examine in Chapter 3 just how important this cup was to Warren. His connection with this one item alone has rightly secured him a reputation as an exceptional connoisseur of ancient sexual imagery, and especially of homoerotic pieces. Warren and Marshall also got their hands on an unusual Hellenistic object (2<sup>nd</sup> century BC) found not far from Lake Bolsena in central Italy.<sup>491</sup> This bronze plectrum handle is shaped as a bearded man with a youth sat in his lap. The man’s hand reaches around towards the other’s genitals. Three dimensional images of male-male sexual activity are extremely rare in the ancient world, as are homoerotic images from the Hellenistic period, further enhancing Warren’s unique visual resource on ancient male-male love.

### 3.9 The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

The vast majority of the material we have examined in this section went to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. While Warren and Marshall provided Classical material for many European and American museums, most notably the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the Ashmolean in Oxford and the Bowdoin College Museum of Art, in Maine,<sup>492</sup> Warren directed most of their sexually themed collecting efforts towards Boston. He saw his home town as being in most need of the ‘true Classical message’ of antiquities, as

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<sup>487</sup> British Museum: GR1999.4-26.1. On the Warren Cup see Williams, 2006; Clarke, 1993; Clarke, 1998: 59-72, 82-90; Clarke, 2006; Pollini, 1999.

<sup>488</sup> Clarke, 1993.

<sup>489</sup> Williams, 2006: 25.

<sup>491</sup> Boston MFA: RES.08.32q.

<sup>492</sup> On Warren’s provision outside Boston see Murley, 2012.

we shall explore in Chapter 3.<sup>493</sup> Warren was both official buyer for the museum and a major donor.<sup>494</sup> Most of the vases showing ithyphallic satyrs were purchased by the museum.<sup>495</sup> However, the majority of the material showing sex between men and women, and between men and men, as well as three-dimensional phallic imagery in figurines and statuary, were collected together by Warren as a private 'Erotic Collection' at his private residence. It is likely that Warren always thought of these objects as intended for Boston - most were donated to the museum in 1908, as well as in sporadic donations over the next ten years.<sup>496</sup> As we will explore in Chapter 3, the museum trustees displayed a good deal of anxiety about those objects Warren offered featuring prominent sexual imagery. Beazley recalled that 'the sense of decorum... was a good deal more strongly developed in trustees... than it had been in antiquity, and was in Warren...'.<sup>497</sup> The trustees expressed this 'sense of decorum' in their refusal to spend museum money (in this case not public money, but funds raised by local businesses) in general on the contents of Warren's 'Erotic Collection' and also by doctoring much of the material which they did buy to remove its sexuality, namely in painting over the satyrs' ubiquitous phalluses.<sup>498</sup>

While these apparently repressive actions have been the focus of accounts of Boston's response in the face of Warren's incessant sexually related offerings, I would like to highlight other, more positive - or at least ambivalent - responses, which co-existed in the museum at the same time.<sup>499</sup> We saw above that the British Museum did not consistently enter all sexual antiquities they acquired into their 'Secretum'. Likewise, the Boston Museum did not doctor all of the phallic imagery on the vases they purchased. Furthermore, its policy of not spending money on Warren's sexual material, except the satyr-vases, was also inconsistent. Two exceptions include the *kantharos* with which we started this chapter, and the *hydria*, both of which Warren acquired at the

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<sup>493</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 366.

<sup>494</sup> See Whitehill, 1970: 148; Beazley, 1941: 331-363.

<sup>495</sup> On the purchase of satyr-vases see Whitehill, 1970: 674; Temin, 2001.

<sup>496</sup> On the 1908 'erotic collection' donation see Whitehill, 1970: 676; Comstock and Vermeule, 1976: xi; Kaylor, 2009: xciv.

<sup>497</sup> Beazley, 1941: 354.

<sup>498</sup> On the purchase of satyr-vases see Whitehill, 1970: 674; Temin, 2001.

<sup>499</sup> Whitehill, 1970: 674; Temin, 2001.

van Branteghem sale and both of which are saturated in images of group sex.<sup>500</sup> These vases were in the first large shipment of material from Warren to Boston, which included fifty-nine vases and other objects in gold, bronze and marble.<sup>501</sup> Their acceptance of these two vases may be because the museum considered this material more important, artistically, than, for example, the smaller, common and crudely made phallic figurines. Supporting this proposal is the fact that the museum also bought the expertly rendered Boston Mirror from Warren, despite its detailed depictions of genitalia and acts of vaginal penetration. However, for no obvious reason regarding quality, two of the rough-worked terracotta ithyphallic satyr figurines were purchased by the museum,<sup>502</sup> while another very similar example had to be donated by Warren in 1913.<sup>503</sup> This inconsistency in the attitude to sexual purchases is exemplified in the treatment of Arretine ware showing sexual imagery. Most of the pieces we have examined were donated by Warren. However in 1898 the museum did decide to purchase three examples, despite their displaying not only similar, but, because of the use of stamps, in several instances the exact same imagery, as those pieces refused.<sup>504</sup>

Furthermore, we should not underestimate the fact that the museum *did* accept a substantial collection of overtly sexual artefacts from Warren in 1908, which, as I suggested for the British Museum's acceptance of the Witt collection, problematises the censorship model. As I show in the next chapter, although they were kept off display,<sup>505</sup> the museum did allow these objects to be accessed, photographed and published. According to Mary Comstock, current curator of Classical art at Boston, the 'Erotic Collection' was accepted 'quietly' by the museum, indicating that the trustees were perhaps unaware of its acceptance.<sup>506</sup> Warren had sympathetic friends working within the museum, such as Arthur Fairbanks, the director, with whom Warren was on very good terms, and who may have been responsible for 'quietly' accepting the these

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<sup>500</sup> Boston MFA: RES.08.30a; 95.62.

<sup>501</sup> Whitehill, 1970: 145, 148-9.

<sup>502</sup> Boston MFA: 01.8009; 01.8010.

<sup>503</sup> Boston MFA: 13.98.

<sup>504</sup> Boston MFA: 98.866; 4.22; 4.23.

<sup>505</sup> Comstock and Vermeule, 1976: xi.

<sup>506</sup> Comstock and Vermeule, 1976: xi.

donations.<sup>507</sup> Thus, as I suggested with the British Museum, although the trustees of the Boston Museum may have resisted, there were other forces at work in the museum in regards to sexual imagery, not least Warren himself, who, as their main buyer and donor, was able to infiltrate a great deal of ancient sexual imagery into this collection.

We have seen that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century there was widespread exchange of sexually explicit antiquities between museums, private collections and the commercial market in Europe and America. This saw active and sustained attempts to deliberately build, or to add to, collections which represent ancient sexuality by visual means. In looking at this neglected area of history of the modern reception of sexual antiquities in this period, this has pushed beyond the narrative of censorship and repression. In the next two chapters we explore the motivations behind such prolific collecting. Sustained interest in this material is shown in its comprehensive use as a resource in the acquisition of knowledge about the nature of ancient attitudes to sex. This also disputes current ideas about the imposition of contemporary morality onto such objects in this period, and the subversion of their complex original meanings, as well as challenging notions about scholarship acting as a disguise for lascivious interest in sexual artefacts. I show that across academia, museums, medicine, art and socio-politics, these objects were seen as important reference points for connecting with a broad range of key emergent ideas about human sexuality.

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<sup>507</sup> Green, 1989: 204. On Warren and Fairbanks see letters between Warren and MFA Boston, Archives of American Art.

## Chapter 2

### Sacred Sexuality: sexual antiquities as religious artefacts

In Chapter 1 we followed Wellcome and his staff during the early twentieth century as they collected hundreds of ancient objects in the shape of male genitalia from auctions and dealers in Britain and overseas. Each of these purchases was brought back to Wellcome's museum in London to be processed into the collection.<sup>509</sup> In the large, richly bound accession registers which the museum used to record acquisitions, a member of Wellcome's staff entered the term 'PHA' next to each of these items.<sup>510</sup> This stood for 'Phallic Worship' and this label would also be given, almost uniformly, to each of the hundreds of objects featuring phallic and other sexual imagery in Wellcome's collection from across world history. This tells us that Wellcome was interested in an anthropological theory, first developed in the Enlightenment period, which looked for the origins of religion in the worship of procreation. This chapter traces the ways in which the prolific acquisition and study of the ancient phallus, together with other sexually themed antiquities, fuelled research into the connection between sexuality and religion and how this penetrated increasingly interconnected debates on the nature of human culture. The tradition of 'Phallic Worship' research, and to an extent the role of ancient material within it, has been a subject of some scholarship in recent years, however most work has been concerned with the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.<sup>511</sup> This chapter builds upon the scarce research which continues this history for the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>512</sup>

#### Section 1: 'Phallic Worship': antiquity and the worship of procreation

In this first section I establish that much of the material we saw deliberately collected in Chapter 1 was acquired to explore the supernatural qualities assigned to sexual imagery in antiquity. This collecting in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century provided a new body of evidence which researchers could access, together with

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<sup>509</sup> Joan Braunholtz (Nee Rayment) to H. J. M. Symons 29/7/1985 (WA/HMM/ST/LAT/A.29).

<sup>510</sup> WHMM Accessions Registers (WA/HMM/CM/ACC.3; WA/HMM/CM/ACC.6; WA/HMM/CM/INV/C.3).

<sup>511</sup> Carabelli, 1996; Clarke and Penny, 1982; Davis, 2010; Davis, 2008; Rousseau, 1988.

<sup>512</sup> Carabelli, 1996.

existing comparable collections, for the study of sacred sexual iconography. These activities consciously continued a tradition of collecting practice and research begun in the Enlightenment period, based upon an assertion that the origins of all world religions can be located in the worship of fertility. This was rooted in the interpretation of ancient art and artefacts to reveal a theology of sacred sexuality embodied in their symbolism. Classical archaeological material, especially Roman, with its frequency of sexual motifs, had instigated the idea that sex and religion were not, as in the modern West, hostile concepts. Classical material remained vital for the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century continuation of this tradition, which drew upon the same sorts of objects which had inspired this important debate. Wellcome clearly followed this earlier tradition: his 'Phallic Worship' section was complemented by an extensive collection of eighteenth and nineteenth texts in the Wellcome Historical Medical library, which informed the collection of sexual and phallic artefacts. These books introduce us to the long tradition of 'Phallic Worship' scholarship.

### 1.1 *Worship of Priapus* and eighteenth-century beginnings

On the shelves of the Wellcome library one particular publication appeared a number of times, in several different editions.<sup>513</sup> This had been first published privately in 1786 by that prominent group of antiquarian scholars and collectors, the Society of Dilettanti and written by two of its members who, as we saw in Chapter 1, were prolific collectors of ancient phallic artefacts. It consists of an essay by Richard Payne Knight, entitled *A Discourse on the Worship of Priapus*, and a selection of correspondence belonging to Sir William Hamilton on the apparent survival of this 'worship of Priapus' in modern day Italy.<sup>514</sup> Although Knight's ideas and methodology had not been entirely his own

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<sup>513</sup> Indeed they remain on the shelves in the Wellcome Library, now an academic reference library on Euston Road, London.

<sup>514</sup> The full title is *An Account of the remains of the worship of Priapus, lately existing at Isernia, in the kingdom of Naples; in two letters, one from Sir William Hamilton ... to Sir Joseph Banks ... and the other from a person residing at Isernia; to which is added, A discourse on the worship of Priapus, and its connexion with the mystic theology of the ancients*. The first letter is from Hamilton to Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820), another member of the Society of Dilettanti, founder of the Royal Academy, and who had recently accompanied James Cook on his first voyage to the south pacific and the other is a letter to Hamilton from an Italian who had information on the modern religious practices described in the letter to Banks. On this work see Clarke and Penny, 1982; Johns, 1982: 22-28; Carabelli, 1996: 37; Funnell, 1982:



invention,<sup>515</sup> his publication had been the first full length treatment of the theory that the origins of all religions can be located in the worship of 'generative' or 'creative' powers. It had been influential in the author's lifetime, spawning new work on the subject,<sup>516</sup> but this was limited due to its small, private publication.<sup>517</sup> Peter Funnell has found evidence to show that the oft-repeated story of Knight attempting to withdraw copies after a storm of criticism is not true. The story has been used to support the narrative of repression by highlighting the level of censure the work supposedly received, so much so that even the libertine Knight was driven to try and suppress it.<sup>518</sup> As Funnell shows, it would be very much out of character for Knight to have lost his nerve in bringing his studies on phallic symbolism to a wider audience, and in any case, the minute books of the Society of Dilettanti show that the work continued to be distributed into the 1800s, after many critical reviews had appeared.<sup>519</sup> The story, which Funnell points out is never referenced, may originate the preface to an 1894 republication of the text.<sup>520</sup> It is possibly a fabrication by late nineteenth century editors or booksellers to make the work seem rarer than it actually was, in order to raise the price of either the original 1786 edition or its republications. These republications brought it to a new generation of researchers and collectors and it became the most influential work on the theory of 'Phallic Worship', being read, discussed and quoted throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>521</sup> Knight and Hamilton had themselves been influenced by their acquaintance, a French writer and pseudo-aristocrat, Pierre-François Hughes (1719 – 1805), self-styled the 'Baron d'Hancarville', whose work also appeared in the Wellcome library.<sup>522</sup> He had begun the method of analysing imagery from Greece and Rome, as

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50; Scott, 2003: 187; Rousseau, 1988; Janes, 2009: 120; Jenkins and Sloan, 1996: 238f; Godwin, 1994: 4f; Davis, 2010: 51-82; Davis, 2008: 107-130.

<sup>515</sup> See n. 12 of this chapter.

<sup>516</sup> Dulaure, 1805.

<sup>517</sup> Funnell, 1982: 58.

<sup>518</sup> Johns, 1982: 24.

<sup>519</sup> Funnell, 1982: 63.

<sup>520</sup> Anonymous, 1894: ii.

<sup>521</sup> Knight and Hamilton, 1883; Knight, 1894. The most recent publication is Knight, 2001.

<sup>522</sup> Knight had reproduced images from D'Hancarville's *Recherches sur l'Origine, l'Esprit et le Progres des Arts de la Grece* (E.g. compare Knight, Hamilton and Wright, 1894: Pl. V, fig. 3. and d'Hancarville, 1785: Pl. XVIII). On d'Hancarville, and on Knight as his inheritor, see Heringman, 2013: 125-155; Haskell, 1984; Haskell, 1987; Moore, 2008; Jenkins and Sloan, 1996: 40-51, 96-100, 146-55; Carabelli, 1996: 36-37; Funnell, 1982: 52; Scott, 2003: 187. Godwin, 1994: 8 suggests Knight owes nothing to the earlier work.

well as other cultures, to reveal a symbolic significance for the worship of fertility. He and his colleagues saw the image of the erect male genitalia as an obvious symbol of 'generative' powers and had been struck by the ubiquity with which this symbol was found in ancient culture, in particular at the newly excavated ancient cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum, where they saw it carved in pavements, on street walls, and in objects found in public and domestic spaces.<sup>523</sup> This discovery has often been characterised as challenging antiquity's position as the foundation stone of Western civilisation and leading to the subsequent suppression of this material, or its rationalisation by an idea that these ancient cities were uniquely immoral.<sup>524</sup> The antiquarians of the Society of Dilettanti, however, saw Pompeii as reflecting wider Roman culture and this inspired new investigation into the idea that sexual imagery could have sacred meaning and encouraged their search for other cultural representations of sex, as we shall see later in this chapter.<sup>525</sup> Interest in a Classical phallic religion had predated the revolutionary excavations in Naples: the Renaissance had seen an interest in Priapus the Greco-Roman fertility god, instigated by the rediscovery of the *Priapeia*, Latin poems written from the point of view of the deity in the form of a statue, who makes bawdy and overtly sexual references to his enormous phallus.<sup>526</sup> The use of '*Priapus*' in the title of Knight's cross-cultural survey, however, – permanently associated this god with, not only all Roman, but with *universal* fertility rites, as we shall see.

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<sup>523</sup> See Funnell, 1982: 52-3; Carabelli, 1996: 26-8; Godwin, 1994: 4. See Harris 115 on the satyr tripod from Herculaneum spurring curiosity into religious significance of the phallus.

<sup>524</sup> On the idea that Pompeian sexual imagery challenged notions of Western civilisation see n. 434 of this chapter. For the claim that the discovery led to eighteenth and nineteenth century ideas of Pompeii being unusually lax in its sexual morals and that it had received divine punishment in the volcanic eruption, like that of Sodom and Gomorrah, see de Caro, 2000b; Kendrick, 1987: 6; Hales and Paul, 2011, Seydl, 2012: 21; St Clair and Bautz 2012: 58. Recent accounts often trace this idea in nineteenth century thought to Sir Edward George Bulwer-Lytton's (1803-1873) highly popular historical novel of 1834 *The Last Days of Pompeii*, see Hales and Paul, 2011: 2; Harrison, 2011: 338. See also Dwyer, 2007: 177, on Thomas Gray's 1830 novel *The Vestal*, which predated Lytton and uses the 'notorious sexual emblems' to indicate that the morally depraved Pompeians deserved their fate.

<sup>525</sup> Funnell, 1982: 52-3. Johns, 1982: 21 suggests 'the true scholars of the second half of the eighteenth century were able to face the facts of Greek and Roman impropriety'.

<sup>526</sup> See Turner, 1981: 1-2, Saxl, 1938-9: 9; Carabelli, 1996: 25. 9. Knowledge of the religious significance of this figure as part of a fertility cult is evidenced in artistic representations of Priapus, adorned with festoons by female worshippers. Renaissance Priapus in art includes the *Cult of Priapus* engravings by Jacopo de' Barbari (1499-1503); Giovanni Bellini's painting *Feast of the Gods*, c. 1514, which was directly inspired by Ovid's *Fasti* 1.391-440 and Nicolas Poussin's *Hymenaios Disguised as a Woman During an Offering* to Priapus of 1634.

The abundant sexual artefacts uncovered in the Neapolitan excavations were accessed, studied and illustrated by Payne Knight and his colleagues, in the Royal Museum of Portici (now the Naples museum). Members of the Society of Dilettanti also put together their own collections of sexual antiquities from Pompeii and Herculaneum and elsewhere, which they could study at their leisure at home in England. One member, Charles Townley (1737–1805), had acquired a substantial collection of antiquities which provided much of the inspiration and evidence for his colleagues' theories about the sacred meaning of Roman sexual imagery.<sup>527</sup> While at his home in London they had been given prolonged access to the material in his private 'museum'.<sup>528</sup> We have been provided with a fanciful visual record of this historical event in a painting of Townley's library by Johann Zoffany (1733-1810), featuring the Baron d'Hancarville - who spent many months living with Townley - sitting at a desk surrounded by the collector's marble sculptures and antiquities.<sup>529</sup> Knight and Hamilton had also acquired antiquities explicitly for the purpose of illustrating their new theories, which they deposited in the British Museum to illustrate and publicise their findings.<sup>530</sup> This is also where much of Townley's collection was eventually deposited.

## 1.2 'Phallic Worship': mid-nineteenth-century revival.

The contents of Wellcome's library also demonstrate how these Enlightenment theories were accessed in the early twentieth century via works created in a mid-nineteenth-century revival of these ideas. A second book on the shelves of the Wellcome library was produced by another society of amateur scholars called the Anthropological Society of London (ASL), founded in 1863 by Sir Richard Burton (1821-1890).<sup>531</sup> This

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<sup>527</sup> Knight, 1894: 23, 33, 39, 42, 47, 55, 61, 74, 77. 104; d'Hancarville, 1785. See Godwin, 1994: 7-8.

<sup>528</sup> Knight refers to the 'museum' of Townley which houses the material he references in his work, Knight, 1894: 23. On Knight and d'Hancarville's engagement with Townley's collection see Haskell, 1984: 186; Rousseau, 1988: 114- 115; Godwin, 1994: 6; Clarke and Penny, 1982: 6, 52; Coltman, 2006: 166-8. On Townley's private collection and his home as a space for domestic and 'intimate' display of the antique for the 'exclusive culture of learned conversation' by a privileged circle see Coltman, 2006: 19-20; 165-6.

<sup>529</sup> *Charles Townley's Library, No. 7 Park Street, Westminster, 1781-3, 1792, 1798*, Burnley Borough Council, Towneley Hall Art Gallery and Museums. Reproduced in Coltman, 2006: Pl. 2. On the painting see Coltman, 2006: 165-6; Haskell, 1984: 186. On Townley's patronage of d'Hancarville and the reception of him by the Society and other London intellectuals see Heringman, 2013: 150.

<sup>530</sup> Hamilton, 1894: 5.

<sup>531</sup> On the ASL and their interest in phallic worship more generally, see Lyons and Lyons, 2004: 57-58; Carabelli, 1996: 111-112; Godwin, 1994: 22.

publication reproduced papers given in 1865 by two of its members: 'Phallic Worship' by Hodder Michael Westropp and 'Influence of the Phallic Idea in the Religions of Antiquity' by Charles Staniland Wake (1835-1910).<sup>532</sup> Around the year 1865 there had been a significant revival of the ideas of Knight and other phallic theorists.<sup>533</sup> Like their predecessors, these mid-nineteenth-century researchers had continued the analysis of material culture for its symbolic meaning about the reverence of procreation. The trans-cultural nature of this debate had been widened out to examine in more detail cultures that eighteenth-century work had only touched upon, such as India, as well as the sexual symbolism of new cultures or historical periods, such as contemporary Africa and Medieval Europe.<sup>534</sup>

Roman phallic material in particular had remained important as evidence in these nineteenth-century debates, not least because of the influence of Knight's Roman-focused treatise. Mid-eighteenth-century researchers had made use of the same type of, or indeed the very same, Classical material which had fuelled Enlightenment debates. They also accessed and studied the contents of what was by then the Naples' 'Secret Cabinet', and the Townley, Knight and Hamilton material by then in British Museum's 'Secretum'.<sup>535</sup> A thirst for new acquisitions had also been an important part of this revival and while collecting had widened out far beyond Greece and Rome (something the eighteenth-century collectors had not done) Classical material had also continued to be collected in great numbers. The ASL had been provided with direct access to the most extensive of these new collections, put together by one of their members: the collection of 434 objects from across cultures depicting phallic and sexually imagery put together by George Witt, which we saw in Chapter 1 was bequeathed to the British Museum in 1865. Witt's collection was clearly meant to support eighteenth-century theories, evidenced in the title of the accompanying catalogue - 'Collection Illustrative of

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<sup>532</sup> The edition in the Wellcome Library is entitled *Ancient symbol worship: influence of the phallic idea in the religions of antiquity* (1874). On these papers see Carabelli, 1996: 112; Lyons and Lyons, 2004: 57.

<sup>533</sup> ASL, 1865: 274. Sellon, 1865; Burton, 1865; Wright, 1894. Non-ASL work includes Inman, 1869; Davenport, 1869. On this revival see Johns, 1982: 22f; Gaimster, 2000; Gaimster, 2001; Carabelli, 1996: 37-9; 11-12, 112; Janes, 2009: 119; Lyons and Lyons, 2004: 57-9; Godwin, 1994: 22-24.

<sup>534</sup> On India see Sellon, 1865, on Africa see Burton, 1865, on Medieval Europe see Wright, 1894.

<sup>535</sup> Wright, 1894: 149; Westropp, Wake and Wilder, 1874: 31. See George Witt's notebooks in the British Museum.

Phallic Worship'.<sup>536</sup> Despite the new cross-cultural nature of the collecting, around half of his collection was from antiquity. The influence of Enlightenment ideas in building his collection is revealed in Witt's own library now kept at the British Museum, which contains personally monogrammed publications of Knight and d'Hancarville's work. Witt's notebooks, also kept there, attest to a meticulous study of the artefacts referenced in these works, as well as of new phallic and sexual imagery from antiquity and elsewhere, discussed in correspondence with other collectors and scholars interested in the same subject.<sup>537</sup> Witt, with several of his fellow ASL members, antiquarian and medievalist Thomas Wright and J. E Tennent, had republished Knight's *Worship of Priapus* in 1865 with their own additions, a book found in Wellcome's library as well as the original 1786 publication.<sup>538</sup> The five hundred copies of this republication introduced this work to a new generation. That Witt's purpose in collecting hundreds of sexual antiquities had been to provide a research collection for the study of fertility cults, is confirmed by the fact that he had arranged his acquisitions in a 'museum' at his home in Hyde Park, where he had delivered lectures on Sunday mornings based on the material.<sup>539</sup> Just as the Dilettanti had spent leisurely time in Townley's 'museum', and this had inspired their interest in universal phallic religions, so the ASL had been able to develop these ideas through access to a brand new collection of artefacts arranged at Witt's home.<sup>540</sup> The year of the republication of Knight's *Worship of Priapus*, 1865, had seen a great surge in interest by the ASL in this subject and was also the year Witt offered his collection to the British Museum, declaring that a bout of ill health had made him consider the fate of his collection (he died four years later).<sup>541</sup> Clearly he had

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<sup>536</sup> British Museum archives.

<sup>537</sup> Witt's library and notebooks are now in the British Museum archives. On Witt and his collection see Johns, 1982: 28; Gaimster, 2000; Gaimster, 2001 and Carabelli, 1996: 111, 131, 151.

<sup>538</sup> Knight, Hamilton and Wright, 1865.

<sup>539</sup> On Witt's 'museum' see ASL, 1865: 274. On the lectures see Johns, 1982: 28; Gaimster, 2001: 134. I have been unable to find the original source and Catherine Johns has been unable to locate it for me (Personal email correspondence Catherine Johns to me 28/03/2011).

<sup>540</sup> ASL, 1865: 274.

<sup>541</sup> Witt to Anthony Panizzi, 1865, British Museum Archive Originals Papers, Vol 84, 1865. Letter printed in full Gaimster, 2000; Johns, 1982: 28.

wanted to expose what he saw as a useful, scholarly collection illustrating the theory of universal phallic worship, to a wider audience.<sup>542</sup>

### 1.3 The Wellcome 'Phallic Worship' section

The remainder of this section traces the collection and study of sexual antiquities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as they fed into the theory about universal fertility cults. These activities were based on the framework established in earlier periods but also introduced new material to the investigation. The colossal collection of antiquities featuring phallic and other sexual imagery acquired by Wellcome was put together to investigate the connection between sex and religion. His creation of a specific 'Phallic Worship' section demonstrates Wellcome's following in the tradition of those collectors and scholars whose works existed in his library. In Chapter 1 I argued that Wellcome was deliberately attempting to acquire material similar to that found at Naples and the British Museum and, as we have seen above, these collections contained material which had been instrumental in the development of theories about an ancient phallic religion. This suggests that Wellcome's acquisition of similar material was meant to engage with the same debates about the origins of religious belief.

As we saw in Chapter 1, Wellcome acquired many phallic figures from the ancient world, including several representations of Priapus, the overtly phallic deity whose ancient worship inspired the first studies of sacred sexual imagery, evidenced not least in the title of Knight's seminal work. Priapus' appearance in Wake and Westropp's essays and Witt's collection show that representations of the god had remained important for thinking about 'Phallic Worship' in the nineteenth century.<sup>543</sup> Wellcome's interest in this figure as an ancient fertility god is demonstrated by his acquisition of Renaissance imagery, which we have seen was part of the very early modern interest in Roman fertility cults and was transformed into a theory of universal fertility religions by the Pompeian discoveries. Wellcome collected three late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century engravings by Jan Lamsvelt showing statues of Priapus represented as, according to the Greek inscriptions, 'the guardian of gardens

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<sup>542</sup> Witt to Anthony Panizzi, 1865, British Museum Archive Originals Papers, Vol 84, 1865. Letter printed in full Gaimster, 2000; Johns, 1982: 28.

<sup>543</sup> Westropp, Wake and Wilder, 1874: 49.

and god of natural reproduction' with 'baskets and swags of fruit as symbols of male fertility and the earth's fecundity'.<sup>544</sup> Wellcome acquired dozens of small figurines which were identified as 'Priapus'. This includes a figure-type that reoccurs across modern collections: a bearded Priapus holds up his tunic, in which he is carrying fruit and other produce, to reveal a large phallus.<sup>545</sup> This figure-type appeared in Knight's collection, and his *Worship of Priapus* illustrated an example from the Townley collection to demonstrate the link between phallic iconography and belief in the divine power to provide fertility, symbolised here in Priapus' cornucopia (see figs. 36, 31, 32).<sup>546</sup>

We saw in Chapter 1 that in the 1930s, Wellcome's 'foreign secretary' Peter Johnston-Saint managed to acquire for Wellcome a number of modern copies of original Roman objects in the Naples' 'Secret Cabinet', including a small modern copy of the large tripod from Naples (fig. 19).<sup>547</sup> The original had been identified by Winckelmann in 1762 as depicting 'three Priapus figures', although Stanislas Famin's catalogue of the 'Secret Cabinet' had given the more commonly found label of 'satyr' in 1816.<sup>548</sup> Knight had described these half man, half beast figures in Roman phallic religion as messengers of the life-giving deity: 'emanations of the Creator, incarnate with man, acting as his angels and ministers in the work of universal generation'.<sup>549</sup> The phallic characters on the tripod, therefore, had long been associated with Roman fertility religion. The original object, with its overt sexual imagery, had been given even more sacred significance in Famin's text in which he had identified this object as part of the equipment of religious sacrifice, having been found in the *sacrarium* (a room with a shrine) of the House of Julia Felix.<sup>550</sup> The image of the ithyphallic satyrs stretching

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<sup>544</sup> Wellcome Library ICV No 39501; ICV No 39499; ICV No 39495.

<sup>545</sup> See for example Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A87261. See British Museum: WITT.28; MFA Boston: RES.08.34a.

<sup>546</sup> Knight, 1894: 37; 42 54, Pl V. The Knight Priapus is British Museum: 1824,0471.3. On fruit, Priapus and fertility see Hooper, 1999: 1; Parker, 1988: esp. 103, 161. For the relationship between phallus and cornucopia see Johns, 1982: 50.

<sup>547</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: 155233.

<sup>548</sup> Winckelmann, 2011, trans. Mattusch: 105. Famin, 1832: Pl. XVIII See also de Caro, 2000, 2000: 32; Harris, 2007: 115; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, 1990, 157, 261; Grant, De Simone, Merella and Mulas, 1975.

<sup>549</sup> Knight, 1894: 35.

<sup>550</sup> Famin, 1832: Pl. XVIII.

forward 'as if to keep off the profane' underscores that they are the ones who are pious.<sup>551</sup> Wellcome also acquired several terracotta figures of satyrs.<sup>552</sup>

As we have seen, Johnston-Saint also acquired for Wellcome a near-replica of a bronze dwarf figurine with an enormous phallus, which has wings attached to its end (fig. 16).<sup>553</sup> A photograph of this modern copy had appeared ten years before in *Die Erotick der Antike in Kleinkunst und Keramik* (1921) by Latin scholar Gaston Vorberg (1875-1947). This groundbreaking catalogue published A3 size photographs of sexually themed Classical antiquities (where previous publications had used drawn or painted illustrations). In this work Vorberg linked the dwarf figurine to ideas that the phallus was believed to have supernatural qualities in the ancient world.<sup>554</sup> The location is listed as the Naples museum but this seems to be an error, confusing the original object (which was in the museum) with the copy, which is definitely the subject of the photograph, distinguishable by the features outlined in Chapter 1, such as the missing testicles on the modern copy. Presumably the photograph was taken sometime before 1921 and the object later passed to the dealer in Rome who sold it to Johnston-Saint. Or perhaps more than one copy was made, one of which was photographed by Vorberg, while another was bought by Wellcome.

In either case, Wellcome's library contained an edition of Vorberg's work, further demonstrating Wellcome's interest in sexual antiquities, and suggesting that this text was used as another guide for what material to acquire in order to explore the religious significance of ancient sexual imagery. Vorberg's publications, as we shall see, introduced not only this, but many other new objects into the body of material studied in the early twentieth century, in connection with the theory of 'Phallic Worship'. That Wellcome's phallic collection contained pieces from this important publication of ancient sexual imagery highlights the - as yet unacknowledged - importance of Wellcome's work in this area.

Vorberg does not mention that the bronze phallic dwarf is a modern copy. However, as we saw in Chapter 1, Wellcome knew the contents of the Naples museum,

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<sup>551</sup> Famin, 1832: Pl. XVIII.

<sup>552</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: 87269.

<sup>553</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: 129185.

<sup>554</sup> Vorberg, 1921: 10.



and so it is probable he also knew he was acquiring non-original material. I have argued that Wellcome was in general happy to acquire and have modern copies commissioned, if it meant being able to represent important material in his museum. I also showed that he deliberately acquired material to ape the 'Secret Cabinet'. We now see that he was aiming to create a collection which could illustrate the richness and ubiquity of sacred sexual imagery in Rome and elsewhere - as well, or better, than those collections which had fuelled the 'Phallic Worship' tradition which he followed. For this it was necessary to acquire non-original material. Wellcome's anthropological material culture-based approach saw objects as embodying the thoughts and beliefs of the culture that created them, and he clearly considered copies, despite being made outside of that culture, as being able to convey this same knowledge.

As we saw in the previous chapter, Wellcome acquired a large number of Late-period and Ptolemaic Egyptian phallic figurines from Naucratis, largely through Major Gayer-Anderson, his contact in Egypt. This included many images of the phallic god Harpocrates - a collection which competed in size with the British Museum's Harpocratic material, donated by the Egyptian Exploration Fund (EEF). Similar objects which are almost certainly from Naucratis or the surrounding area, had come to the attention of phallic theorists long before the EEF's 1880s excavations. Two examples appeared in Witt's mid-nineteenth-century collection.<sup>555</sup> Three appeared in illustrated form, slightly inaccurately drawn, in John Davenport's *Aphrodisiacs and anti-aphrodisiacs: Three essays on the powers of reproduction*, published in 1869.<sup>556</sup> Davenport, not a member of the ASL but publishing in the same era, was influential on the 'Phallic Worship' tradition, and the plate illustrating the Harpocratic figurines became an often-reprinted image in works on the subject.<sup>557</sup>

The majority of Wellcome's 'Phallic Worship' section, however, was made up of over four hundred Roman and Egyptian phallic amulets. These are made of bronze, bone, ivory, faïence, stone and wood and feature the phallus in a variety of forms with a range of other imagery. Throughout their modern reception, these small objects had

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<sup>555</sup> British Museum: Museum Secretum W8; W9; W16; W7/1865,1118.7; W430/1865,1118.430; 1865,1118.6/W6.

<sup>556</sup> Davenport, 1869: Pl.2; Scott, 1941.

<sup>557</sup> Scott, 1941: Pl. 9; Institut für Sexualforschung, 1928: 4.637..

been fundamental for debates about the religious meaning of sexual imagery. Wellcome museum's handbook highlighted a selection of these amulets on display and described them as 'amulets of faith... phallic emblems worn for fecundity'.<sup>558</sup> This interpretation was inherited from Knight who had suggested that ancient Roman women had worn an image of the penis and testicles around their necks to show that:

'...the devout wearer devoted herself wholly and solely to procreation, the great end for which she was ordained. So expressive a symbol, being constantly in her view, must keep her attention fixed on its natural object, and continually remind her of the gratitude she owed the Creator, for having taken her into his service, made her a partaker of his most valuable blessings, and employed her as the passive instrument in the exertion of his most beneficial power'.<sup>559</sup>

Although the Wellcome museum's handbooks do not distinguish between the many different designs of ancient phallic amulets in the collection, it is worth examining the importance of these diverse motifs for Knight's influential theory of phallic religion, a theory which we know Wellcome to have followed. Knight insisted that the different designs of amulets embodied different elements of an original, primeval belief in the creative force.

Within Wellcome's large phallic amulet collection, one of the most common designs, appearing over twenty times in total, is that in which the male member is accompanied by the so-called *mano fica* sign.<sup>560</sup> This is a fist with the thumb pushed between the first and second fingers and has been interpreted as representing the sexual act, or female genitalia alone. The most common variation on this type of amulet in Wellcome's collection, as across extant material, is a small bronze object with the appearance of a stylised human figure: a loop at the top of the amulet for suspension acts as the 'head', the crescent shape made up of the phallus and fist act as two 'arms', and a third flaccid phallus and testicles are in roughly the appropriate place for genitals (see fig. 37).<sup>561</sup> One amulet in Wellcome's collection even has a mouth in the

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<sup>558</sup> WHMM Handbook 1920: 15 (WA/HMM/PB/Han/17).

<sup>559</sup> Knight, 1894: 28.

<sup>560</sup> The largest collection, over forty examples, is of the amulet which features the simple phallus and testicles in a variety of materials. Knight and Witt also collected several examples, for example British Museum: 1824,0471.16 and W.177. See Knight, 1894: 27-8.

<sup>561</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: 79466.

appropriate place.<sup>562</sup> Knight and Hamilton had illustrated an example of this amulet type from Townley's collection (fig. 38) and both acquired examples in substantial numbers themselves.<sup>563</sup> It was this amulet type which had first brought to Hamilton's attention the idea of the supernatural phallus, as we will see below. The *mano fica* fist had been important for Knight in symbolising the union of male and female genitalia in the 'act of generation, which was considered as a solemn sacrament, in honour of the Creator'.<sup>564</sup> Representations of the combination of male and female powers had been important more generally in the Enlightenment theory of original fertility cults. Witt also collected fifteen examples of the *mano fica* and phallus amulet and this attests to the importance of this object type for the tradition of 'Phallic Worship' study which had grown out of eighteenth-century collecting, and was maintained into the twentieth century, evidenced in Wellcome's prolific collection.<sup>565</sup>

A more unusual type of Roman amulet in Wellcome's collection is shaped as a bull's head which holds a double ended phallus in its mouth (fig. 39).<sup>566</sup> Its acquisition also indicates a conscious imitation of the interests of Knight and his followers. The bull had a special significance in the phallic tradition. Knight and d'Hancarville believed they had found the earliest representations of a creative force in Japanese images of a bull breaking an egg with his horns. According to d'Hancarville, this showed the original act of animating primordial 'chaos', or matter, in its first state, signified by the egg.<sup>567</sup> Knight described the egg as 'a very proper symbol of Chaos, containing the seeds and materials of all things, which, however, were barren and useless, until the Creator fructified them by the incubation of his vital spirit, and released them from the restraints of inert matter, by the efforts of his divine strength'.<sup>568</sup> Knight, who collected nearly ninety objects featuring the bull, published illustrations of several of his own coins with

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<sup>562</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: 168065.

<sup>563</sup> For example British Museum: 1824, 0471.14. Hamilton, 1894: 4; Knight, 1894: 28.

<sup>564</sup> Hamilton, 1894: 4. Knight, 1894: 28.

<sup>565</sup> Wellcome also collected four bronze Roman objects in the shape of shells. See Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A67802; A67803; A67804; A67805. The '*Concha Veneris*' (Venus's shell) amulets had also been important for Knight and Hamilton who thought they represented female genitalia and were 'symbols of the generative powers of nature or matter, as the male were of the generative powers of God', Knight, 1894: 28. Eight of these amulet types are also found in the Witt collection E.g. British Museum: WITT.158

<sup>566</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: 67841; 67845; 95402, 69344.

<sup>567</sup> d'Hancarville, 1785: I.67, PLVIII. See Clarke and Penny, 1982: 53.

<sup>568</sup> Knight, 1894: 20-21.

images of a bull butting the ground in *Worship of Priapus*, which he insisted echoed the iconography of the Japanese images, only with the absence of the egg.<sup>569</sup> Both d'Hancarville and Knight had illustrated a bull and phallus amulet-type from the Townley collection which is almost identical to one of Wellcome's (see figs. 40, 39).<sup>570</sup> The Witt collection also features a plaster cast of a similar bull and phallus amulet, except with a *mano fica* fist protruding from its jaw instead of a second phallus.<sup>571</sup> For these phallic theorists these objects brought together two vital symbols, representing 'not only the strength of the Creator, but the peculiar direction of it to the most beneficial purpose, the propagation of sensitive beings'.<sup>572</sup>

Wellcome acquired six small bronze Roman amulets in which a phallus is accompanied by wings (see fig. 41). This type had appeared in previous collections illustrating 'Phallic Worship' such as Witt's,<sup>573</sup> and had been especially highlighted by Knight as evidence that phallic imagery was meant to symbolise an original creative force.<sup>574</sup> The images of wings, he argued, were an iconographic shorthand for the original deity's 'swiftness and incubation; by the first of which he pervaded matter, and by the second fructified the egg of Chaos'.<sup>575</sup> The creator here plays mother-bird to the beginnings of life.<sup>576</sup> Knight's illustration of an amulet in the British Museum bears striking resemblance to the alabaster and bronze phallus with wings which Johnston-Saint acquired at Pompeii (see figs. 42 and 12).<sup>577</sup> As Chapter 1 showed, Wellcome acquired another type of ancient phallus with wings in the form of a hanging object (see fig. 12). While Knight had collected two examples of the beast-phallus *tintinnabula* with wings they did not feature in *Worship of Priapus* because they were acquired after writing.<sup>578</sup> Still, it is surprising to find that he had nothing to say about these complex and striking phallic objects. Several examples, with and without wings, were available to

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<sup>569</sup> Knight, 1894:21.

<sup>570</sup> Knight, Hamilton and Wright, 1894: Pl. II; d'Hancarville, 1785: Plate XIII C.

<sup>571</sup> British Museum: WITT.203.

<sup>572</sup> Knight, 1894: 22-3.

<sup>573</sup> E.g. British Museum: WITT.288.

<sup>574</sup> Knight, 1894: 28.

<sup>575</sup> Knight, 1894: 20.

<sup>576</sup> On this see Davis, 2008.

<sup>577</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A665706 / R23453. See British Museum: WITT.288

<sup>578</sup> British Museum: 1824,0471.33; 1824,0430.3/ Museum Secretum M311. A very unusual version Knight collected shows a phallus with wings and the feet of eagle, holding in one claw a lizard and in the other an arm with the *mano fica* fist at one end and the phallus at the other, British Museum: 1824,0432.2.

him at the time of writing in the Townley collection and Naples museum, which had also been illustrated in Winckelmann's publication of 1762.<sup>579</sup>

However, the phallic *tintinnabulum* and other hanging phalluses had become part of the body of material studied in the mid-nineteenth-century revival of Knight's ideas. Two examples from Witt's collection, found in York and London, were discussed and illustrated in an essay by Thomas Wright and Witt which was published in the new edition of *Worship of Priapus* in 1865 (see figs. 43 and 44). These were used as evidence of the spread of the Roman phallic religion into Romano Britain as distinct from native British fertility cults.<sup>580</sup> One of Wellcome's acquisitions resembles closely those of Witt's (fig. 13).<sup>581</sup> These types are the most common of extant phallic *tintinnabula*, in which a phallus with pendant bells is given a tail, sometimes wings and animal legs – in Wellcome's example they are hooped like a goat's, and Witt's two examples feature paws like that of a lion and of a dog.<sup>582</sup> A similar example in the Wellcome collection also features a woman riding the phallus (fig. 14).<sup>583</sup> Photographs of the two phallic *tintinnabula* which Wellcome acquired were also published in 1932 by Gaston Vorberg in his dictionary of sexually related Latin terms entitled *Glossarium Eroticum*. Vorberg used the objects to illustrate the term '*fascinum*', the divine protective phallus.<sup>584</sup> In this they are listed as from Naples, though it does specify their location. One of these was purchased by Wellcome in 1931, a year before Vorberg's publication, and one afterwards in 1936, so, as with the replica bronze dwarf, it seems likely they were photographed by Vorberg, somewhere in Naples, at some point before 1931. *Glossarium Eroticum* was not part of the Wellcome library but may have been read by his staff. It has, however, become a particularly influential work and this again reveals the importance of Wellcome's collection for scholars of ancient sexual imagery.<sup>586</sup> It is now possible to see these objects featured in Vorberg's publication in the permanent exhibition of a selection of Wellcome's material at the Wellcome Collection in Euston.

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<sup>579</sup> A Townley example is British Museum: 1814,0704.1257. Winckelmann, 2011, trans. Mattusch: 97.

<sup>580</sup> Wright, 1894: 122-3, Pl. XXVII, Figs. 3 and 4. See Witt's notebook entitled 'Grecian Etruscan Roman' at British Museum.

<sup>581</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A154056.

<sup>582</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A154056.

<sup>583</sup> This is Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A97578.

<sup>584</sup> Vorberg, 1965: 479-81.

<sup>586</sup> Beazley, 1989; Clarke, 2006; Keuls, 1985: 458.

In addition to describing phallic amulets ‘for fecundity’ – as symbolising divine power who could provide fertility - the Wellcome museum subscribed to another interpretation of the ancient phallus. In his report of his visit to Pompeii in 1929, Wellcome’s collector, Peter Johnston-Saint described ancient phallic imagery which had been used ‘against the evil eye’, both in the phallic signs carved outside buildings in the city and in the phallic amulets from the site available for sale (such as the alabaster and bronze hanging phallus he acquired for the museum, fig. 12).<sup>587</sup> The idea that ancient phallic imagery had been used as an *apotropaia* (from the Greek for ‘prophylactic’ or ‘protective’) to ward off evil spirits, had been important in the modern tradition of ‘Phallic Worship’ studies.<sup>588</sup> Furthermore, the two types of ancient phallic artefacts which Johnston-Saint identified, especially as they were found in Pompeii and Herculaneum, had long provided a reference point for this interpretation. Hodder Westropp in his paper ‘Phallic Worship’ delivered to the ASL in 1865, had described the phallus as a symbol ‘against envy and the evil eye, as at the postern gate at Alatri and at Pompeii, and as frequently occurs in amulets of porcelain found in Egypt, and of bronze in Italy’.<sup>589</sup> The carved signs will be considered in detail later in the chapter. This interpretation of the phallus, which was available through knowledge of ancient literature,<sup>590</sup> had been the starting point of investigations for Hamilton, and had encouraged his colleagues’ interest in the notion that sexual representations could hold sacred meaning.<sup>591</sup> Hamilton had been especially interested in amulets featuring the phallus and *mano fica* fist.<sup>592</sup> He possibly took his lead from Winckelmann and his interpretation of an example of this amulet type from Herculaneum as protecting against the ‘evil eye’.<sup>593</sup> Relevant to this interpretation of the ancient phallus is an artefact which Witt acquired, and which is, as far as I can tell, unique. Johns describes this as ‘one of

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<sup>587</sup> Johnston-Saint Travel Diaries, Jan-Mar 1929: 77-78; (WA/HMM/RP/Jst/A.3), Jan-Apr 1929: 19-20 (WA/HMM/RP/Jst/B.3).

<sup>588</sup> For this idea current at the time of Wellcome’s collecting see Elworthy, 1895; Hastings, 1908-1927: 826. For the continuation of this interpretation in scholarship see Rykwert, 1976: 159; Aldhouse-Green, 1978: 34-5; Johns, 1982: Ch. 3; Williams, 1999: 18, 92; Skinner, 2005: 259 – 262; George, 2005: 89; Clarke and Larvey, 2003: 109; Hooper, 1999: 1; Richlin, 1992: 58.

<sup>589</sup> Westropp, Wake and Wilder, 1874: 31. See Knight, 1894: 41

<sup>590</sup> Plutarch *Moralia* 680c–683b; Pliny *Natural History* 7.16–8, 28.39; Varro *de lingua latina*, vii, 97.

<sup>591</sup> Hamilton, 1894: 4.

<sup>592</sup> Hamilton, 1894: 4; Knight, 1894: 28.

<sup>593</sup> Winckelmann, 2011, trans. Mattusch: 96.

the most explicit and remarkable representations of the power of the phallus over the Evil Eye' (fig. 45).<sup>594</sup> A small terracotta group of Hellenistic or Roman date is shaped as a pair of anthropomorphised phalluses holding a saw with which they are destroying a large eye which lies between them.<sup>595</sup>

In the late nineteenth century a book had appeared for which this protective interpretation of the phallus was especially important. It should be seen as an inheritor of Hamilton's research and as a transporter of these ideas to the early twentieth century, when Wellcome, or rather his staff, acquired a copy of it and referred to it as they put together and interpreted a substantial collection of amulets.<sup>596</sup> *The Evil Eye: An Account of this Ancient and Widespread Superstition* by British writer Frederick Thomas Elworthy (1830-1907) was published in 1895 and maps a universal belief in an evil force which can be defeated by a variety of transcultural symbols and rituals. While Elworthy examines Babylonian, Egyptian and Greek evidence, among others, his section on the phallus as an *apotropaion* draws heavily on archaeological and literary Roman evidence. Elworthy, like others before him, uses both the Pompeian amulets and street signs as evidence.<sup>597</sup> Just as Hamilton had been, Elworthy was especially interested in the *mano fica* sign, as well as other phallic amulets which he saw at the Naples Museum and the Museum of the Collegio Romano.<sup>598</sup> (Although this idea of the phallus having the power to protect may appear to be a separate interpretation from its symbolic connection with fertility, Hamilton had insisted that belief in the apotropaic powers of the phallus were 'evidently a relation to the Cult of Priapus'.<sup>599</sup> In Section 3 we will see that Hamilton's idea was an important part of understanding the supernatural phallus as both a creative and protective force and that the relationship between these two functions was tied to the anthropological theory of cultural evolution).

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<sup>594</sup> Johns, 1982: 66. This is British Museum: 1865,1118.78/Museum Secretum W78.

<sup>595</sup> See Johns, 1982: 66.

<sup>596</sup> A document refers to the Wellcome staff using this book to interpret amulets (WA.HMM.TR.ABC.C.4.1).

<sup>597</sup> Elworthy, 1895: 149.

<sup>598</sup> Elworthy, 1895:150. Elworthy's references to a *mano fica* and phallus amulet example from the Dresden collection, illustrated in the archaeologist Otto Jahn's 1855 *Der Aberglaube des Bösen Blicks bei den Alten* (The superstition of the evil gaze of the ancients), Elworthy, 1895:150-1. This archaeologist's work would be highly influential for the study of ancient Roman and Greek artefacts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Here Elworthy makes use of one of his much less well known works.

<sup>599</sup> Hamilton, 1894: 4.

Wellcome's 'Phallic Worship' section also contained nearly a hundred images of sexual activity, half of which were featured on Greek and Roman lamps, vases, plaques and gems. From its inception, the study of fertility cults had seen images of sexual intercourse as sacred iconography, suggesting that 'the act of generation was a sort of sacrament'.<sup>600</sup> Cosmologically they depicted the coming together of the divine 'active' (male) and 'passive' (female) elements in the act of creation, which the human (heterosexual) act of intercourse could also refer to.<sup>601</sup> Hence images of immortals, as well as mythical figures, having sex could hold sacred meaning. In 1930 Peter Johnston-Saint purchased from one of his regular dealers in Rome twenty three plaster casts of 'Greek gems' depicting men and women in various sexual positions, as well as other sexual motifs.<sup>602</sup> This purchase shows the museum drawing upon another book in the Wellcome library. Published around 1771 by the Baron d'Hancarville *Veneres et Priapi uti observantur in gemmis antiquis* is a catalogue of hand-coloured illustrations of supposedly Classical gems with sexual themes, accompanied by text apparently written by a famous courtesan of the age of Tiberius, Elephantis.<sup>603</sup> Images show men and women having sex, libations made of Priapus, and sometimes a combination of the two so that Priapus watches lovemaking in front of his altar.<sup>604</sup> In this way heterosexual sexual activity is framed as sacred. The authenticity of the images in this publication has been called into question.<sup>605</sup> Wellcome's plaster casts are also of questionable provenance, some bearing a resemblance to so-called 'full moon' images popular in the late nineteenth century and purchased through clandestine catalogues, in which a gem-shaped frame contained a photograph of the genital area of men and women.<sup>606</sup> Both d'Hancarville's illustrations and Wellcome's plaster casts feature motifs found elsewhere in definitely genuine extant material. We have seen that Wellcome was somewhat

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<sup>600</sup> Knight, 1894: 105.

<sup>601</sup> Knight, 1894: 105. Knight had used a medal from his own collection depicting a man and woman having sex to illustrate this, Knight, 1894: Pl. IX, Fig. 8.

<sup>602</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection A95339/A641155-641176; Johnston-Saint Travel Diaries, Sep-Nov 1930 (WA/HMM/RP/JST/A.9: 10. See also WA/HMM/CM/LIS/23).

<sup>603</sup> This work was published anonymously with no date. Antoine Barbier attributed it to d'Hancarville and gave the date 1771, Barbier, 1824: 651, V.21639. The edition referenced here may be a later date as the name has changed to '*Veneres uti observantur in gemmis antiquis*'. On this work see Carabelli, 1996: 34; Davis, 2001: 261.

<sup>604</sup> d'Hancarville, 1771: Plates 12, 9, 10.

<sup>605</sup> Carabelli, 1996: 34.

<sup>606</sup> On 'full moons' see Sigel, 2002: 108.



unconcerned with the authenticity of material and d'Hancarville produced several more catalogues of neo-Classical sexual imagery which have been branded modern creations.<sup>607</sup> I suggest that if they both knew these very likely modern representations of sexually themed gems did not represent genuine ancient pieces; they considered that they nevertheless represented a genuinely ancient connection between heterosexual sex and the worship of fertility.

The ubiquitous Roman terracotta lamp depicting men and women in various sexual positions, as we saw in Chapter 1, appeared seven times in the Wellcome collection. Here Wellcome follows the interest of nineteenth-century collector George Witt's, whose collection 'illustrating Phallic Worship' also included seven examples which had been published in the 1865 essay by Thomas Wright and himself.<sup>608</sup> Although of interest earlier, the mid-nineteenth-century researchers had especially embraced images of heterosexual sexuality as part of the 'Phallic Worship' theory.

#### 1.4 Warren and Marshall's 'erotic collection'

The widespread influence of this narrative of universal fertility cults as a way of interpreting a range of phallic and sexual antiquities is evidenced in its impact on another collection we examined in Chapter 1. As we saw, between the 1880s and 1920s, Edward Perry Warren and his partner John Marshall acquired nearly one hundred antiquities from Greece and Rome with sexual and often phallic imagery. Although the theory of universal fertility cults was not one of Warren and Marshall's main interests as Chapter 3 will show, there is evidence that this debate touched upon their interpretation of sexual antiquities. In Marshall's notebook dated c.1894 we find notes from his study of Charles Wake's paper, given before the ASL, (published as 'Phallicism in Ancient Religion', in a collection of essays by Wake), which I have

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<sup>607</sup> See Carabelli, 1996: 34; Davis, 2001: 261; Blanshard, 2010: 66.

<sup>608</sup> Wright, 1894: 122-123. See British Museum: 1865,1118.243/Lamp Q1496Museum Secretum W243; 1978,0807.1/Lamp Q3385; 1865,1118.241.b/Lamp Q1078Museum Secretum W241; 1865,1118.247/Lamp Q3380Museum Secretum W247; 1865,1118.242/Lamp Q888Museum Secretum W242; 1865,1118.244/Lamp Q881Museum Secretum W244; 1865,1118.245/Lamp Q882Museum Secretum W245.

suggested also informed Wellcome's collecting.<sup>609</sup> Marshall was aware of the debates around the religious meaning of sexual imagery and this may have provided him with a framework for interpreting material that he and Warren acquired. Many of their acquisitions would later inform others who were debating the religious significance of sexual imagery, as we shall see. Material in the Warren collection of the sort that informed phallic theorists feature images of the phallus, Priapus and satyrs, as well as heterosexual sexual activity, including the marble plaque of Heracles and Omphale having sex in front of a Priapus-herm, which echoes the phallic motifs we have seen in, for example, d'Hancarville's *Veneres et Priapi* (figs. 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 35).<sup>610</sup> There is also an unsubstantiated story of neo-Classical gems with scenes of sex and phallic rites and thought to be created in the nineteenth century, which were found in the 1980s in cigar boxes in a shed near Warren's house and thought to have belonged to the collector.<sup>611</sup> As I have suggested for Wellcome's plaster casts, could this have been a purchase inspired by d'Hancarville's publication?

We also find many examples of phallic herms in Warren's collection, including an Archaic statuette of a wide, flat herm, with stumps of arms, and prominent genitals (fig. 46). Marshall made particular note of Charles Wake's comments on this object type. The practice of setting up a simple pillar-shaped object, Wake argues, is found across cultures and should be seen as a rudimentary sign of fertility, evidenced also in the Indian lingam, the phallic shaped stone found outside Hindu temples.<sup>612</sup> Warren's object has a Priapus-like beard and Wake also comments on this common feature of Classical herms as evidence of the link between Priapus and Hermes (the god usually represented as a herm) and their shared association with Dionysus and their combined link to gardens, countryside and especially the fertility of plants.<sup>613</sup> Warren and Marshall collected many other examples of these three deities.<sup>614</sup> We have seen the importance

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<sup>609</sup> Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (11.1841). The collection is entitled *Serpent Worship and other essays*, (1888). Reference numbers for Warren's archives at the Sackler Library are my own, not the library's.

<sup>610</sup> MFA Boston: RES.08.34d

<sup>611</sup> Sox, 1991: 252-3.

<sup>612</sup> Wake, 1888: 43. See also Davenport, 1869: Pl. II Fig. 2. The study of pillars and stone was taken up as a specialist subject by phallic worship theorists e.g. *Phallic Objects and Monuments and Remains of 1889* by an anonymous writer.

<sup>613</sup> Wake, 1888: 10, 56, 42.

<sup>614</sup> MFA Boston: 22.677; 91.226a-b; 03.988; 95.67; 98.676; 01.8190.

for phallic theorists of representations of Priapus lifting his tunic to expose his phallus while holding a 'cornucopia' of fruits and produce and Warren's collection included several examples of this figure-type, as well as the variation in which the cornucopia is replaced by babies, an evident reference to Priapus' role in human fertility, as well as vegetable (see figs. 31 and 32).<sup>615</sup>

One particular type of Priapus-figure of which Warren and Marshall acquired a bronze example, had special significance for Phallic Worship tradition : here the god holds a vessel above his phallus as if to pour liquid on it, the *alabastron* (oil flask) of oil echoing the shape of his phallus (fig. 47).<sup>616</sup> An illustration of a very similar object from Herculaneum, now in the Naples museum, had been published by Knight as evidence of an ancient fertility rite of pouring libations onto phallic representations (fig. 48).<sup>617</sup> The divine figure, according to Knight, mimics a human ritual: 'paying the same kind of worship to the symbol of his own procreative power'.<sup>618</sup> Furthermore, like the herm for Charles Wake, this object inspired ideas about the universality of this rite: Knight associates it with the Hindu practice of pouring water onto the lingam and images of the bull, both motifs connected with fertility.<sup>619</sup> With this evidence he is able to give Christian baptism a phallic significance and thus add weight to his case that the origins of Christianity were also located in the worship of procreation, an idea we consider further below.<sup>620</sup>

As Chapter 1 has shown, Warren made an extensive collection of Roman Arretine ware featuring male-female (as well as male-male) sexual activity. The 1865 essay which featured in George Witt and Thomas Wright's republication of *Worship of Priapus* discusses finds from London featuring 'erotic scenes in every sense of the word', including 'promiscuous intercourse between the sexes' as evidence of Roman fertility cults in Romano Britain.<sup>623</sup>

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<sup>615</sup> MFA Boston: 13.111, RES 08.34a; RES.08.32p. See Vermeule, 1988: 118.

<sup>616</sup> MFA Boston: RES.08.32m.

<sup>617</sup> Knight, Hamilton and Wright, 1894: Pl. V, Fig.1.

<sup>618</sup> Knight, 1894: 54.

<sup>619</sup> Knight, 1894: 54.

<sup>620</sup> Knight, 1894: 54.

<sup>623</sup> Wright, 1894: 123; Pl XXVII, fig. 1 See Godwin, 1994: 9-10.

Marshall's notes on Charles Wake's publication, as well as several sketches of winged phallic objects throughout his notebooks,<sup>624</sup> attest to an interest in the idea of sacred sexual imagery. Marshall made notes on the interpretation of Classical material but also on the connection between sex and religion in Indian and Hebrew culture. However, unlike Witt and Wellcome, this did not translate into a collecting policy for Warren and Marshall - they remained Classicists and not anthropologists. Their interest in sexual antiquities was not rooted in universal narratives but in a fascination with Classical antiquity and especially its attitudes to same-sex sexuality. However, their material would be influential on the phallic theories of others.

### 1.5 Jennings, Vorberg, Brandt and Schidrowitz: accessing and publishing sexual antiquities

In addition to new collecting, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century there was a substantial amount of new scholarship on the theory of Phallic Worship. This drew upon earlier traditions, as well as the new body of evidence being put together, by Wellcome and Warren in particular. The same material which had interested previous scholars in this tradition appeared in these new publications on the subject, often reprinting illustrations from earlier texts. Numerous new works throughout the 1880s and 1890s used images and even large chunks of text from Knight's *Worship Of Priapus*, and in addition there were another two new editions of the whole book.<sup>625</sup> Other researchers looked afresh at the original material which had inspired earlier scholarship, while still heavily influenced by these now canonical texts. Reverend Hargrave Jennings (1817-1890), who produced an abridged version of *Worship of Priapus* in 1883, also dedicated much of his life to developing his own theory of fertility cults, coining the new term 'phallism' or 'phallicism'.<sup>626</sup> Jennings work is clearly indebted

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<sup>624</sup> Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library: 20.2580.

<sup>625</sup> Anonymous, 1891 *Nature worship; an account of phallic faiths and practices, ancient and modern including the adoration of the male and female powers in various nations and the Sacti Puja of Indian Gnosticism by the author of "Phallicism"*; Anonymous, 1880 *Phallic Worship: A Description of the Mysteries of the Sex Worship of the Ancients, with the History of the Masculine Cross : an Account of Primitive Symbolism, Hebrew Phallicism, Bacchic Festivals, Sexual Rites, and the Mysteries of the Ancient Faiths*.

<sup>626</sup> Knight and Hamilton, 1883. He is also attributed as the author of several anonymous works on 'Phallic Worship'.

to Knight whom he called a 'mine of learned matter bearing upon this subject'.<sup>627</sup>

However, he also accessed and studied in person the material which inspired Knight, particularly at the British museum which would have then contained not only Knight and Hamilton's collection, and Charles Townley's which had largely inspired their research, but also the material gathered by George Witt which had stimulated new scholarship earlier in the nineteenth century.

Wellcome and Warren's new collections put together in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century also inspired new interest in sexual antiquities as religious artefacts. We have seen that Latinist Gaston Vorberg published several objects which were later collected by Wellcome, including the modern copy of the bronze phallic dwarf at Naples (fig. 49). Vorberg was also an acquaintance of Warren's and photographed several pieces from his collection before they were transferred to the Boston museum, and at the museum itself. These photographs were used in *Die Erotick der Antike in Kleinkunst und Keramik* of 1921 and later to illustrate his *Glossarium eroticum* of 1932, as evidence of the belief in the supernatural power of the phallus in the ancient world. This includes one of the bronze Roman ithyphallic dwarfs from Warren's collection which is reminiscent of the Wellcome copy of the Naples artefact which Vorberg also published.<sup>628</sup> Also the fragment of an Archaic Greek red-figure *kylix* decorated with a phallus between two stylized eyes, which Vorberg interpreted as symbolizing the apotropaic power of the phallus over the 'evil eye', and is reminiscent of George Witt's terracotta model of anthropomorphized phalluses attacking an eye (fig. 45).<sup>629</sup>

The inclusion of this very recently collected material, as well as the use of photography, shows an innovation in Vorberg's study of sexual antiquities and his attempt to significantly add to the body of evidence available for the study ancient sexual imagery (and in this case its connection with religion), thus far focused largely on

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<sup>627</sup> Jennings, 1884: xxiv. Jennings also drew particularly upon Thomas Inman's *Ancient Faiths embodied in Ancient Names* (1868-9); *Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism exposed and explained* (1869); and *Ancient Faiths and Modern: a Dissertation upon Worships ... before the Christian Era* (1876). On Jennings see Godwin, 1994: Chapter 13; Chapman, 2011; Deveney, 1997.

<sup>628</sup> Vorberg, 1921: 12.

<sup>629</sup> Vorberg, 1965: 482. These are MFA Boston: RES.08.32d and RES.08.31d. Vorberg also published a photograph of Warren's Archaic Greek red-figure *kantharos* (c. 545-510) featuring multiple naked figures (fig. 22), and *early Classical red-figure kylix* (c.470BC) by Douris of a maenad and satyr (fig. 27), Vorberg, 1921: 83, 84. These are MFA Boston: 95.61, 00.343).

the material at the Naples and British Museums. Warren and Wellcome's prolific collecting were clearly important in achieving this aim.<sup>630</sup> Vorberg also continued to utilise the Naples collection, however, showing he wanted to enhance, rather than break entirely with, the traditional study of this subject. But unlike previous publications of the material from Naples, which had used illustrations of varying accuracy, Vorberg's pioneering use of photography provided his readers a new, and more direct, mode of 'access' to these definitive objects.<sup>631</sup> German Classical scholar Paul Brandt used many of the photographs from Vorberg's *Die Erotick der Antike* (1921) in his *Sittengeschichte Griechenland*, a three volumes study focusing particularly on Greek sexual life and sexual imagery, published between 1925 and 1928 under the pseudonym 'Hans Licht'.<sup>632</sup> This was a similar project to Vorberg's in being a catalogue of photographs of sexual antiquities, and added many dozens more images to those Vorberg had used. Many of these were subsequently used by Vorberg for his encyclopaedia *Glossarium Eroticum* (1932). Illustrating an extended chapter on 'Religion und Erotik' Brandt used photographs of Warren material including the phallic dwarf.<sup>633</sup> In addition he used a new photograph of Warren's plaque of Heracles and Omphale having sex in front of a Priapic herm, which accompanies Brandt's retelling of the Ovidian myth as evidence of the 'continual lustiness' of Pan (in the story, the randy god is tricked into trying to have sex with Heracles, dressed in Omphale's clothes).<sup>634</sup> Like Vorberg, Brandt published new photographs of Naples material, such as the satyr tripod (of which Wellcome had a copy), finally providing scholars with a much truer representation of this object than the inaccurate illustrations that had featured in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century texts we considered in Chapter 1.<sup>635</sup>

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<sup>630</sup> Vorberg also photographed material from the Museum of Applied Arts in Vienna and from other private collections Vorberg, 1921: 47.

<sup>631</sup> Vorberg, 1921: 10, 13; Vorberg, 1965: 179, 479-81, 648.

<sup>632</sup> *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* was published in three volumes vol. 1: *Die griechische Gesellschaft*, 1926, vol. 2: *Das Liebesleben der Griechen*, 1926 (translated into English as *Sexual Life in Ancient Greece*, trans. J.H. Freese, London, 1932), vol. 3: *Die Erotik in der griechischen Kunst*, 1928. On Brandt's work see Davis, 2001: 249; Dynes, 2005: 352; von Bothmer, 1995: 82.

<sup>633</sup> Licht, 1925: 3. 72.

<sup>634</sup> Licht, 1925: 3.164; Licht, 1971, trans. Freese: 225. He also republished Vorberg's photograph of Warren's Archaic Greek red-figure *kantharos* (c. 545-510) featuring multiple naked figures (fig. 22) and the Boston Mirror, (fig. 28) Licht, 1925: 3.167, 199. These are MFA Boston: 95.61, RES.08.32c.

<sup>635</sup> Licht, 1925: 3. 109; Famin, 1832: Pl. xviii. This is Naples: 27874.x

The use of material featured in earlier 'Phallic Worship' studies with newly collected material was also employed in the *Bilderlexikon der Erotik*, produced by Leo Schidrowitz (1894-1956) for his *Institut für Sexualforschung* in Vienna. This colossal encyclopaedia features 6,000 'erotic' images from historical and contemporary sources to illustrate its text on a broad spectrum of topics relating to human sexuality. In this were dozens of images of sexual antiquities, selected with the assistance of Paul Brandt.<sup>636</sup> The universal connection between 'Religion und Sexualität' is illustrated with photographs of phallic and sexually related antiquities, including a phallic street carving from the ancient city of Delos.<sup>637</sup> Schidrowitz also arranged with the Wellcome museum to photograph some of their collection, although none was used to illustrate theories of sacred sexuality, and we will discuss the significance of this below. The debt owed to the Knightian tradition in *Bilderlexikon der Erotik's* treatment of phallic religions, is acknowledged in a biographic entry on the antiquarian himself, which describes his 'valuable study of the cult of Priapus' and in the use of illustrations from *Worship of Priapus*, such as Townley's bull-phallus amulet, and of gems from d'Hancarville's *Veneres et Priapi*.<sup>638</sup> In addition a new photograph was published of the Herculaneum Pan and goat statue in the Naples' 'Secret Cabinet'.<sup>639</sup> Like Brandt's publication of a photograph of the satyr tripod, Schidrowitz's readers were for the first time able to access this infamous image of bestiality without relying on copies and illustrations done from memory. This image-type had been important for Knight's theories. As we know, he had seen and written about the Naples object (then in the Portici Museum), and he had also published an illustration of a similar Roman artefact collected by Townley (now in the British Museum) also showing Pan having sex with a goat but this time from behind.<sup>640</sup> In *Worship of Priapus* Knight suggests:

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<sup>636</sup> Schidrowitz to Malcolm 19/12/1928 (Wellcome Library: SA/FPA/A7/71). See also Davis, 2001: 250.

<sup>637</sup> Institut für Sexualforschung, 1928: 1.49; 1.122-123; 4. 633; 1. 346; 1.380; 4.574.

<sup>638</sup> Institut für Sexualforschung, 1928: 4.352; 1.49. There is also an entry on d'Hancarville, 2.734-735.

<sup>639</sup> Institut für Sexualforschung, 1928: 1.133.

<sup>640</sup> Knight, 1894: 33, Pl. vii.

‘Such are the fawns and satyrs, who represent the emanations of the Creator, incarnate with man, acting as his angels and ministers in the work of universal generation. In copulation with the goat, they represent the reciprocal incarnation of man with the deity, when incorporated with universal matter’.<sup>641</sup>

In 1941 a new publication specialising in the subject of ‘Phallic Worship’ also made use of traditional ‘Phallic Worship’ material and newly acquired collections. Although this date is pushing the definition of ‘early twentieth century’, it is important to acknowledge the continuation of this tradition. This publication also shows that Wellcome’s material now had an established place within it. George Ryley Scott’s *Phallic Worship. A history of sex and sex rites in relation to the religions of all races from antiquity to the present day* featured as one of its six special plates, a photograph of Roman and Egyptian model phalluses from Wellcome’s collection and includes a special thanks to Wellcome and Johnston-Saint in the front of the book.<sup>642</sup> As with other new work on the subject, the traditional body of material remains important: the book features illustrations of material from the Naples’ museum taken from Knight’s *Worship of Priapus* and Stanislas Famin’s catalogue of the collection, as well as Pierre-Philippe Choffard’s 1782 engraving of the butch-looking satyr tripod.<sup>643</sup>

We have seen that the late nineteenth and early twentieth century produced new study and new collecting of sexual antiquities, shaped by an existing tradition originating in the Enlightenment which saw these artefacts embodying an ancient worship of procreation. The next section outlines how this scholarly analysis of ancient belief and practice challenges the prevailing historiography of the reception of this material.

## Section 2. Enlightened phallus: challenging ideas of repressive treatments

This section demonstrates how the widespread and prolonged interest in sexual antiquities as part of the ‘Phallic Worship’ tradition challenges the current notion that ‘enlightened’ engagement with this material was not achieved until at least the mid-

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<sup>641</sup> Knight, 1894: 35.

<sup>642</sup> Scott, 1941: 7. Later additions of this book were renamed *Phallic worship: the complete account of the connection between the eroticism of all races of mankind and their religious rites*. The use of Wellcome’s collection for evidence of ‘Phallic Worship’ continues today: spiritualist Larry Falls’ *When Sex Was Religion*, essentially a rewriting of Scott’s work, uses the same photographs of Wellcome’s material, and the addition of a photograph of the phallic lamp which in Chapter 1 we saw Johnston-Saint enthusing over in a report to Wellcome (see fig. 4), Falls, 2010: 103-104.

<sup>643</sup> Scott, 1941.



twentieth century. It contests the standard narrative of a scholarly and Museological openness only in the 'liberated', post-censorship age of the past forty years. It moves the historiography of the reception of sexual material away from a dichotomous paradigm of prudery versus lascivity, in which research was either stifled by censorship, or undermined by prurient interests in the material. Instead, my research shows that, in both private and museum contexts, ancient artefacts with sexual imagery were treated as research material and regularly accessed by scholars. Examining late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century activities, which have received little or no attention, encourages us to look again at engagement with sexual imagery in other time periods, specifically the mid-nineteenth century, typically seen as the period in which public puritanism and private hypocrisy was at its height. The interpretation and treatment of sexual antiquities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century also challenges the idea that previous generations' repressive responses to this material produced anachronistic understanding of them. In this period we find the same interpretations of this material as in recent scholarship which purports to correct previous anachronistic understanding of ancient sexual imagery. The current plea that these images should be understood as having sacred meaning in its original context, and not be (mis)judged as 'obscene' according to contemporary values, is revealed as a repetition of ideas which existed, and was expressed in both private and Museological contexts, in the very period which is critiqued by these recent accounts.

### 2.1 Ideas of prudery and lascivity in response to sexual antiquities

We saw in Chapter 1 that previous scholarship has tended to marginalise the deliberate acquisition of sexually themed antiquities, due to a focus on censorship of these objects and especially their segregation to 'secret' collections,. The same is true for scholarly engagement with it. Stuart Frost suggests:

'By segregating material either formally or informally nineteenth and twentieth century museums supported the notion that there was something wrong, unnatural, or 'pornographic' about this material and stifled research'.<sup>644</sup>

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<sup>644</sup> Frost, 2007: 31. On this idea see also Johns, 1982: 31, although she admits that some scholarship took place in the mid-nineteenth century (15).

Where engagement with this material has been acknowledged, it has often been prefaced with a notion that, while eighteenth-century interventions with ancient sexual imagery had been genuinely scholarly, from the nineteenth, through to as late as the mid-twentieth century, this material was not able to be studied sensibly. We saw in Chapter 1 that the mid-nineteenth century was seen as a high point for Victorian prudery as exemplified in the apparent official sanctioning of the 'Secretum' as a special section of the British Museum, following George Witt's 'troublesome' deposit in 1865. Those like Witt who were researching the subject of 'Phallic Worship' in this era have been identified with another commonly held characterisation of the period which sees public prudery balanced with private, hypocritical lasciviousness. He and his ASL colleagues are seen as archetypal patriarchal perverts: claiming to be scholars, they are *really* interested in getting a quick thrill from looking at ancient sexual imagery.<sup>645</sup> Giancarlo Carabelli's description of the ASL as a group of 'rich elite pornophiles', together with Andrew and Harriett Lyons' comment on their 'obsessions with genitalia', suggests they were more interested in being sexually aroused than in the serious study of sexual subjects.<sup>646</sup> Many accounts have been keen to stress that the motivations of Knight and his eighteenth-century colleagues in engaging with the same types of material, were genuinely scholarly and not prurient.<sup>647</sup> However, while Knight's interest in sexual imagery has been perceived as 'honest', Witt's especially 'explicit' acquisitions have been seen to 'call into question the professed rigour of [his] scholarship and his motivation for collecting'.<sup>648</sup>

The academic value of the work produced in the mid-nineteenth century on 'Phallic Worship' has also been marginalised because of its connection with the British

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<sup>645</sup> See Fisher and Langlands, 2011: 310 on this archetype.

<sup>646</sup> Lyons and Lyons, 2004: 59; Carabelli, 1996: 112. See also Janes, 2009: 122; and Godwin, 1994: 22, 31.

<sup>647</sup> On Knight as a serious scholar see Johns, 1982: 28; Messmann, 1974: 139; Blanshard, 2010: 63. See Rousseau, 1988: 102 on Knight's work being definitely *not* intended as pornography. Godwin, 1994: 4 insists 'while the collectors of these artefacts ... derived a certain humorous pleasure from forbidden fruits, these eighteenth-century gentlemen were not merely prurient, but scholarly and anthropological in their interests'. Funnell, 1982: 52 suggests Knight 'in the interests of scholarship was willing to tackle a difficult subject. His [*Worship of Priapus*] was not meant for mere titillation; it is a serious study of the wide spread nature of phallic worship'.

<sup>648</sup> Johns, 1982: 28; Gaimster, 2001: 134.

'pornography' trade. Lisa Sigel, in her book exploring concepts of pornography and social change, suggests that 'when broached in the auspices of the Anthropological Society, the topic could be scholarly, but when privately printed [and] anonymously written... the topic clearly became pornographic'.<sup>649</sup>

Although she claims her aim is to avoid imposing anachronistic definitions of 'pornography' onto nineteenth- and early twentieth-century texts, Sigel, as we see above, clearly tries to designate certain texts, in certain contexts, as 'pornographic', as distinct from the genuinely scholarly.<sup>650</sup> This is in spite of her own argument that the line between these genres in this period was not easily defined.<sup>651</sup> The ASL's 1865 republication of *Worship of Priapus* had been produced by John Camden Hotten (1832-1873) who, having previously published works on topics such as flagellation and aphrodisiacs, has been described as a 'publisher of outright pornography'.<sup>652</sup> Thus it has been suggested the ASL knew their work would probably be bought and used by those not interested in erudition but in hoping to sexually excite themselves by reading about phallic cults.<sup>653</sup> Although there is clearly some perceived separation between the 'scholarly' intentions of the ASL at the point of study and writing, and their imagined erotically motivated wider audience who may have treated their work as 'pornography' to arouse themselves, the latter associations seem to have tainted the efforts of the former.

## 2.2 A new model of scholarly engagement

The continuation of the study of phallic worship in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, which has been the subject of little previous scholarship, encourages a new model for thinking about the modern reception of ancient sexual imagery. It challenges the prevailing historiography that sees genuine scholarly engagement with the material illustrating the connection between ancient sex and religion as impossible until at least the mid-twentieth century, especially in Museological contexts.<sup>654</sup>

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<sup>649</sup> Sigel, 2002: 72.

<sup>650</sup> Sigel, 2002: 3-4.

<sup>651</sup> Sigel, 2002: 60. See also Fisher and Langlands, 2011: 310.

<sup>652</sup> Johns, 1982: 26.

<sup>653</sup> Lyons and Lyons, 2004: 57, 59. See also Carabelli, 1996: 112; Sigel, 2002: 10, 56, 72, 86.

<sup>654</sup> See Johns, 1982; Gaimster, 2001; Smith, 2007: 144; Frost, 2010; Frost, 2008; Frost, 2007.

However, the serious scholarly engagement with phallic and sexual artefacts unhampered by repression or lascivity should not be seen as a complete departure from earlier approaches. Rather they are a continuation of an earlier framework fuelled in large part by deliberate engagement with sexually themed antiquities.

Wellcome's project in particular provides us with an alternative model for engaging with a wide variety of images of sex and encourages us to look beyond the dichotomous paradigm of prudery versus lascivity applied to engagement with sexual antiquities. As I have stressed in Chapter 1, Wellcome's museum did not remove embarrassing donations to a 'Secret Museum', but instead purposefully put together hundreds of ancient images of sex. This was done explicitly in a 'scientific' context, within a framework which was specifically designed to be used for the academic study of human culture, and deliberately distanced itself from an idea that its material could provide a gratuitous thrill to its visitors, as we will explore further in Section 3 of this chapter. However, as I suggested in the introductory chapter, in looking at engagements with sexual imagery I avoid trying to separate out the lascivious from the scholarly, and accept the possibility of a wide spectrum of co-existing responses to the same material, which do not necessarily detract from each other.

Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, sexual antiquities in private and Museological collections were accessed for serious scholarship. This includes material which was, at the time, famously segregated into special areas of museums. The 'reserved' nature of these collections was demonstrably not a barrier to research and, in fact, the careful display of this material for viewing presents a very different picture from the clandestine, cramped repositories of hurriedly hidden away explicit objects we saw outlined in Chapter 1, which were liable to either stifle research or encourage a purely lascivious response.

Many researchers in this period, as we have seen, had access to the most famous of the 'secret museums', the 'Secret Cabinet' at Naples.<sup>655</sup> At the turn of the twentieth century, Thomas Elworthy, the author of *Evil Eye*, accessed and studied amulets - the 'many bronze examples of various sizes' - in this 'private museum' during

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<sup>655</sup> For a study of access to the 'secret cabinet' and its previous incarnations in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century see Fisher and Langlands, 2011.

his stay in the city.<sup>656</sup> He was on close terms with Eustace Neville-Rolfe (1845-1908), Her Majesty's Consul-General at Naples who wrote guides about the city for his countrymen and the English-language text to late nineteenth-century guides to the Naples museum, including a section on the '*Oggetti osceni*' ('obscene objects') or 'reserved cabinet'.<sup>657</sup> Although Rolfe tells us that 'Gentlemen only are admitted', this collection is presented in his handbook as just another museum room, and lists highlights from its carefully arranged display, including the satyr-tripod and the phallic amulets.<sup>658</sup> An official permit was needed to enter the room at this time but we would assume they were fairly easy to get hold of since the room was advertised in the official guidebook. Elworthy certainly had no trouble getting access, although it is possible he was helped by Rolfe.<sup>659</sup> In the 1920s Gaston Vorberg and Paul Brandt photographed material extensively in the 'Secret Cabinet', publishing, albeit privately, most of the material which is still of special interest to scholars of ancient sexual imagery (Vorberg also photographed and published material from Warren at the Boston museum, despite the fact that these objects are now described as being kept in 'dark storage' until the 1960s).<sup>660</sup> As we saw in Chapter 1, at the beginning of the 1930s, Wellcome's 'foreign secretary' Peter Johnston-Saint would also visit what he called the 'Pornographic Cabinetto', on a trip to Naples and was given a tour by Guiseppe Consoli Firgo, then the director of the museum, as well as permission to take photographs.<sup>661</sup> The British Museum 'Secretum' was similarly a resource for erudite engagement. Hargrave Jennings, writing in 1883, urges the readers of his *Phallicism* to access firsthand material at the museum which demonstrates the ancient connections between sex and religion. Those who are 'intent on the investigation of these truly (in every view) most important subjects' are:

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<sup>656</sup> Elworthy, 1895: 151.

<sup>657</sup> Monaco and Rolfe, 1883: 88.

<sup>658</sup> Monaco and Rolfe, 1883: 88.

<sup>659</sup> Elworthy, 1895: e.g. 11, 367. He and Rolfe certainly shared material of interest with each other, Elworthy, 1895: e.g. 11, 367.

<sup>660</sup> Whitehill, 1970: 676.

<sup>661</sup> Johnston-Saint Travel Diaries, Jan-Apr 1929: 19-20 (WA/HMM/RP/JST/B.3).

‘confidently referred, for conviction, to the magnificent collection (the choicest and rarest in the world) of Phallic ancient remains from all parts, and gathered from all countries, now deposited in the British Museum’.<sup>663</sup>

Jennings clearly had access to this collection and, contrary to its ‘off limits’ reputation, he mentions nothing of its restricted nature or any issues with his readers’ accessing and studying its artefacts, although his contemporary General James George Forlong (1824-1904), who was researching phallic religions at the same time, refers to material in the ‘secret chamber’ of the British Museum.<sup>664</sup> However, Forlong also refers his readers to this material with the assumption that they will be able to access it.<sup>665</sup> As we noted for Rolfe’s description of the Naples’ Secret Cabinet’, Jennings’ portrayal of the ‘Secretum’ demonstrates its careful, scholarly display. He describes how its impressive contents are enhanced by its arrangement, carried out, probably in the late 1860s, by Edward Sellon, a member of the ASL and writer on fertility cults in India, and ‘to whose care, knowledge, and discrimination the world is indebted’ for his work in the ‘Secretum’.<sup>666</sup>

It is likely that Sellon made his arrangements in the 1860s, after his colleague George Witt’s deposit of 1865, pushing this challenge to the idea of ‘stifled research’ further back to the mid-nineteenth century, the era perceived as the zenith of ‘Victorianism’. This encourages us to look at again at what has been said about events in this period. It appears that, even as the British Museum was officially sanctioning the ‘Secretum’ as a model for the treatment of sexually themed material, it took care that this segregated material was also arranged for the use of scholars. Regarding his donation in 1865, Witt had written to the museum:

‘I now propose to present my Collection to the British Museum, with the hope that some small room may be appointed for its reception in which may also be deposited and arranged the important

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<sup>663</sup> Jennings, 1884: 99.

<sup>664</sup> Forlong, 1883: 252.

<sup>665</sup> Forlong, 1883: 252.

<sup>666</sup> Jennings, 1884: xxv.

specimens, already in the vaults of the Museum - and elsewhere, which are illustrative of the same subject.'<sup>667</sup>

This has been used as evidence that even Witt expected his collection would be hidden away with all other 'obscene' material which was offensive to contemporary morals, treatment which would stifle the scholarly value of his objects.<sup>668</sup> It seems the 'small room' containing material 'illustrative of the same subject' is read as a reference to the 'Secretum'. Rather, reading his letter in the context of what we have seen above, we see that Witt is asking for his objects to be set out according to scholarly, not moral, principals. The reference to the 'small room' seems in this sense simply an attempt at modesty on Witt's part. In fact he appears to be requesting that objects already segregated – in the 'vaults of the museum' – be brought out and placed into this 'small room' to be 'arranged' with his material, thus greatly increasing its use to scholars.

### 2.3 'Saving' Classics from the charge of obscenity

We have seen the challenge to the notion of a lack of scholarly engagement with sexual antiquities. The interpretation and treatment of this material also contends the idea that previous generations' responses to this material were anachronistic and fuelled by repressive attitudes. In fact, I argue that not only were ancient images of sex understood as functioning as the consensus now views them, but that precisely the same debates still exist today about the ancient significance of this material, as in earlier periods of supposed prudery. These debates centre on the search for the 'original' meaning of this material and its misinterpretation due to contemporary prejudice.<sup>669</sup> As with scholarly engagement with sexual antiquities, a 'proper' understanding of the 'original' meaning of this material has been acknowledged for the pre-Victorian era, while the general perception is that from the nineteenth until at least the mid-twentieth century, this was obscured by reactionary responses and, as Johns puts it, 'their treatment, generally, as 'erotica', a definition which belies their real

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<sup>667</sup> Witt to Anthony Panizzi, 1865, Originals Papers, Vol 84, British Museum Archive. Letter printed in full Gaimster, 2000; Johns, 1982: 28.

<sup>668</sup> Johns, 1982: 29-31.

<sup>669</sup> See Johns, 1982; Clarke and Larvey, 2003; Varone, 2001; Kampen and Bergmann, 1996.

function.<sup>670</sup> Recent work which draws attention to earlier anachronistic interpretations of sexual antiquities has done so explicitly in order to ‘clear the field of possible misapprehensions’<sup>671</sup> and thus ‘save classics from the charge of obscenity’.<sup>672</sup> ‘We have two hundred years of distorted scholarship to catch up on and to correct’, writes Johns.<sup>673</sup> These scholars see themselves, in a post-sexual revolution society, now able to correct the repressed reception of ancient sexual imagery still left over from an earlier age characterized as ‘sexually inhibited... where sex was regarded as shameful’.<sup>674</sup> Saving classics from the ‘charge of obscenity’ has involved showing that sexual imagery in the ancient world held a wide variety of functions and that a good deal of it was not meant for the purpose of sexual titillation.<sup>675</sup> Instead, it is argued, images of sex were found across private and public life, and not only in spaces in which sexual activity took place.<sup>676</sup> In particular, imagery which might be considered ‘obscene’ according to modern mores is shown to have held ritual and religious significance in antiquity.<sup>677</sup> Of great importance in this campaign is the desexualisation of the ubiquitous image of the phallus. Johns suggests that ‘phallic symbolism plays a very important role in the religious and superstitious beliefs of antiquity’ and that phallic artefacts ‘should not be thought of as genuinely erotic. They were not intended to refer to sexual love nor arouse sexual feeling’.<sup>678</sup> John Clarke dubs ancient phallic imagery ‘the opposite of sex’ in an

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<sup>670</sup> Johns, 1982: 10-11. Clarke, 1998; Kendrick, 1987; Varone, 2001; Kampen and Bergmann, 1996. For recent work which attempts to challenge the notion of earlier puritanical responses and interpretations of sexual antiquities see Fisher and Langlands, 2011. See also McGinn, 2004: 183 who states ‘it has long been customary to belabor however gently the naiveté of one’s predecessors regarding sexual matters [in antiquity]. This is a tradition with which I hope to break, if possible’. See Beard, 2012: 61 and Harris, 2007: 115 who present a more complex picture of modern engagement with ancient sexual imagery, specifically from Pompeii, acknowledging to a greater extent both positive and negative reactions.

<sup>671</sup> Varone, 2001: 15.

<sup>672</sup> Clarke and Larvey, 2003: 28.

<sup>673</sup> Johns, 1982: 35.

<sup>674</sup> Johns, 1982: 10.

<sup>675</sup> Johns, 1982: 10; Kendrick, 1987: 10; Varone, 2001; Clarke and Larvey, 2003: 28. See also Jacobelli, 1995. Those who have defined ‘pornography’ in a different way, as imagery showing sexual violence against women, have argued that this label is an appropriate one for ancient sexual imagery, in particular from Greece, see Richlin, 1991; Rabinowitz and Richlin, 1993.

<sup>676</sup> Johns, 1982: e.g. 117; Gaimster, 2000; Clarke and Larvey, 2003: 23; Harris, 2007: 121.

<sup>677</sup> See Johns, 1986: 37-97; Varone, 2001: 15-27; Clarke and Larvey, 2003: 96-112. See Beard, 2008: 233 who repeats the received idea that previous generations’ responses to this material was one of censorship, while the apotropaic interpretation only appeared recently.

<sup>678</sup> Johns, 1982: 10, see also 75. See Kendrick, 1987: 10. See also Harris, 2007: 120 on the association of ‘pornography’ and Pompeii leading to misunderstanding of phallus religious symbolism. See n. 460 of this chapter.



attempt to distance these images from ideas of sexual arousal.<sup>679</sup> What I shall demonstrate in this section is that these late twentieth and early twenty-first scholars are merely rehearsing the same arguments that were being made in the earlier periods which they are critiquing.

#### 2.4 A new model of 'enlightened' treatment

It should be clear from the evidence we have looked at thus far that in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, many sexual antiquities were not only being collected and accessed but that their perceived 'original' function as religious artefacts, was widely understood. The currently received idea is that, prior to the changes to academia as part of the 'sexual revolution', these objects were labelled 'pornographic' or 'erotic' and that this obscured their 'real function'.<sup>680</sup> We have seen plenty of evidence that sexually themed material was labelled to reflect an understanding of their ancient supernatural qualities, with language such as 'worship', 'deity', 'faith' and '*apotropaic*'. However, even labels now seen as inappropriate and anachronistic coexisted with a genuine scholarly interest and 'enlightened' understanding of this material. The word 'erotic' was used regularly to describe material with ancient religious functions, such as in the work of Gaston Vorberg and Paul Brandt and in the classifications of the Wellcome museum. The term 'pornographic' too, was attached to material which the Wellcome museum deliberately sought out for the purposes of research and categorised within its 'Phallic Worship' section. For example, the entries in the accession notebooks for a group of terracotta lamps featuring the oft-found iconography of a man and woman having sex in various acrobatic positions and brought back by Johnston-Saint in 1931, read 'Pornographic scene in relief', and then next to this 'PHA', standing for 'Phallic Worship' section.<sup>681</sup> The phallic lamp shaped as a gnome-like figure, which we have seen was later published as evidence of Roman phallic religion, was described on the museum

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<sup>679</sup> Clarke and Larvey, 2003: 95, see 97. See n. 460 of this chapter.

<sup>680</sup> Johns, 1982: 10-11. Frost, 2007: 69 suggests 'the adjectives 'erotic' and 'pornographic' have been applied to sexual scenes in Greek and Roman art in the recent past. These terms are misleading, unhelpful and rather anachronistic'. See also Gaimster, 2000; Clarke and Larvey, 2003: 28; Varone, 2001: 15.

<sup>681</sup> WHMM accession notebook (WA/HMM/CM/Not/100, entries for 96782, 96783, 96784, 96785, 96786).

inventory cards as 'Priapus. Pornographic Figure' (fig. 4).<sup>682</sup> Thomas Wright and George Witt even referred to 'obscene' Arretine ware and yet this did not 'believe' what they saw as the 'real function' of the objects, which they understood to be the representation of fertility cults.<sup>683</sup>

Scholarship attempting to correct the 'damage done by our irresponsible predecessors'<sup>684</sup> has looked to Museological history as a vital indication of previous generations' anachronistic treatment of sexual antiquities. There is now an idea that, even if understandings of the original religious context existed in museums, they could not be reflected in the treatment of material until around the mid-twentieth century. There is an assumption that all Museological treatment was predicated on the 'secret museum' model in which material was segregated because of its sexual content, and that 'to classify such a wide variety of objects under the one heading of 'obscene' obscures some fundamental aspects of the culture we are studying and makes it impossible for us to gain a really deep understanding of that society'.<sup>685</sup> Categorising ancient phallic and sexual artefacts, it is argued, with all other explicit material in a single category, not only ignores the varied functions of sexual imagery in the ancient world but treats them as if that one function was meant to 'refer to sexual love'.<sup>686</sup> To classify objects according to their sexually themed appearance creates, it is suggested, a completely artificial categorisation – 'a new taxonomy', as Gaimster calls it, and one absent from the ancient world.<sup>687</sup> Scholars like Johns and Clarke have taken it upon themselves to re-categorise and reinterpret this material - to break apart the anachronistic category of the 'indecent' and put these objects back into their respective 'original' contexts.<sup>688</sup> As we have seen, Wellcome's museum did not categorise its colossal collection of sexual antiquities 'under the one heading of 'obscene'' but in a section entitled 'Phallic Worship', its classification reflecting its 'enlightened' understanding of their 'original', religious function. However, Wellcome's treatment had largely the same effect as the 'secret museum' model. As I have shown, because of the

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<sup>682</sup> WHMM inventory cards (WA/HMM/CM/INV/C.3, entry for 79587).

<sup>683</sup> Wright, 1894: 122-123.

<sup>684</sup> Johns, 1982: 10.

<sup>685</sup> Johns, 1982: 10-11.

<sup>686</sup> Johns, 1982: 10-11.

<sup>687</sup> Gaimster, 2000.

<sup>688</sup> Johns, 1982 ; Clarke and Larvey, 2003: esp. 28; see also Varone, 2001: 15.

nature of the subject, most material with sexual imagery from across time and place which came into the collection was grouped into the 'Phallic Worship' section. We see that the 'secret museum' model in fact serves the interests of those investigating the connection between sex and religion. We saw evidence of this in Hargrave Jennings' emphatic promotion of the usefulness of the British Museum's 'Secretum'. In this context the segregated collection does not 'believe' the original sacred meaning but actually enhances it. Critics of the 'secret museum' as a Museological model also lament the fact that objects are 'divorced from their cultural context' - brought out of their respective historical and geographical departmental divisions.<sup>689</sup> Again, grouping material 'from all parts, and gathered from all countries', as expressed by a delighted Jennings, in fact supports researchers like him looking for the *universal* religious meaning of sexual imagery, by allowing cross-cultural comparisons, a fundamental methodology for the discipline of anthropology, as we shall see below. This was exactly the model on which those collections deliberately designed to illustrate 'Phallic Worship' had been put together, by Wellcome and previously by Witt: bringing together material from around the world to prove their shared meanings.

## 2.5 Display and 'original' contexts

A further criticism of the 'secret museum' model has been the displacement of material from its 'original' setting in museum display. Scholars lament the opportunity to see Greek and Roman sexually themed material alongside non-sexual material, in the way, it is stressed, it would have been encountered in antiquity. There is a sense of double displacement for the objects and paintings from Pompeii and Herculaneum in particular, which, as Walter Kendrick suggests, 'modern classifiers had to rip... from their Roman street corners and entrance halls and group... and group them under a single heading'.<sup>690</sup> This is presented as a brutal disassociation of material from its 'original' context and an anachronistic transformation of it into 'pornography' which conceals the fact that sexually explicit material was found throughout public and private buildings in Roman culture. Kendrick's comment is fuelled by sadness at the loss of

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<sup>689</sup> Gaimster, 2000.

<sup>690</sup> Kendrick, 1989: 32.

opportunity to witness this alternative attitude to sexual imagery writ large, as these ancient cities provide the opportunity to see a great deal of Roman art in situ.<sup>691</sup> We are now robbed of this unique opportunity, so it is suggested, because the sexually themed material found there presented a moral code which clashed too greatly with that of the time when it was discovered.<sup>692</sup> In fact, hundreds of non-explicit paintings and objects were removed from these cities and housed in the Naples museum, far more than the sexually themed artefacts alone, and we should probably consider their removal as being as much about preservation as censorship. Furthermore, as historians we should be sceptical of any claims of Pompeii providing access to an 'original' Roman town. Mary Beard has recently highlighted just how much of the contemporary site is modern fabrication.<sup>693</sup> In a Museological context material is, by definition, always displayed and accessed in an 'artificial' context. All classifications and meanings imposed in museums are a fabrication of later cultures. However display by artistic material (bronze, glass etc.) is seen as an acceptable Museological treatment, while material grouped by sexual content is seen as artificial.<sup>694</sup> At the Naples museum the Pompeii and Herculaneum material on general display is currently grouped by material, with no attempt to replicate daily life, while the new refurbishment of the 'Secret Cabinet' in 2000 made a conscious effort to recreate the context in which objects were found (in a villa setting, in the street etc.) and, of particular note, an undertaking of some of the objects' sacred significance in ancient life.

In the early twentieth century Wellcome museum, display of material reflected an understanding of sexual antiquities as objects relating to the supernatural. A selection of the Roman phallic objects were displayed in the 'Amulets, Charms and Talismans' section of the museum, i.e. with other material understood as having the same original function relating to the sacred function of objects.<sup>695</sup> The display of the terracotta

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<sup>691</sup> Coltman, 2006: 97 describes the appeal of Pompeii as a 'living antiquity' in the eighteenth century.

<sup>692</sup> Gaimster, 2000; Kendrick, 1987: Ch. 1.

<sup>693</sup> Beard, 2008.

<sup>694</sup> Johns, 1982: 30.

<sup>695</sup> The museum accession documents describe a number of Roman phallic amulets as displayed in 'Case 24' which, according to museum handbook of 1927 was part of the 'Amulets, Charms and Talismans' display (WA/HMM/CM/ACC.3; WA/HMM/CM/INV/C.3 for R23446; A665718/R23448; A665717/R23449; A665707; R23456; R23447; R23451; R23452; A665706/R23453; R23444; A665712; R23445; WA/HMM/PB/Han/19).

anatomical votives shaped as genitalia, which in Chapter 1 we saw collected in great numbers, best challenges the 'secret museum' as a model for the presentation of sexual antiquities in this era and demonstrates instead Wellcome's attempt to display them in their 'original' religious context. The 'Phallic Worship' tradition had often associated these objects with the ancient worship of generative powers, in terms of their representing phallic deities such as Priapus or the divine *fascinum*.<sup>696</sup> Wellcome instead treated them as a means of communicating with the gods of medicine as part of an ancient healing cult, an interpretation which persists today.<sup>697</sup>

In the centre of the Hall of Statuary, the central area of the museum, was, according to the museum handbook, a 'model of a Greek shrine after the temple of Erechtheion' (fig. 50).<sup>698</sup> This was a display case with the features of a Greek temple. Like the Eastern portico of the temple on the Acropolis in Athens on which it was apparently modelled it had a plain pediment, ionic columns and a three-step *stylobate*. Within it were displayed a selection of Wellcome's Roman and Etruscan terracotta votives shaped as various body parts, which we as saw in Chapter 1 Wellcome had secured from the prestigious Oppenheimer collection and elsewhere, and this included those shaped as male and female genitalia and breasts. The Greek Shrine, or 'temple', was in the very centre of the main gallery, with spacious room around the cabinet in which, because of its four glass sides, the objects could be viewed all the way round, giving them maximum impact. Not only was this material not kept in a hidden, locked room - it was the focal point of the museum. Johns has suggested that 'it would have been impossible until quite recently to display or discuss an ex voto in the form of a penis in the same way as one in the form of a foot'.<sup>699</sup> Penis-shaped votives appeared in the Wellcome museum alongside feet in his 'Greek Temple'. Clearly Johns - then an employee of the British Museum - is thinking of her institution or similar public museums in making this comment: as discussed in the previous chapter, Wellcome's museum was not open to the public and so had a greater freedom to also 'display and

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<sup>696</sup> See Davenport, 1869: Pl vi. On the differences and connections of these two interpretations in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth century debates about the divine phallus, see Davis, 2008: 21; Carabelli, 1996: 117.

<sup>697</sup> Rouse, 1902: 201; Johns, 1982: 56-59; Potter and Wells, 1985; Blomerus, 1999; Hughes, 2008.

<sup>698</sup> 'XVIIth International Congress of Medicine. London 1913. Opening Ceremony of the Historical Medical Museum': 34 (WA/HMM/PB/Han/8).

<sup>699</sup> Johns, 1982: 59.

discuss' sexually themed material. However, despite seeing itself as a 'scientific' research institute (as discussed below), it did allow a broad range of visitors, as we have seen, including the then Queen, amongst a wide spectrum of age and interest groups,<sup>700</sup> who surely could not have missed the shining, white temple prominently displaying penis shaped votives in the centre of the museum. The anatomical votives were one of the highlights of the collection and the display's success in communicating this is evidenced in reports of the opening of the museum in 1913.<sup>701</sup> Not a seedy private collection, nor a 'secret cabinet' in a public museum, Wellcome introduces a new model for the Museological treatment of sexual artefacts.

The 'Greek Temple' display presented sexual artefacts with others thought to have the same original function, that of communicating with the gods, and there seems to have been a conscious attempt to recreate this ancient context. The healing shrine is the place where it is generally thought such objects were deposited in both Greece and Rome, to be hung or otherwise placed around shrines, within sanctuaries to Asclepius (or Roman Aesculapius) and other healing gods.<sup>703</sup> Although perhaps not entirely accurate, Wellcome's display was designed to suggest to the visitor something of the votives' 'original' setting and demonstrated an understanding that sexually shaped items in the Roman world were laid out in public temple-shrines alongside other non-sexual objects. This clearly challenges the notion that the Museological treatment at this time could only present sexual antiquities anachronistically, as objects of private space connected with sexual arousal. In a comparable display, the Wellcome museum constructed a Catholic 'chapel' in which modern ex-voto paintings were hung, and which was designed to replicate the interior of contemporary churches in Mexico in which tin roof tiles depicting words and pictures of thanks to the saints were hung. If the Naples museum does show the disembodiment of ancient material from its 'original' context, Wellcome's shrine display attempted to put them back into their Classical context.

## 2.6 Correcting anachronistic interpretations

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<sup>700</sup> WHMM reports (WA/HMM/RP/HMM/1/2).

<sup>701</sup> See 'The Historical Medical Museum', *The Times*, 24/6/1913.

<sup>703</sup> Rouse, 1902: 201; Johns, 1982: 56-59; Potter and Wells, 1985; Blomerus, 1999; Hughes, 2008..

The late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century reception of this material not only indicates an understanding of its ancient function which tallies with that in recent appeals to 'save classics from obscurity', but we also find the same explicit correction of incorrect interpretations, warnings against imposing anachronistic values on historical material and concern to uncover 'original' meanings which are popular with scholars of ancient sexual imagery today. For example, Jennings in 1883 insists that, in looking at the illustrations of supposedly ancient gems in d'Hancarville's *Veneres et Priapi*, it seems that 'indecenty, according to modern ideas, is pushed to an extreme in these irregular, lustful scenes... the general impression one bears away after an examination of these masterpieces of ancient art, is the false one that the people to whom they were familiar must have been glaringly sensual and systematically libidinous'.<sup>704</sup> He corrects this, insisting that these images had 'mystic meaning'.<sup>705</sup> Interestingly, this 'enlightened' attitude co-exists with censorship in Jennings' work. He declares that these 'mystic' images are too 'free' to reproduce and 'almost to describe'.<sup>706</sup> To focus on Jennings' refusal to illustrate these objects and see it as indicative of the 'inhibited culture' of the whole of late nineteenth-century scholarship,<sup>707</sup> would be to miss the point that he interprets phallic antiquities as supernatural objects and not as 'pornographic' images. It is clear that in the late nineteenth century it was not as easy to publish images such as those d'Hancarville had produced a century before, however this fact has not changed the interpretation of the material, as we can see. Sixty years later Scott, whose work connected many ancient sexual artefacts with 'Phallic Worship', wrote:

'Much of the alleged obscenity associated with phallic worship has been, and is, due to the failure to consider the subject in relation to the moral and mental concepts actuating those who originated it. Almost without exception the modern critic views phallicism strictly in relation to twentieth-century moralistic and ethical ideals'.<sup>708</sup>

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<sup>704</sup> Jennings, 1884: 103.

<sup>705</sup> Jennings, 1884: 103.

<sup>706</sup> Jennings, 1884: 103.

<sup>707</sup> Johns, 1982: 10.

<sup>708</sup> Scott, 1941: 17-8.

We see an explicit correction of anachronistic understanding, and a warning against imposing contemporary morals onto the interpretation of ancient evidence.

As with the type of ancient sexual imagery which interested those researching ancient fertility cults in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, debates about correcting inaccurate and prudish responses to this material were also inherited from the eighteenth-century study of the 'Worship of Priapus'. This conviction was an important part of the development of the radical ideas espoused in the research. Knight, in one of his most enduring statements, suggests:

'Forms and ceremonials of a religion are not always to be understood in their direct and obvious sense, but are to be considered as symbolical representations of some hidden meaning extremely wise and just, though the symbols themselves, to those who know not their true signification, may appear in the highest degree absurd and extravagant... Such is the case with the rite now under consideration, than which nothing can be more monstrous and indecent, if considered in its plain and obvious meaning, or as part of the Christian worship; but which will be found to be a very natural symbol of a very natural and philosophical system of religion, if considered according to its original use and intention'.<sup>709</sup>

These ideas had been made available to nineteenth-century researchers particularly through the republication of Knight in 1865, 1883 and 1894 and this statement also appeared verbatim in other nineteenth-century works on the same subject, at least one of which is attributed to Jennings himself, although this is debated.<sup>710</sup> This same call for cultural relativism, and a commitment to putting aside one's own cultural conditioning, is found in scholarship of the last forty years which attempts to 'save classics' from being viewed incorrectly as 'obscene'. Paradoxically such scholarship sees itself as correcting earlier anachronistic interpretations. Johns, in her critique of earlier generations' understanding of ancient phallic and sexual material, suggests:

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<sup>709</sup> Knight, 1894: 14-15. Maréchal and David, 1780: 4.23 warned against moral judgment by contemporary standards of sexual antiquities: 'Ancient relics . . . are full of objects so indecent, if we compare them to modern compositions, that the brush or needle of our Artists hardly dares to reproduce them for us. Nevertheless, we should not take this as an opportunity to slander the customs of the people who left us such relics'. See also Carabelli, 1996: 35. However Knight's interpretation of the sacred phallus did not completely desexualise it in the way that it Maréchal did, or in the way Johns has done recently, See n. 460 of this chapter.

<sup>710</sup> Anonymous, 1891: 70.



'In studying cultures other than our own, whether ancient or contemporary, we have to try to set aside our cultural conditioning and assumptions, or we run the risk of reading into the material remains of those cultures meanings which were not intended or perceived by the people who made and used the objects'.<sup>711</sup>

That the same attempts to correct anachronistic understanding of sexual antiquities today existed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and earlier on, is illustrated in a debate around the interpretation of the small, carved phallic symbols found on pavements, street walls and houses throughout Pompeii. The notion that these have been interpreted not as apotropaic symbols, but as ancient signs pointing the way to the nearest *lupanar* (brothel), has been used as an exemplar of prudish misconceptions of ancient sexual imagery, particularly in the nineteenth century but which continues to blind our judgment today.<sup>712</sup> It has been suggested that this misinterpretation contributed to the estimate of brothel-numbers in Pompeii by nineteenth-century archaeologists reaching as high as thirty-five (the other factor being the number of frescoes depicting sexual activity found inside buildings), which has been worked out to be roughly the equivalent of one prostitute to every seven adult males.<sup>713</sup> These seemingly absurd ratios, where more conservative estimates suggest around ten brothels in Pompeii, seem to provide an example of an extremely reactionary response to ancient sexual imagery. However, Thomas McGinn has recently presented evidence that the estimate of thirty-five first appeared in the 1990s and thus criticisms based on this erroneous fact are guilty of seeing 'Victorianism' where it did not exist, and of oversimplifying what he describes as 'complex' responses to the discovery of sexual imagery at Pompeii.<sup>714</sup>

In fact, we find that this debate over the interpretation of the street phallus existed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, as it had since their discovery in the eighteenth century. One particular phallic street sign, removed to the Naples 'Secret

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<sup>711</sup> Johns, 1982: 10-11.

<sup>712</sup> Harris, 2007: 120; Dundes, 1981: 218.

<sup>713</sup> Laurence, 1994; Clarke, 1998: 195; Jacobelli, 1995: 65 n. 119; Clarke, 1998: 195; DeFelice, 2001: 11. Rome with a population of a million, compared to Pompeii's estimated 20,000, is thought to have had only forty five brothels.

<sup>714</sup> McGinn, 2004: 182, 198, 288.

Cabinet', had been the focus of this debate. It was found, not on a pavement, but above a baker's door in Pompeii, crudely engraved with the words 'HIC HABITAT FELICITAS' ('Here Dwells Happiness') and the relief of a symbol of the phallus.<sup>715</sup> Recent accounts insist that this phallus was not meant to be a brothel-sign, with the inscription a joke about what lay inside, but 'a charm intended to bring good luck and wealth, perhaps to ensure the bread would rise properly and not burn'.<sup>716</sup> In the early twentieth century we find both interpretations: Leo Schidrowitz's *Bilderlexikon der Erotik* illustrates a photograph of the item as a '*Bordellabzeichen*' (brothel badge),<sup>717</sup> but Vorberg used the same image as evidence of the '*Fascinum*', the Roman divine protective phallus<sup>718</sup> and it appeared again in illustrated form in Scott's *Phallic Worship*.<sup>719</sup> The interpretation of this artefact as a good luck symbol is found in Witt's mid-nineteenth-century notebooks, but it went further back to at least the early nineteenth century.<sup>720</sup>

We also find the explicit correction of anachronistic interpretations of these Pompeian phallic symbols both in these earlier periods, as today. In 2003 Clarke suggested of the phallic signs at Pompeii:

'Although guides will tell you they were signs pointing to whorehouses, it is much more likely that were talismans to bring good luck to passersby'.<sup>721</sup>

We see here, as above, the correction of an idea that ancient images of male genitalia were meant to 'refer to sexual love' (experienced in a brothel) and the replacement of this with an interpretation about the supernatural protective power of the phallus. In his work published a hundred years before Clarke's, Elworthy wrote that these ancient symbols:

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<sup>715</sup> See Grant, De Simone, Merella and Mulas, 1975: 109.

<sup>716</sup> Harris, 2007: 120. See Johns, 1982: 64.

<sup>717</sup> Institut für Sexualeforschung, 1928: 1.164.

<sup>718</sup> Vorberg, 1965.

<sup>719</sup> Scott, 1941: Pl. 9.

<sup>720</sup> Witt's notebook 'Grecian Etruscan Roman: 48, British Museum archive. See Davenport, 1869: 11, Pl.1, Fig. 4. See Carabelli, 1996: 98 for early nineteenth century Italian authors' identification of this same object with the apotropaic phallus.

<sup>721</sup> Clarke and Larvey, 2003: 99.

'...by no means signified that which the *ciceroni* now tell the tourist (that houses so marked were Lupanari) but was placed there as a protective amulet against fascination.'<sup>722</sup>

Again, this explicit counter-argument can be traced back to a much earlier understanding, such as in the work of Joseph Forsyth in 1816 who wrote of Pompeian street phalluses:

'Some think it the sign of a brothel; other, of an amulet manufactory... It may, therefore, have been an object of worship, a Hermes, a Priapus, a Fascinus, or some trademan's *bascanion*... Yet, as Isis was the favourite divinity of Pompeii, I should rather suppose... the phallus a badge... allusive to her ithyphallic rite'.<sup>723</sup>

We have seen that in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century private and institutional settings research regularly took place on sexually themed imagery which encouraged an understanding of this material as objects of ancient reverence. This challenges the received idea of a long period in which scholarship was suppressed and ancient culture misunderstood. While the so-called 'repressive' reception existed, it was clearly not as widespread or as damaging to the understanding of this material as often claimed. A direct challenge to it had also existed continuously from the time the modern world encountered this material, and this has developed into the scholarly consensus today. However, the next two sections will show that, despite being in some ways a counter-discourse, the theory of 'Phallic Worship' fed into the major debates of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

### Section 3: Wider contexts: ancient phallic worship in contemporary debates over human nature

In this third section I show that the wider context in which sexual antiquities were viewed as religious artefacts reveals that it was a site for the intersection of many key debates around religion, sexuality, health and culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Although to an extent a counter-cultural area of interest, 'Phallic Worship'

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<sup>722</sup> Elworthy, 1895:154

<sup>723</sup> Forsyth, 1816 : 305. On this debate in the nineteenth and early twentieth century see also Fisher and Langlands, 2009 :180 n. 35.

studies fed into these mainstream discourses and the academic disciplines of Archaeology, Anthropology, Ethnography, Comparative religion studies, Museology, Psychology and Sexology which were emerging around them. We see that many of the methods, approaches and theories which were central to these sustained attempts to better understand human culture were an inherent part of the study of sexual antiquities as sacred objects from its inception.

### 3.1 The material world and scholarly research

The tradition I have outlined above in which sexually themed antiquities were viewed as evidence of ancient belief should be viewed in context of the wider contemporary understanding of the relationship between the material world and the acquisition of knowledge. As the introductory chapter outlined, in this era expanding connections with contemporary and past peoples went hand in hand with expanding collections.<sup>724</sup> In the mid-to-late nineteenth century the concept of the 'scientific museum' developed, in which the gathering and careful arrangement of objects was seen a vital resource for, and articulation method of, academic research. This was a deliberate departure from an earlier Museological model, the 'cabinet of curiosities', which was now perceived as a jumble of unusual and disparate objects, displayed for the purpose of entertaining curious visitors.<sup>725</sup> This new methodology was developed in the field of archaeology and anthropology in particular by General Pitt Rivers whose collection became a museum in 1884 at Oxford University. Pitt Rivers stressed the 'laying out' of objects in a particular way as a crucial scholarly methodology for the formation and articulation of knowledge. Its first curator, Henry Balfour (1863-1939) described museums and collections as 'laboratories of anthropologists' which could play an almost infinite role in increasing 'knowledge and the better understanding of Man and his works'.<sup>726</sup> We have seen this approach in engaging with sexual antiquities in museums, as in Hargrave Jennings' description of his experience in the 'Secretum'. His account of using this collection uses the language of the 'scientific museum' - that is, of careful arrangement of material for the purpose of the 'better understanding of Man'. Material culture-based research was

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<sup>724</sup> Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; Pearce, 1995:132.

<sup>725</sup> Hooper-Greenhill, 1992: 7, 79; Murray, 1904: 226.

<sup>726</sup> Balfour, 1904: 19.

at the heart of the 'Phallic Worship' tradition, with its method of interpreting the symbolism of sexual imagery. We can trace the 'scientific museum' model in the 'Phallic Worship' tradition back to the mid-nineteenth century with Edward Sellon's arrangement of the 'Secretum' and further back through to William Hamilton who made a collection of material specifically to illustrate his theories about the 'Worship of Priapus' and arranged them in the British Museum to share these theories with the wider world.<sup>727</sup> This, in fact, undermines the late nineteenth century's perception of their Museological predecessors as purveyors of merely 'cabinets of curiosities', however this characterisation was important for the development of the 'scientific museum', which saw itself as the earlier model's antithesis.<sup>728</sup>

The Wellcome collection demonstrates the application of the object-based tradition of 'Phallic Worship' studies to the fully conceptualized late nineteenth-century 'scientific museum'. As previous commentary has identified, Wellcome's methodology, somewhat outdated by the 1930s, was rooted in the late nineteenth century, when he first developed a schema for his museum.<sup>729</sup> Wellcome demonstrated this in his speech at the opening of his museum in 1913:

'In organising this Museum my purpose has not been simply to bring together a lot of 'curios' for amusement. This collection is intended to be useful to students and useful to all those engaged in research.'<sup>730</sup>

Wellcome's statement replicates the perceived Museological move in the nineteenth century, from 'curios' to 'research'. He named the Pitt Rivers institution as his 'closest counterpart' and emulated its mission to 'treat on purely scientific lines' the history of humanity through the means of objects.<sup>731</sup> As late as 1929, he declared that most other museums were still 'arranged for popular entertainment, to gratify those who wish to

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<sup>727</sup> Hamilton, 1894: 4.

<sup>728</sup> Murray, 1904: 226.

<sup>729</sup> Skinner, 1986: 384.

<sup>730</sup> WHMM Handbook 1926 (WA/HMM/PB/Han/19).

<sup>731</sup> 'Oral evidence, memoranda and appendices to the final report' 1929: 39 (WA/HSW/OR/L.5); Wellcome to Malcolm, 31/8/1926 quoted in Skinner, 1986: 399. On Wellcome's 'scientific' aim see Skinner, 1986: 399; James, 1994: 335; Larson, 2009: 67, 76.

view strange and curious objects... most people visit museums simply as 'stragglers'.<sup>732</sup> Although not a trained or natural academic, Wellcome could use his extensive wealth, as Larson has argued, to engage with academic debates and use his purchasing power to gather 'data' as well as employ scholars at his museum.<sup>733</sup> While Pitt Rivers expressed in written form theories constructed through the collection and arrangement of objects, Wellcome did not publish or, it seems, often write ideas down - his collection was his almost exclusive means of articulating his understanding of the world as represented in physical form.<sup>734</sup> We have already seen how his display of sexual antiquities communicated an interpretation of them as ancient religious artefacts.

Key to this development of ideas about the use of material culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was a notion that the physical objects produced by a culture could reveal their thoughts, beliefs and daily life. This has been fundamental for the modern disciplines of archaeology, anthropology, and later social history and, more recently, material culture studies. In the case of archaeological material, especially that from Greece and Rome, the development of this idea should be associated with a shift from the value of a piece of antiquity being rooted in purely aesthetic notions to its value lying in its evidence of ancient life. This saw ancient artefacts transformed from art to artefacts, and those who appreciated them, from connoisseur to archaeologist. As the next chapter will show, this shaped the reception of specific object-types, such as Greek vases. However, these ideas also altered the type of Classical material culture which was valued by collectors and scholars. Archaeologically-valued material did not need to be pleasing to the eye, nor a one-off piece. By the time of the late nineteenth century this new approach explicitly valued cheap, commonly found artefacts, as evidence of material used in everyday life. The approach advanced by Pitt Rivers, which Wellcome later adopted, declared that one should 'collect the everyday' and gather material in huge quantities, the idea being that the more material, the more accurate a reconstruction of human history would be achieved.<sup>735</sup> The importance of ancient phallic amulets for the study of 'Phallic Worship'

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<sup>732</sup> 'Oral evidence, memoranda and appendices to the final report' 1929: 107 (WA/HSW/OR/L.5)

<sup>733</sup> Larson, 2009: 91.

<sup>734</sup> Larson, 2009: 90.

<sup>735</sup> Larson, 2009: 88-89.

reflects these developments: these inexpensive, 'everyday', crudely made objects were collected in great numbers to illustrate the religious beliefs of ordinary ancient people.

Again, the beginnings of this relationship between knowledge and the material world can be traced to Enlightenment interest in antiquities, including sexually themed artefacts. Knight, Hamilton and their associates have been acknowledged as pioneers of this new approach to Classical collecting in Britain. They have been seen as going beyond their contemporaries motivated almost entirely by aesthetic concerns to buy antiquities for their Country houses<sup>736</sup> (although Vicky Coltman has recently proposed that the eighteenth century's relationship with Classical and neo-Classical material culture, went beyond a 'purely decorative encounter' in a wider way than is generally assumed).<sup>737</sup> The members of the Dilettanti certainly appreciated the value of the newly available archaeology of the 'everyday' uncovered from the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum, and its potential to reveal ancient thought.<sup>738</sup> They did not reject small, unattractive finds out of hand because they lacked monetary value, anymore than because they found them offensive.

It should be acknowledged that, for some disciplines, the belief in material culture as a primary resource and the 'Scientific Museum' became increasingly outdated as the twentieth century progressed. The discipline of ethnography especially ventured out 'into the field' to observe firsthand peoples in far-flung areas of the world.<sup>739</sup> The 'leisurely pursuit', as it came to be seen, of having artefacts sent home and laying them out in a museum like Wellcome's, which had been cutting edge in anthropological research in the late nineteenth century, was increasingly derogatorily referred to as 'armchair anthropology', by such pioneers as ethnologist Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942).<sup>740</sup>

### 3.2 Comparing Culture: Anthropology and comparative religions

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<sup>736</sup> On eighteenth century domestic display of Classical and neo-Classical art as decoration see Scott, 2003, esp. 170-1; Haskell and Penny, 1981. On Knight, Hamilton and Townley collecting with a 'greater scholarship' than their contemporaries see Scott, 2003: 115; Johns, 1982: 22.

<sup>737</sup> Coltman, 2006: 195.

<sup>738</sup> On the availability of a new type of 'everyday' object from the Neapolitan excavations see Carabelli, 1996: 39-40; Jenkins and Sloan, 1996: 241.

<sup>739</sup> Stocking, 1995: 84, 223.

<sup>740</sup> Malinowski, 1937: xiii, xiv. See Stocking, 1995: 84, 223; Harris: 1968: 1.

The search for evidence of an original universal fertility worship positioned Classical archaeological material within a context which examined the development of the whole of human culture. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century, especially, was the era of 'grand historical narrative' and universal world histories, developing particularly in the emerging fields of anthropology, comparative religion and folklorist studies which looked to reconstruct the story of human culture, largely through the means of objects, as we saw above.<sup>741</sup> The theory of 'Phallic Worship' in this period mirrored this approach: creating its own 'grand narrative' about the development of religions, identifying a universal worship of procreative forces, and gathering objects with sexual imagery together as evidence from across world cultures. The use of Greco-Roman material in this context arguably deprives it of the privileged status it had been afforded in modern, Western culture. While Warren, Vorberg and Brandt specialised in Classical antiquities and interpreted them within the framework of 'Phallic Worship' theory, the anthropological approach taken by Wellcome's museum and in Jennings' research treated Classical culture as just one in a number of worthy historical and contemporary subjects.

Probably the best known instance of Classical culture placed in an anthropological context in this period also borrowed from the theory of the phallic origins of world religion. Sir James Frazer's (1854-1941) *The Golden Bough* of 1890, a fundamental text for the development of Victorian anthropology and comparative religious studies, begins by examining an ancient Roman cult at Nemi, outside Rome, as a framework for mapping the development of world religions. Frazer clearly draws upon the 'Phallic Worship' tradition by identifying the origin of religious belief in a fertility cult, although unusually he sees this as concerned with fertility of plants, rather than humans.<sup>742</sup> Frazer did not follow the Knightian tradition in analysing ancient phallic artefacts, rather his evidence is mostly literary. This comparison of world religions is evident in Wellcome's collection generally and especially in the 'Phallic Worship' section, in which Classical material was brought together with material across cultures, to examine their shared connection with fertility. The museum also had connections with

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<sup>741</sup> Larson, 2009: 34.

<sup>742</sup> See Carabelli, 1996: 116.



Frazer himself: he visited the museum at least once in 1927, and one of Frazer's disciples Theodor Gaster (1906-1992) was appointed as a member of staff in the 1920s who would go on to produce a new publication of *The Golden Bough* in 1957.<sup>743</sup>

We should not assume this evidence shows that in the late nineteenth century the field of anthropology subsumed the previously privileged and separate sphere of Classical archaeology as interest in the world's cultures and history purposefully looked beyond Classical antiquity to increasingly diverse cultures and periods. In fact, Classical antiquities had been compared to material from other cultures from at least the eighteenth century, pioneered in the study of ancient phallic religions. The Enlightenment Society of the Dilettanti, although grounded in eighteenth-century Classicism, having received a Classical education, taken their 'Grand Tour' and become connoisseurs of Classical and neo-Classical art, had also looked beyond Greece and Rome to other world cultures.<sup>744</sup> Therefore, the development of the disciplines of anthropology and comparative religious studies, and their key methodology of the comparison of cultures - exemplified in Frazer's late nineteenth century text seminal text - was from its inception, bound up with research initiated, as we have seen, by Classical images of sex. Thomas Hubbard has recently lamented what he identifies as a late twentieth-century development in anthropological approaches to the ancient world which deposes Greece and Rome from their 'former thrones of academic privilege', now to be studied cross-culturally.<sup>745</sup> The 'Phallic Worship' tradition show us that this in fact has a long heritage: the beginnings of anthropological studies can be traced to Enlightenment Classicism. The British Museum's Classical departments - collections which have shaped Western interactions with the ancient past for the past two hundred years - were largely created by proto-anthropologists, Knight, Hamilton and Townley.

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<sup>743</sup> See Theodor Gaster staff file (WA/HMM/ST/LAT/A.81). After Wellcome's death Gaster was brought back to work at the museum from 1937-9. Correspondence from this time shows Gaster and Peter Johnston-Saint's collective interest in and knowledge about the primitive worship of 'creator gods'. Johnston-Saint instructs Gaster on the labelling of an image of Ptah: 'father of the mighty fathers, father of the beginnings, he who created the sun and the moon egg. He holds in his hands a sceptre which terminates in the signs for power, life and stability and his name signifies 'architect, farmer, constructor', Johnston-Saint to Gaster 17/2/1939 (WA/HMM/ST/LAT/A.81).

<sup>744</sup> On the Classicism of the Society see Jenkins, 1992; Clarke and Penny, 1982. They were also interested in Indian, Hebrew, Persian, medieval Christian European, pagan British and Oriental material. See Davis, 2008: 109; Funnell, 1982: 52; Haskell, 1984: 187; Rousseau, 1988: 116.

<sup>745</sup> Hubbard, 2000: 6.

Although cross-cultural comparisons had a long history, there was a wealth of new cultures to explore as the nineteenth century progressed. Despite this, Classical material remained important in the 'Phallic Worship' tradition even into the twentieth century. This should be attributed to the enduring influence of Knight's treatise, which had been inspired by the ubiquity of sexual imagery as it was discovered at Pompeii and Herculaneum, and which I have shown was the catalyst for the serious study of universal fertility cults. The importance of Roman mythology for this *universal* narrative is evidenced in the enduring name 'worship of Priapus' to refer to the fertility cults, and the associated deities, of all cultures.<sup>746</sup> However, since its mass excavation in the eighteenth century, Roman phallic material especially had been widely available to European collectors. This is evidenced particularly in the great number of Roman phallic amulets found across European collections, and was just the kind of material acquired for developing archaeological collections, such as Wellcome's museum which acquired nearly two hundred examples,.

A Classical bias in the Western relationship with the past and its material remains was reflected, since the Renaissance, not only in European collecting but also archaeological activity which provided new acquisitions for collectors, and as such fed back into the Classical-centred understanding of the past - in turn encouraging the excavation of more Greco-Roman sites. In the early twentieth century, this monopoly was waning but there was still plenty of Roman phallic material available for collection, when compared to that from other cultures. Wellcome followed Pitt Rivers' prescription to collect in great numbers and gathered as much material as he could to explore the vast variety of subjects which interested him. However, the Classical bias retained in Wellcome's cross-cultural 'Phallic Worship' section and early twentieth century publications on phallic religion was not merely an issue of availability, but a question of what that availability revealed about ancient culture. Like eighteenth-century antiquarians, later researchers continued to be struck with what archaeological evidence revealed about the ubiquity of the phallic symbol in Roman life and this

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<sup>746</sup> As we saw in Chapter 1, 'Priapus' remained a byword for all phallic imagery and phallic deities of any culture into the twentieth century.

continued to provide them with key evidence for thinking about the connection between sexuality, fertility, and religion, with which to compare evidence from other cultures.

This remained true even in mid-twentieth-century work of ethnographers interested in the connection between sex and religion. By this time, 'grand narratives' of human history and religion as constructed through objects in a museum had been largely rejected by participatory anthropologists who were making sustained studies of individual contemporary cultures 'in the field'.<sup>747</sup> 'Phallic Worship' could now also be observed, live, in the fertility rites of 'natives'.<sup>748</sup> The pioneer of new participatory methodology, Ashley Montagu (1905-1999), made observations in the late 1930s about 'phallic ceremonies' during his time spent with the native people of Australia.<sup>749</sup> However he had started his career in 1929 working for Wellcome, who was still somewhat stubbornly following the nineteenth-century material-based anthropological study of 'man's origins' in his 'Phallic Worship' collection and more widely.<sup>750</sup> Montagu would go on to write the introduction to a 1957 republication of the 1865 edition of Knight's *Worship of Priapus*. Despite being part of the new anthropological movement, he described this text based largely on the study of ancient Roman artefacts was still 'a valuable and stimulating introduction to this interesting and illuminating aspect of man's behaviour'.<sup>751</sup>

Wellcome's 'Phallic Worship' section demonstrates how Classical sexual imagery fitted into cross-cultural anthropological methodologies, and how these methods were part of a long tradition of fertility studies. Wellcome put his collection together in the early twentieth century for a project which aimed at nothing less than the recreation of world history through the means of material culture. In addition to Classical material, Wellcome acquired objects from India, such as the bracelets we saw at the start of this chapter as well as bronze *linga* – the cylinder-shaped objects made of stone and brass found in Hindu temples.<sup>752</sup> The search for conformity between cultures in Wellcome's

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<sup>747</sup> Stocking, 1995: 84, 223.

<sup>748</sup> See also Johnston, 1897: 408-409; Bennett, 1899. See Lyons and Lyons, 2004: 100, 144 on phallic worship and observatory methods.

<sup>749</sup> Montagu, 1937: 298f. Montagu uses the existence of 'phallic ceremony' as evidence of Aboriginal knowledge of the link between sex and procreation.

<sup>750</sup> Ashley Montagu staff file (WA/HMM/ST/Lat/A.4).

<sup>751</sup> Montagu, 1957: iv. See Rousseau, 1988: 65-66.

<sup>752</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A100277.

anthropological approach is demonstrated in comparing an Indian gouache painting he acquired showing a naked woman riding a phallus, and several *tintinnabula* in his collection also featuring women riding phalluses.<sup>753</sup> Like the excavations at Pompeii, the ‘discovery’ of Indian sexual imagery, as part of the explosion of new knowledge about Indian religions in the eighteenth century, had been a vital catalyst for ideas about the connection between sex and religion.<sup>754</sup> As George Rousseau explains, it ‘permitted Europeans to recognise that fertility rites, seen in the symbolism of the phallus, functioned as the common denominator of *all* religions.’<sup>755</sup> Of particular interest had been the *lingam* and its enduring worship in Hindu religion, as well as the commonly found sexually themed Indian temple carvings. Knight had reproduced an illustration of a *lingam* from a Hindu temple, surrounded by Hindu deities and the figure of Nandi, Shiva’s bull - this animal being another symbol of fertility for him, as we have seen – as well as a carving from the Elephanta caves in Mumbai harbour, showing a man and women performing mutual oral sex in a standing position.<sup>756</sup> The importance of Hindu religion for thinking about sacred sexuality is demonstrated in the continuing use of ‘*lingam*-worship’, like ‘worship of Priapus’, to refer to all world fertility cults. The mid-nineteenth century had seen a new specialised investigation into ‘*lingam*-worship’ amongst those researchers who now referred to themselves as ‘anthropologists’, such as Edward Sellon.<sup>757</sup> While eighteenth-century antiquarians had limited themselves to Classical collecting, Witt’s ‘Collection Illustrative of Phallic Worship’, had contained eleven examples of the *lingam* (fig. 51).<sup>758</sup>

Wellcome’s ‘Phallic worship’ section also contained East Asian material. We find several *netsuke* - a sort of detachable button invented in seventeenth-century Japan used to fasten clothes (*kimono* or *kosode*) and boxes from which a purse could be hung.<sup>759</sup> Phallic and sexual themes were often found on these objects, as evidenced in Witt’s collection which had contained seven such objects (fig. 52).<sup>760</sup> In both collections

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<sup>753</sup> Wellcome Library ICV No: 51428; A9757; A129192.

<sup>754</sup> Rousseau, 1988: 116-7; Funnell, 1982: 52; Haskell, 1984: 187.

<sup>755</sup> Rousseau, 1988: 116-7.

<sup>756</sup> Knight, 1894: 49-51, 54-56.

<sup>757</sup> Sellon, 1865.

<sup>758</sup> e.g. British Museum: 1880-1630.

<sup>759</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A641142, A641100.

<sup>760</sup> British Museum: W.423. W.424.

we find Japanese, as well Chinese, model phalluses made out of stone and wood.<sup>761</sup> Furthermore, both collections contain a selection of small objects decorated with men and women having sex in different positions, such as two very similar sets of Japanese porcelain bowls from the Edo Period (1800-1850), and various small objects which, when opened, reveal tiny models of couples engaged in various sexual acts (fig. 53).<sup>762</sup>

Japanese iconography had been part of Enlightenment revelations about sacred sexual imagery, specifically image of the bull and egg, as we have seen,<sup>763</sup> and the nineteenth century had seen the beginning of collecting Oriental sexual artefacts. However, Wellcome's extensive collection is an indication of the new links between East and West in the latter half of the nineteenth century and especially the British encounter with Japanese art in the years following Japan's two hundred year period of self-imposed isolation.<sup>764</sup> The Wellcome museum had taken advantage of this and added greatly to his Oriental collection by enlisting a special representative, a retired naval Surgeon Captain and ex-master of the Masonic Lodge, Montague Henry Knapp (1867-1952), to collect while abroad in Japan and China, sending him to 'sex stores' and specialist dealers specifically to hunt out ancient sexually themed art and modern sex aids.<sup>765</sup>

For his 'Phallic Worship' section Wellcome also acquired a substantial collection of objects from ancient Peru, made by the Moche people (100-800 AD) and featuring phallic and sexual imagery. Many of these are large pottery jugs in the form of a stylized figure with elaborate headdress holding his sizable phallus, or of a male and female couple having sex in the 'missionary' position, from behind, or engaged in oral sex (figs. 54 and 55).<sup>766</sup> The Americas had not been part of European eighteenth-century investigations into religious sexual imagery, and hardly feature in the mid-nineteenth-century revival of this tradition in Britain; although Witt had collected two of these sexually themed jugs, they had not featured in the contemporary literature.<sup>767</sup>

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<sup>761</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A641289, A641294; British Museum: W.417.

<sup>762</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A641289, A641153, A641133, A641134, A641135; British Museum: OA+.7168.1-9; OA+.7142, W.42

<sup>763</sup> Knight, 1894: 4.

<sup>764</sup> See Checkland, 2004.

<sup>765</sup> WHMM correspondence file 'Knapp, Surgeon Captain', 1935-6 (WA/HMM/CM/COL/60).

<sup>766</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A153142; 97711, 97721, 113239, 213312.

<sup>767</sup> British Museum: Am1983,Q.240.

Some American writers at this time discussed ancient Peruvian and American ‘Phallic Worship’ but seemingly without mention of these vessels.<sup>768</sup>

Wellcome’s acquisitions in the 1930s are likely to be the product of new archaeological excavations in Peru, and greater knowledge of its art, in the early twentieth century.<sup>769</sup> In 1925 the collector Larco Hoyle (1901-1966) opened a museum in Lima to house newly excavated material from this part of the world. That Wellcome’s interest in this Moche material helped to shape the canon of material for investigating the connection between sex and religion is demonstrated in Scott’s 1941 *Phallic Worship* which printed a photograph of two of Wellcome’s Moche phallic jugs.<sup>770</sup> The debate around the religious significance of these so-called ‘Moche sex pots’ in their original context was brought to wider attention by Hoyle’s own groundbreaking publication in 1965, in which they were linked with rituals of death and ancestor-worship, although this has since been disputed and remains the subject of much debate.<sup>771</sup> Hoyle’s work with sex researcher Alfred Kinsey, beginning in the 1950s, is credited as the first ‘scientific’ study of this material, and for bringing it to the attention of the wider (Western) world.<sup>772</sup> However, as we have seen, earlier in the century Wellcome’s museum had brought these objects to Britain and considered them in the context of the ‘scientific museum’. We have seen in this section that sexually themed Classical material had long been considered within, and had been an important part of, the framework of cross-cultural studies of sex and religion. As a branch of anthropology and comparative religion, the increasing study of ‘folklore’ at the turn of the twentieth century, also intersected with the theory of the universal supernatural phallus. One branch of folklore research investigated the ‘evil eye’ and the range of universal symbols and objects used against it, as we saw in Thomas Elworthy’s 1895 work above.<sup>773</sup> In particular, amulets, charms and talismans worn for protection against evil

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<sup>768</sup> See Squier, 1851.

<sup>769</sup> WHMM Index Cards (WA/HMM/CM/INV/A.128).

<sup>770</sup> Scott, 1941: Pl. 5.

<sup>771</sup> Hoyle, 1965. On the interpretation of these objects see Schmidt and Voss, 2000: 4; Weismantel, 2004; Weismantel, 2012.

<sup>772</sup> Weismantel, 2012: 310. It is interesting to note that Weismantel suggests Hoyle’s interest in this material is still ‘dismissed as an amusing personal peccadillo’ among Peruvian archaeologists, echoing the marginalisation we have seen of research on other sexual antiquities.

<sup>773</sup> Elworthy, 1895: 3.

forces were of especial interest to folklorists.<sup>774</sup> Researchers like Elworthy were not concerned with searching for the origins of all religions in the worship of procreation; instead they observed that across cultures, phallic imagery was just one, albeit often the most potent, combatant against the 'evil eye'.<sup>775</sup> Wellcome embraced folklorist interests, as well as the more specialist theory of 'Phallic Worship'. His phallic amulets, from Rome and elsewhere, were classified as part of the 'Phallic Worship' section and also as part of the 'Amulets, Charms and Talismans' section, so that their entry in the accession registers reads 'PHA/AM'.<sup>776</sup> The amulet section was itself one of the largest groups of objects in the whole collection, filling thirty eight cases of the display with material which represented a universal 'belief in the occult effect of certain objects... in seeking for principles of natural action'.<sup>777</sup> Like the 'Phallic Worship' section, the amulet section was made up of a huge variety of materials from across time and place - from China and Japan to modern Europe, as well the nearly four hundred phallic amulets from ancient Greece, Rome and Egypt.<sup>778</sup> Wellcome was in contact with some of the key figures and societies of the early twentieth-century folklorist movement, such as Edward Lovett (1852-1933), whose collection of amulets and charms was exhibited in the museum in 1916.<sup>779</sup> This was one of several collections now considered amongst the most important in twentieth-century folklore which Wellcome acquired.<sup>780</sup> Thus phallic material from antiquity was instrumental in a wider interest in the intersection between beliefs and the material world.

### 3.3 'Shower of Phallicism': 'theosophy' and esotericism

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<sup>774</sup> See Hill, 2007. There has been in last few years, a renaissance in this fascination in amulets and charms, for example the 'Charmed Life' exhibition at the Wellcome Collection and the 'Small Blessings' project at the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, both 2012.

<sup>775</sup> Elworthy, 1895: 148.

<sup>776</sup> See WHMM Index Card for A63722 (WA/HMM/CM/INV/A.87).

<sup>777</sup> WHMM Handbook 1920 (WA/HMM/PB/Han/17).

<sup>778</sup> See WHMM Handbooks 1913, 1920 (WA/HMM/PB/Han/8, WA/HMM/PB/Han/17).

<sup>779</sup> See Hill, 2007 on the Lovett exhibition, 'Folk-lore of London'. See also Lovett and McManus-Young, 1925. The museum produced a pamphlet for the exhibition 'Special exhibition illustrating the folk-lore of London. Lent by Mr Edward Lovett, of Croydon' (WA/HMM/PB/Han/16).

<sup>780</sup> See Transfer Lists 'Amulets' 1982-1986, (WA/HMM/TR/ABC/C.4.1), on the Hildburgh collection of Austrain and Bavarian amulets. Dr. Hildburgh also provided Wellcome with two phallic Japanese objects: a paper 'engi' – a house containing a model phallus and a phallus-shaped stone (A641294, A641145).

The study of universal sexual symbolism as a branch of comparative religious and folklore studies was particularly popular in the developing turn-of-the-twentieth-century occult movements.<sup>781</sup> Occultists widened out this cross-cultural investigation even further to consider increasingly esoteric faiths. But even here the importance of Classical archaeology remained. Hargrave Jennings, the author of a substantial body of work on ‘phallicism’ and editor of a new edition of Knight’s *Worship of Priapus* in 1883, was connected with these movements and his research influenced their interest in universal phallic cults.<sup>782</sup> Occultist and ‘theosophical’ groups drew upon a wide range of religious beliefs, but were especially interested in bringing together Eastern mysticism with Western esotericism. In addition they had a strong libertarian creed around sexual freedom, as we explore in the next section. The idea of a universal phallic cult satisfied both these interests. The idea of ‘Phallic Worship’ was also an example of the secret sects which fascinated those interested in esoteric beliefs. The hidden meanings behind ancient imagery established by Knight and d’Hancarville, were inaccessible ‘to those who know not their true signification’ and available only to those who could decipher them.<sup>783</sup> Jennings found this irresistible:

‘The Greeks and Romans brought forward the real and the visible — we mean the instruments — of the sexual relations in a way, and with a freedom, inconceivable to those who know nothing of the underlying meaning evident in their gems and coins, and sculpture... [these] will express things very significant to those who are capable of taking up the meanings of the old, unfortunately discredited theosophy’.<sup>784</sup>

Jennings developed his theory of a universal original sun and fire worship expressed in sexual symbolism, which he referred to collectively as ‘phallic’, across several publications.<sup>785</sup> A great many more anonymous publications which explore ‘sex mythology’ are attributed to him, such as the extensive *Nature Worship and Mystical*

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<sup>781</sup> Carabelli, 1996: 113; Godwin, 1994.

<sup>782</sup> Godwin, 1994: 25. Within Jennings’ spiritualist circles was that influential author on Victorian perceptions of Rome, Edward Bulwer Lytton, Godwin, 1994: 123, 212, 25.

<sup>783</sup> Jennings, 1884: 14.

<sup>784</sup> Jennings, 1884:102, 105.

<sup>785</sup> *Indian Religions, or Results of the Mysterious Buddhism* (1858); *The Rosicrucians: Their Rites and Mysteries* (1870); *The Obelisk: Notices of the Origin, Purpose and History of Obelisks* (1877); *Phallicism, Celestial and Terrestrial, Heathen and Christian* (1884).



*Series* which spanned the latter half of the nineteenth century and demonstrates the popularity of the phallic theory at this time.<sup>786</sup> Jennings acknowledged that he was indebted to Knight's eighteenth-century research, but also claimed to go beyond this study 'devoted more especially to the rites which celebrated the worship of Priapus among the Romans', to produce a 'more complete and more connected' theory of universal phallic religion.<sup>787</sup> Jennings' work encompasses Buddhism and other Eastern mysticism, with esoteric Christian sects such as Rosicrucianism and Gnosticism. Despite this consciously innovative and far-reaching research, in *Phallicism* we find an entire chapter devoted to Roman imagery.

In 1883, the year Jennings had arranged the republication of *Worship of Priapus*, another publication had a major impact on more esoteric interest in fertility religions. James Forlong's (1824-1904) two volume work was entitled *Rivers of life: or sources and streams of the faiths of man in all lands showing the evolution of faiths from the rudest symbolisms to the latest spiritual developments*. Helena Blavatsky (1831-1891), the founder of the Theosophical Society, one of the best known occultist societies, would describe the 'shower of phallicism that burst upon the reading public in the shape of General Forlong's Rivers of Life'.<sup>788</sup> This work, as the title suggests, was an attempt to study the history of all known faiths. It found 'Phallic Worship the second if not the first of man's faiths'.<sup>789</sup> The study of artefacts formed part of Forlong's research, although he made more use of literary sources. In an astoundingly detailed detachable chart (a feature which Jennings would copy) an illustrated 'stream' of phallic worship begins around 9000 BC and pours down through a time-line of history, as all the world

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<sup>786</sup> Authored by 'Sha Rocca' *The Masculine Cross and Ancient Sex Worship* 1874; reprinted in the *Nature Worship and Mystical Series* 1890; *Sex Mythology* 1898 (This was published after Jennings' death, but may be a reprint of earlier writings). In the *Nature Worship and Mystical Series: Phallic Worship* (1880); *Phallism: A Description of the Worship of Lingam-Yoni* (1889) Reprinted as *Phallicism* (ca. 1890-91); *Ophiolatreia: An Account of the Rites and Mysteries Connected with the Origin, Rise, and Development of Serpent Worship* (1889); *Phallic Objects, Monuments, and Remains* (1889); *Cultus Arborum: A Descriptive Account of Phallic Tree Worship* (1890); *Fishes, Flowers, and Fire as Elements and Deities in the Phallic Faiths and Worship* (1890); *Archaic Rock Inscriptions: an Account of the Cup and Ring Marking* (1890); *Nature Worship: An Account of Phallic Faiths and Practices* (1891); *Phallic Miscellanies: Facts and Phases of Ancient and Modern Sex Worship, as Explained Chiefly in the Religions of India* (1891); *Mysteries of the Rosie Cross, or the History of that Curious Sect of the Middle Ages, known as the Rosicrucians* (1891).

<sup>787</sup> Jennings, 1884: xxiv.

<sup>788</sup> Blavatsky, 1896: 361.

<sup>789</sup> Forlong, 1883: 1.117.

religions develop around it. Other 'streams' are tree, serpent, fire, sun and ancestor worship. Some of these other forms of worship were already considered in the Knightian tradition, but after Forlong they became increasingly part of occult interests.<sup>790</sup>

In the late 1880s Jennings' acquaintance Robert H Fryar, who later published Jennings' personal letters, produced new editions of the now canonical texts on 'Phallic Worship' as 'part of a serious stirring of interest'<sup>791</sup> in the subject by occultists.<sup>792</sup> The *Esoteric Physiology Series*, included a new edition of d'Hancarville's *Veneres et Priapi* and a republication of the 1865 edition of *Worship of Priapus*, as well as a republication of the 1871 English translation of Famin's catalogue of the Naples' 'Secret Cabinet'.<sup>793</sup> This ensured that a new generation of occultists, such as Aleister Crowley (1875-1947), despite their increasingly esoteric interests, continued to engage with sexually themed antiquities from Greece and Rome as evidence of ancient fertility rites.<sup>794</sup>

### 3.4 The 'medicalisation of sex'

The study of sacred sexuality through ancient artefacts also penetrated late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century medical discourses as the burgeoning study of human culture turned its attention to human sexuality as a subject for scrutiny.<sup>795</sup> In some ways a 'medical' construction of the study of phallic cults might appear to distinguish it from the archaeological and anthropological contexts in which it had been cultivated. However, the connection between sex and religion was one of many sites for the shared interests and methodologies of anthropology with the new discipline of Sexology.<sup>796</sup> Furthermore, while earlier research on 'Phallic Worship' had not started from an explicitly medical standpoint, it should be seen as part of the emerging interest in the anatomical human body and human psyche which also begun in the Enlightenment period.<sup>797</sup>

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<sup>790</sup> See Carabelli, 1996: 113. Knight, 1894: 35, 39-41, 46, 49, 59; Wright, 1894: 203, 212, 229; Wake, 1888.

<sup>791</sup> Godwin, 1994: 24.

<sup>792</sup> See Chapman, 2011.

<sup>793</sup> Godwin, 1994: 24.

<sup>794</sup> Godwin, 1994: 25.

<sup>795</sup> On the newly developing discourses of Sexology see Bland and Doan, 1998.

<sup>796</sup> See Lyons and Lyons, 2004.

<sup>797</sup> On eighteenth century understanding of the human body see Reeves, 2012. On eighteenth century and the beginnings of modern psychology see, Hearnshaw, 1987.

Henry Wellcome's hundreds of historical sexual artefacts were acquired within a framework which was ostensibly meant to address 'the history of medicine and allied sciences throughout the world from prehistoric times'.<sup>798</sup> As we shall explore below, some representations of the sexual body were valued in his museum for what they could say about pathological and anatomical knowledge in the past, as part of a large body of other material which was meant to reconstruct the history of advances in biomedical, observatory science. This ranged from hundreds of historical forceps, to the lab equipment of the pioneer of antiseptic surgeon Joseph Lister (1827-1912).<sup>799</sup> However, it has often been noted that much of the material Wellcome gathered together seems to go far beyond the history of human health.<sup>800</sup> As we have seen, those objects classified in Wellcome's 'Phallic Worship' section were also valued for what they could say about a cultural practice which used sexual images to communicate spiritual belief. It has been argued that Wellcome's ferocious collecting was designed to fulfil a wider brief than his Historical Medical Museum. Wellcome mentioned plans for a much larger museum, in both physical size and subject matter, which would surely, had it ever materialised, have utilised some of the massive amounts of material never on display in the medical museum.<sup>801</sup> However, as Ghislaine Skinner has demonstrated, the firm distinction between the 'anthropological' and the 'medical' is not one which Wellcome himself would have easily made.<sup>802</sup> Skinner has argued that it is possible to find a rationale for much of Wellcome's collection within his original scope, if we consider Wellcome's especially broad and anthropologically-focused definition of 'medical' which encompassed cultural aspects of healing and health, as well as biological solutions.<sup>803</sup>

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<sup>798</sup> WHMM Handbook [1913] (WA/HMM/PB/Han/8).

<sup>799</sup> See Turner, 1980: 46.

<sup>800</sup> See Skinner, 1986: 383; Larson, 2009.

<sup>801</sup> 'Oral evidence, memoranda and appendices to the final report' 1929: 107 (WA/HSW/OR/L.5); Wellcome to Colonel Hay, 22/6/1929, printed in Arnold and Olsen, 2003: 211. See Arnold, 1996: 19-21; Turner, 1980: 58-9; Larson, 2009: 191.

<sup>802</sup> Skinner, 1986: 403. An edited version of this article appeared under her married name, Lawrence, in Arnold and Olsen, 2003.

<sup>803</sup> Skinner, 1986: 403. A pamphlet of 1903, which sets out Wellcome's ideas for his forthcoming historical medical exhibition, suggests an equal desire to obtain material relating to 'quaint customs' as to the 'history of diseases' (WA/HMM/CO/Hme/2). Wellcome's correspondence with those responding to this request for objects gives the impression that he was perhaps even more interested in cultural practices than in conventional Western medicine. For example, we find a letter from a man offering a good luck charm found on the Isle of Mull in 1881. Wellcome replies 'I shall be pleased to display it at the forthcoming historical medical exhibition'. However he rejects an offer of Andrew Ure's *Dictionary of*

This theory can be applied, I argue, to the material in the 'Phallic Worship' section, some of which was displayed in the medical museum. Wellcome himself had addressed this issue, aware that his collection was pushing the boundaries of the strictly 'medical':

'Medicine has a history which has touched every phase of life and art, and is, to a large extent, bound up with the records of humanity'.<sup>804</sup>

Here Wellcome makes it clear that he saw the history of medicine as a means through which to tell the history of humanity - health being a fundamental, universal and transhistorical concern for all peoples. He expanded:

'most of the anthropological material possesses strong medical significance, for in all the ages the preservation of life and health has been uppermost in the minds of living beings, hence the omnipresent medicine man and the religio-medico or priest-physician'.<sup>805</sup>

'Religio-medico' was the name which he gave to one of the largest categories of objects in the collection and which included the material illustrative of 'Phallic Worship', his enormous collection of 'amulets, charms and talismans', and a huge array of other artefacts demonstrating how humanity has turned to the supernatural in order to ensure the 'preservation of life and health'.<sup>806</sup> These ranged from African masks for shamanic healing to Buddhist shrines of deities who might cure disease and ex-voto paintings from Mexico dedicated to the Catholic Saints in thanks for survival of a serious accident.<sup>807</sup> In this Wellcome was influenced by contemporary anthropological theory which identified a conflation of religious and medical practice, especially the work of physiologist and psychologist W. H. R. Rivers (1864-1922) under whom the Wellcome museum's second conservator, Louis Malcolm, had studied at Cambridge.<sup>808</sup> As Skinner has argued, this approach saw 'medical' concerns as largely indistinguishable from the

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*Chemistry*, citing 'lack of space'. A few years later we find him accepting into the collection the gift of an old potato 'worn as smooth and hard as a marble and carried in the pocket as an antidote to rheumatism' (WA/HMM/PB/HAN/16).

<sup>804</sup> 'Oral evidence, memoranda and appendices to the final report' 1929: 107 (WA/HSW/OR/L.5).

<sup>805</sup> 'Oral evidence, memoranda and appendices to the final report' 1929: 107 (WA/HSW/OR/L.5).

<sup>806</sup> On the 'Religio-Medico' in Wellcome's collection see Mack, 2003.

<sup>807</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A645087; A199221. Wellcome Library: ICV No 17767.

<sup>808</sup> Rivers, 1915; Rivers, 1924. On Malcolm and Rivers see Mack, 2003: 220-221.

other parts of human existence:

‘Viewed in this light, as the result of an instinct for self-preservation, the practice of medicine was equated with the preservation of health and was hard to disentangle from the provision of food, a mate, and protection from the elements and enemies’.<sup>809</sup>

We note that Skinner identifies ‘a mate’ as a fundamental ‘medical’ concern of human ‘self-preservation’ in this way. According to this definition, objects could be considered ‘medical’ if they illustrate a fundamental human preoccupation with fertility, as in the interpretation of sexual imagery we have seen above by the phallic theorists whom Wellcome followed. Sexual symbols treated as religious artefacts, therefore, were meant to ensure both the ‘preservation’ of the human species through the birth of human children and of individual life through a supply of healthy crops. Such objects, however, are less obviously ‘medical’ when interpreted as protective items, in the way we saw above in regards to phallic amulets. Nevertheless, Wellcome’s museum handbook makes clear that the wide-ranging amulets section was an important part of its representation of ‘religio-medico’ responses to human health across cultures.<sup>810</sup> Many amulets in the collection were designated to fight off specific ‘bodily diseases’.<sup>811</sup> Amulets to protect against the ‘evil eye’, such as we saw phallic objects have been interpreted, can also be considered ‘medical’ if we consider that, since Wellcome believed ‘the preservation of life and health has been uppermost in the minds of living beings’, then the ‘evil’ against which he thought the wearers of phallic symbols were trying to protect themselves, would be the onset of bad health or death, from disease or attack.<sup>812</sup> In this sense images of the phallus were as ‘medical’ as Wellcome’s massive weapons collection.

While Wellcome was exploring his broad view of humanity, through the lens of healing and wellbeing, the highly interdisciplinary field of Sexology was establishing itself as a specialised study of human sexuality. Often trained physicians, those

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<sup>809</sup> Skinner, 1986: 403

<sup>810</sup> WHMM Handbook 1920: 14 (WA/HMM/PB/Han/17).

<sup>811</sup> e.g. ‘Charm to protect against plague, Bavaria’, German, 1690-1710; ‘Mole’s foot amulet, carried loose as a cure for cramp and toothache’, from Downham, Norfolk, 1910 (Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A301733; A666092; A79966).

<sup>812</sup> This is John Clarke’s recent interpretation of this ancient belief, Clarke and Larvey, 2003: 112.

practicing this new 'medicalisation of sex' examined both the biological sexual body and the psychology of human desire through case-studies and clinics.<sup>813</sup> Not so well documented are these early sexologists' investigations into social practices and beliefs using methodologies borrowed from cultural anthropologists, historians and sociologists. The fields of anthropology and this new 'science of sex' were, as Lyons and Lyons have recently shown, considerably blurred in the early twentieth century, coming together in the shared field of 'sexual ethnography'.<sup>814</sup> One key example of this is the prolific cooperation between ethnologist Bronislaw Malinowski and physician, psychologist and pioneer in British Sexology, Henry Havelock Ellis, which resulted in important advances in both their fields.<sup>815</sup> Within its anthropological interests in sexuality, Sexology embraced the long standing theory of the universal sacred significance of sexual imagery.

This is demonstrated in the 1928 *Bilderlexikon der Erotik*, the sexiological encyclopaedia which, as we have seen, explored the connection between sex and religion using sexual antiquities. It was authored by the Vienna *Institut für Sexualforschung*, an Austrian sex research institution of the 1920 and 1930s, and much less well known than Magnus Hirschfeld's *Institut für Sexualwissenschaft* open in Berlin in the same period. Although created by journalist Leo Schidrowitz, the Austrian centre attracted doctors to its research, who also acted as consultants for clients.<sup>816</sup> In this way it appears to have functioned like its better known contemporary as a clinic-cum-research centre. It also acted as a publishing house for books and journals on human culture but primarily sexuality, as well as erotic fiction. Although the institute and Schidrowitz are not well known by historians of sexuality, the five volume encyclopaedia of sex which they produced was worked on by many of the leading figures of the day in sex research: in addition to the Classicist Paul Brandt, this included Ernst Finger, dermatologist and expert in venereal disease.<sup>817</sup> *Bilderlexikon der Erotik* provides a vast

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<sup>813</sup> See Bland and Doan, 1998.

<sup>814</sup> Lyons and Lyons, 2004: 155.

<sup>815</sup> Lyons and Lyons, 2004: 155. Ellis wrote the preface to Malinowski's 1929 *The Sexual Life of Savages in North Western Melanesia*. It argued using ethnological data that Freud's Oedipus Complex could be proved as not universal. See Malinowski, 1929. On the use of anthropological and sociological methodologies in Sexology see also Bauer, 2009: 42.

<sup>816</sup> Sigusch and Grau, 2009: 626-628.

<sup>817</sup> Schidrowitz to Malcolm 19/12/1928 (Wellcome Library: SA/FPA/A7/71). See also Davis, 2001: 250.

array of articles on biological and cultural subjects connected with human sexuality: photographs of genital piercing, female impersonators, pregnancy calendars and pimps.<sup>818</sup> In this broad context it also considered cultural aspects of sexuality, including, as we have seen, the religious significance of ancient artefacts.

Magnus Hirschfeld, founder of the better known Berlin institute of Sexology, was fascinated with the theory of 'Phallic Worship'. He not only examined images but, like Wellcome, attempted to put together his own collection of artefacts of the type which had long interested anthropological studies into the connection between sex and religion. The institute, as well as holding what it claimed was the 'largest collection of scientific sexual literature in the world'<sup>819</sup> - an archive of documents, photographs and drawings used by doctors and sex researchers,<sup>820</sup> boasted a 'museum of sexual science' - 'the only one of its kind in the world'.<sup>821</sup> A member of the institute's staff, Ludwig Levy Lenz (1889-1966), would later describe how this vast array of objects included hundreds that had 'served to satisfy sexual fetishisms' such as ladies boots and underwear, as well as equipment like historical abortion tools.<sup>822</sup> Aside from the occasional description like Levy Lenz's, it is very difficult to establish what was in the collection as most items and records of them were publically destroyed by the Nazi Party in 1933.<sup>823</sup> This is despite the efforts of Ralf Dose and other members of the Magnus Hirschfeld Society whose aim to 'preserve the heritage' of the sexologist and his work has revealed that some material went to France where Hirschfeld attempted to establish a new institute. They have recovered some material in Berlin and the occasional item at the American Kinsey Institute, the Berlin centre's intellectual successor.<sup>824</sup> We do know, however, that the 'museum' included a 'sex-ethnological collection' of cross-cultural historical and contemporary material.<sup>825</sup> In this, as Levy Lenz describes, were a group of 'Egyptian Phalli'. We also know that Paul Brandt, the 1920s

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<sup>818</sup> Institut für Sexualforschung, 1928: 1.48, 1. 257, 4.860, 4.718.

<sup>819</sup> Levy Lenz, 1951: 398.

<sup>820</sup> Wolff, 1986: 175; Robinson, 1925: 394-5.

<sup>821</sup> Levy Lenz, 1951: 404.

<sup>822</sup> Levy Lenz, 1951: 404.

<sup>823</sup> See Dose, 2012.

<sup>824</sup> See Dose, 2012 on the process of searching for the material of the institute. Ralf Dose has assisted me in searching for references to relevant material. See also Wolff, 1986.

<sup>825</sup> Hirschfeld, 1935, trans. Green: 34

specialist in ancient Greek and Roman sexual imagery, was affiliated with the institute, which does suggest that ancient sexual antiquities were of special interest to its research.<sup>826</sup> It would seem that Hirschfeld was attempting to build a collection along the same lines as his direct contemporary, Henry Wellcome: the acquisition of phallic material from a variety of cultures for the investigation of theories into a universal fertility religion. From what records remain of his collection I have established that Hirschfeld acquired Japanese stone phalluses; a 'phallic idol' from New Guinea in the form of a human-shaped cloth figure with phallus; pieces of bread in the shape of male and female genitalia, labelled as from Berlin; and a large Indonesian phallic stone statue which was on prominent display at the Institute.<sup>827</sup> While images are available of the New Guinean idol and the bread, we do not have any more information on the other objects, including the 'Egyptian Phalli'. However, this latter label was applied in other contexts to material interpreted as religious artefacts, giving us clues as to the nature of these objects and Hirschfeld's interpretation of them. For example, Wellcome's 'Phallic Worship' collection included a selection of Egyptian and Roman model phalluses made of stone which appeared in George Ryley Scott's *Phallic Worship* with the label 'Egyptian Phalli'.<sup>828</sup> This label was also given to the group of Late Period Egyptian Naucratic figurines of the phallic god Harpocrates illustrated in John Davenport's *Aphrodisiacs and anti-aphrodisiacs: Three essays on the powers of reproduction* (1869), a publication which I suggested above was also influential on Wellcome in his avid collection of many dozens of similar objects from Naucratis for his 'Phallic Worship' section.<sup>829</sup> We saw in Chapter 1 that these objects were readily available in Egypt in the 1920s and 1930s, and it may be that, like Wellcome, Hirschfeld was able to get some examples sent to him for his collection.

Hirschfeld's was interest in the universality of phallic cults and the use of phallic artefacts in ritual practice is prominent in his *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers* (1933) which he wrote up from notes taken on his 'Ethnological Sex Research' in Japan, China,

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<sup>826</sup> On Brandt and Bleichroeder affiliated with Hirschfeld see Davis, 2001: 205.

<sup>827</sup> For the phallic idol see Hirschfeld, 1930: 4.103. For the bread see Linsert and Hirschfeld, 1930: 86-7, in which it is listed as 'Michetta... from Ticino (Nineteenth century writers had mentioned bread in the shape of the phallus in pre-Christian Europe, see Wright, 1894: 158). For the phallic stone see Dose, 2012: 22.

<sup>828</sup> Scott, 1941: 3.

<sup>829</sup> Davenport, 1869: Pl.2.



the Philippines, India, Egypt and Palestine between 1930-32, widely seen as one of the founding texts of 'sexual ethnography'.<sup>830</sup> Hirschfeld believed he found evidence of phallic cults in many of the countries he visited, devoting 'a great deal of time and attention to this ancient custom' and making note of representations of the phallus used in religious contexts.<sup>831</sup> He also collected as he went, acquiring 'several dozen phalli of every possible material' specifically for his 'sex-ethnological collection' at the institute.<sup>832</sup> Hirschfeld, and these objects, never made it back to Berlin: being Jewish and openly homosexual he was unable to return to Germany and eventually settled in France.<sup>833</sup> The phalluses are now lost. That the phallic objects he acquired, including the 'Egyptian phalli', were part of a cohesive collection intended to illustrate the anthropological theory of a universal religious belief, is suggested in Hirschfeld's use of cross-cultural comparisons. Clearly following the methodology of Payne Knight, now over a hundred and fifty years old (although Hirschfeld makes no mention of this Enlightenment work) he uses objects already collected at the institute, and similar material, to interpret the evidence he found in other cultures he encountered on his 'World Journey'. In *Die Weltreise*, he compares phallic emblems in Asia to phallic amulets worn in Egypt 'to induce love or fertility'.<sup>834</sup> Bread made in the shape of male and female genitalia in Europe are compared to the Hindu *lingam*, as representations of the sacred phallus which survive into the present day.<sup>835</sup>

These sexological researchers clearly shared their anthropological and archaeological interests with 'Phallic Worship' theorists. Hirschfeld and Wellcome both attempted to put together a collection of cross-cultural artefacts demonstrating the connection between sex and religion. Furthermore, from the little we know of Hirschfeld's collection it seems there were other overlaps in their collecting interests regarding sexuality, for example in material such as abortion tools.<sup>836</sup> However, it is

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<sup>830</sup> Hirschfeld, 1935, trans. Green: xvii; Bauer, 2011: 5. On this text see Bauer, 2006 : 21, 27; Funke, Forthcoming.

<sup>831</sup> Hirschfeld, 1935, trans. Green: 32-34; 120, 148; 181. On Hirschfeld and phallic worship see Funke, Forthcoming.

<sup>832</sup> Hirschfeld, 1935, trans. Green: 34.

<sup>833</sup> On Hirschfeld's exile see Wolff, 1986: 392.

<sup>834</sup> Hirschfeld, 1935, trans. Green: 148, 243.

<sup>835</sup> Hirschfeld, 1935, trans. Green: 181.

<sup>836</sup> E.g. Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A615533.

difficult to assess the extent to which Wellcome's project aligned itself with the emerging 'science of sex'. There was seemingly no communication between the museum and Hirschfeld or his colleagues. Wellcome was in communication with 'sex ethnologist' Bronislaw Malinowski but no evidence exists of their shared work on sexuality.<sup>837</sup> A set of correspondence between Wellcome's conservator Malcolm and Leo Schidrowitz in Vienna, however, concerns the photography of Wellcome material for the *Bilderlexikon der Erotik*.<sup>838</sup> Clearly, sexologists did realise the potential of the Wellcome Collection as a resource for the study of sex. The museum also appreciated this, offering to 'select other material connected with sexual science' for the Vienna's institute's future projects.<sup>839</sup> However, the material which the institute selected was not used to illustrate ideas of 'Phallic Worship' and none of the substantial number of images of sexual antiquities in the encyclopaedia are from Wellcome.<sup>840</sup> An Egyptian plaque used in the *Bilderlexikon* shows phallic figures but these are used as evidence of the practice of circumcision.<sup>841</sup> It is surprising that the institute did not use photographs of material from Wellcome's colossal 'Phallic Worship' section, which, as we have seen, was an important resource for others in this period, such as Gaston Vorberg and George Ryley Scott. While the Vienna institute and the Wellcome museum clearly understood the collection's value in exploring the biology and pathology of sex, it is not as obvious that either appreciated the value of its anthropological collection for sexological research.

There is some evidence that the Wellcome museum was interested in the sexual experience itself, outside of its function in procreation or its connection with religion; that, like contemporary sexologists, it wanted to catalogue different forms of sexual desire, attraction, fantasy or arousal. Objects which seem to indicate an interest in sexual pleasure for its own sake include a collection of historical and cross-cultural sex aids. This includes a set of early twentieth-century Japanese tortoiseshell *harikata*

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<sup>837</sup> Ashley Montagu staff file (WA/HMM/ST/Lat/A.4).

<sup>838</sup> Schidrowitz to Malcolm 19/12/1928 (Wellcome Library: SA/FPA/A7/71). Thanks to Lesley Hall at the Wellcome Library for the reference.

<sup>839</sup> Schidrowitz to Malcolm 19/12/1928 (Wellcome Library: SA/FPA/A7/71). See also Davis, 2001: 250.

<sup>840</sup> Wellcome material featured includes an image from a 15<sup>th</sup> century manuscript on cesarean surgery, a photograph of a naked 'native' from Borneo with a penis pin (objects which Wellcome also collected), and of a wooden birthing amulet from the Congo, Institut für Sexuallforschung, 1928: 3.443, 3.59, 3.216.

<sup>841</sup> Institut für Sexuallforschung, 1928: 3.84.

(dildos).<sup>842</sup> A very similar set made of horn was collected by the Hirschfeld institute, one of the few items to have survived the destruction of the collection and later located in the home of the descendent of a physician who had worked at the institute.<sup>843</sup> Hirschfeld published this item in 1930, in a work which explored sexual pleasure through sexual stimulants.<sup>844</sup> The Vienna institute also published a photograph of it as evidence of a 'stimulus enhancement' in *Bilderlexikon*.<sup>845</sup> These publications may have inspired Peter Johnston-Saint in 1936, now the conservator of the Wellcome museum, when he sent his contact in Japan, Montagu Knapp, to the 'Arita Drug and Rubber Goods Company' in Kobe, Japan, a 'sex store' which sold sexual aids, stimulants and other material which Johnston-Saint was 'particularly anxious to get hold of'.<sup>846</sup> Here Knapp was able to purchase for the museum the tortoiseshell dildos and other material from the marked-up company catalogue which Johnston-Saint had sent him.<sup>847</sup> Johnston-Saint was very pleased with the purchase, declaring them of 'very special interest to the Museum and well worth the money expended on them'.<sup>848</sup>

Complementing the Wellcome objects which examine sexual experience itself, are a substantial collection of 'guides' to better sex from across the world, acquired by the Wellcome library. Often these claim to improve fertility or even healthier children and are concerned with the biology of procreation, however many also explore the increased pleasure of the sexual partners for its own sake. The most famous example of such a guide, the Indian *Kama Sutra* ('rules of sexual pleasure'), written 400BC- AD200 and attributed to the philosopher Vātsyāyana, appears in the Wellcome library in the form of a Nepalese manuscript of unknown date and in an early twentieth-century Sanskrit edition.<sup>849</sup> This text had become known to the Western world through an English

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<sup>842</sup> Made by Arita Drug and Rubber Goods Company, Kobe, Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A641105.

<sup>843</sup> For its discovery in the 1980s see Dose, 2012: 12. It is now on loan to the Jewish Museum in Berlin.

<sup>844</sup> Linsert and Hirschfeld, 1930: 282.

<sup>845</sup> Institut für Sexualeforschung, 1928: 1.421, my translation.

<sup>846</sup> Johnston-Saint to Knapp 06/08/1935 (WA/HMM/CM/COL/60).

<sup>847</sup> Johnston-Saint to Knapp 06/08/1935 (WA/HMM/CM/COL/60).

<sup>848</sup> Dean (WHMM Secretary) to Knapp 18/07/1936 (WA/HMM/CM/COL/60).

<sup>849</sup> Wellcome Library: Oriental Collection, MS Indic alpha 1948; Inv. 6364590. On the *Kama Sutra* see McConnachie, 2009; Zysk, 2002: 5.

translation produced in 1883 with help from the ASL's Richard Burton.<sup>850</sup> However, as is well known, the *Kama Sutra* also illustrates the interconnectivity of sexual pleasure, fertility and spirituality in Hindu religion, arguably positioning this text also within the museum's treatment of the 'religio-medico'.<sup>851</sup> The same is true of a later Indian work found in the Wellcome library, the *Ratīsāstra* ('writing on conjugal love') produced in the 1600s, but found here in an English translation produced in 1904 with the title *The Hindu system of sexual science*.<sup>852</sup> This focuses on domestic tranquility through conjugal love, as well as giving advice on the production of healthy (male) offspring, but also shows that these ideas were inseparable from the pursuit of spirituality.<sup>853</sup> Less overtly spiritual is the Persian manuscript Wellcome collected, which contains fifty pages of illustrations of men and women in different sexual positions, accompanied by stories of passionate and pleasurable sexual encounters told by women. It is labelled a 'bahname', a Persian-Farsi term meaning 'book of sexual desire' which traditionally gave advice for good sexual relations within marriage.<sup>854</sup> Entirely secular and removed from notions of procreation is a French bound book entitled *Invocation à l'amour: Chant philosophique*, anonymously authored in 1825 in Paris by 'A virtuoso of the good fashion', which Peter Johnston-Saint acquired for Wellcome in Madrid in 1934.<sup>855</sup> This does not purport to be a guide, instead coloured drawings of a woman and man in sexual encounters in a variety of settings and positions illustrate a selection of poems in the voice of the woman:

'Interlaced in this way, we fuck doubled up.  
Our tongues are pricks and our mouths are cunts.

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<sup>850</sup> McConnachie, 2009: 123-5 suggests that credit is usually given to Burton for the translation but that the chief work was done by Indian archaeologist Bhagvanlal Indraji, under the guidance of Burton's friend, the Indian civil servant Foster Fitzgerald Arbuthnot.

<sup>851</sup> Zysk, 2002: 1-2.

<sup>852</sup> The original was written by Nāgārjuna and translated in this edition by Ganesa Ayyara, 1904. Wellcome Library accession number: 335254. On this text see the introduction to a recent English translation, Zysk, 2002.

<sup>853</sup> Zysk, 2002.

<sup>854</sup> Wellcome Library: WMS Persian 223. I am grateful to Haila Manteghi-Amin at the University of Exeter and Firuza Abdullaeva at the University of Cambridge for their translations and advice on this text.

<sup>855</sup> Wellcome Library: record no. [b1027893x/](#) 23112857.

Cum and saliva together make us wet  
And two exquisite pleasures together arouse us.<sup>856</sup>

This poem entitled 'A Happy Position' is indicative of the joyful celebration of sexual pleasure, without claims of 'scientific' or spiritual aims. In fact, the variety of positions the couple take seem to satirise those serious works which catalogue sexuality. The little phalluses flying around the 'interlaced' couples could also be seen as drawing upon such imagery which had long interested theorists of fertility religions. This work then seems to mimic traditions of sex research in its pursuit of sexual pleasure alone. These texts, collected for Wellcome's 'scientific' examination of human nature may have been considered in the context of the transhistorical connection between sex and religion, however, they suggest that Wellcome, like his contemporaries in the field of Sexology, took a more holistic view of human sexuality and was interested in the sexual desire itself, outside of its connection with fertility.

We have seen that in this period a traditionally anthropological interest in 'Phallic Worship', including the study of sexual antiquities, was explored within 'medical' contexts and that this complemented research into human biology and psychology to provide a comprehensive picture of human sexuality. We also find sexual antiquities impacting on psychological research itself, probably the most influential discourse on understanding human sexuality in the modern age. Hirschfeld's account of an original universal phallic religion, which we saw he set out in *Die Weltreise*, is in many ways little altered from the Knightian tradition, despite its lack of reference to this earlier scholarship.<sup>857</sup> However, Hirschfeld shows that the language of psychology infiltrated his study of comparative religions, in the same way as the psychology of the 'natives' had interested ethnographers such as Bronislaw Malinowski.<sup>858</sup> For example, Hirschfeld describes a modern day Hindu's understanding of the lingam in terms of 'subconscious' knowledge of its ancient phallic significance.<sup>859</sup> Freud's early twentieth-century

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<sup>856</sup> Anonymous, 1825, unpublished translation by Rory Melough. This is written in 12 syllable alexandrines, the standard metre for nineteenth century French poetry.

<sup>857</sup> See Funke, Forthcoming on the absence of references to Knight in Hirschfeld's writing on phallic worship.

<sup>858</sup> Lyons and Lyons, 2004: 155.

<sup>859</sup> Hirschfeld, 1935, trans. Green: 181.

psychoanalysis had made overt references to Knight's theory of phallic religion.<sup>860</sup> He also put together a collection of antiquities in the 1920s and 1930s which included a number of Roman and Egyptian phallic amulets made of bronze, ivory, and faience and a terracotta lamp featuring a man and woman having sex, probably purchased on his travels in Italy—perhaps on his trip to Pompeii in 1902.<sup>861</sup> It is possible that Freud also made notes on other phallic material he saw at Pompeii or at the Naples museum, such as the images of Priapus which he later referred to.<sup>862</sup> Yet again Pompeii is the key resource for access to ancient phallic imagery. Freud's reading of Knight, whom he references, informs his interpretation of this material:

'In the primitive times of the human race... the genitals were originally the pride and hope of living beings, they enjoyed divine worship, and the divine nature of their functions was transported to all newly acquired activities of mankind'.<sup>863</sup>

However, for Freud the historical development of human culture regarding attitudes to images of genitalia, an idea we examine further below, was a macrocosm of individual human sexual development:

'Important biological analogies have taught us that the psychic development of the individual is a short repetition of the course of development of the race, and we shall therefore not find improbable what the psychoanalytic investigation of the child's psyche asserts concerning the infantile estimation of the genitals'.<sup>864</sup>

In this way Knight's interpretation of the mythological figure of the hermaphrodite as representing an original belief in the union of the male and female creative powers ('organized matter in its first stage; that is, immediately after it was released from chaos'), is taken by Freud to reflect infantile sexual development, specifically the child's

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<sup>860</sup> Davis, 2008; Armstrong, 2005; Burke, 2007: 36.

<sup>861</sup> Davis, 2008: 107. See Burke, 2007: 36-7.

<sup>862</sup> Freud and Fliess, 1985, trans. Masson: 308. See Armstrong, 2005: 20; Burke, 2007: 36.

<sup>863</sup> Freud, 1916, trans. Brill: 59-60.

<sup>864</sup> Freud, 1916, trans. Brill: 60-61.

early belief that his mother had a penis.<sup>865</sup> Other antiquities revealed for Freud a transhistorical truth about human psychosexuality, such as images of Priapus which he saw as the visual representation of a universal psychological concern over impotence.<sup>866</sup> Roman amulets shaped as the phallus with wings, which we have seen for Knight symbolised belief in the nurturing function of the creative force, were evidence for Freud that dreaming of flying revealed a preoccupation with erections.<sup>867</sup> As Armstrong has suggested, ancient artefacts for Freud ‘suggest a line of psychic continuity that would place random mental events like obsessive images or dreams in a larger category of universal but archaic modes of thought that are exposed through regressions like dreaming and neurosis’.<sup>868</sup> This highlights the proto-psychological analysis present in anthropological theory since the eighteenth century: Knight’s ideas about the ‘first principles of the human mind’, which he observes from studying ancient phallic material to be a preoccupation with sex for procreation, predicts the Freudian psychological model of sex as the fundamental motivation of all human behaviour, also informed by the same phallic emblems.<sup>869</sup> Knight’s relativist understanding of cultural responses to this panhuman sexual instinct, which he observed in the different reception of ancient sexual imagery by Pagan and Christian cultures, also anticipates Hirschfeld’s cultural relativism with regard to sexual morality.<sup>870</sup>

There is some indication that the Wellcome museum was, or became, interested in this psychological way of interpreting sexual antiquities. In 1943, after Wellcome’s death, a selection of Roman and Egyptian phallic objects were donated by the Orientalist Major Gayer-Anderson. As we have seen, previous acquisitions of comparable material had always been placed into the ‘religio-medico’ section of the museum. However, as the museum told the Major in a letter of thanks, it would now be housed in a ‘section dealing with psychology’.<sup>871</sup> This perhaps suggests that, particularly after Wellcome’s death, his staff began to focus more on research into the psychology

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<sup>865</sup> Knight, 1894: 41; Freud, 1916, trans. Brill: 58.

<sup>866</sup> Freud and Fliess, 1985, trans. Masson: 308. See Armstrong, 2005: 20; Burke, 2007: 36.

<sup>867</sup> Burke, 2007: 36-7; Freud, 1913, trans. Brill: 5:394. See Armstrong, 2005: 41.

<sup>868</sup> Armstrong, 2005: 41.

<sup>869</sup> Knight, 1894: 13.

<sup>870</sup> Knight, 1894: 13; Hirschfeld, 1935, trans. Green: xviii.

<sup>871</sup> SH Daukes to RG Gayer-Anderson, 28/04/1943 (WA/HMM/CO/COL/42).

of human sexuality. This is an apt indication of the cross-fertilisation of ideas about sex and religion in the dominant emerging discourses of this period, especially anthropology, medicine and psychology, which we have seen was negotiated by engaging with ancient sexual artefacts. In the next section we examine the role of this material in the dominant debate which cut across these disciplines and areas of interest: the theory of the evolution of culture.

#### Section 4: Primitive Priapus: sexual antiquities and the theory of cultural evolution

In the final part of this chapter, I argue that the reception of sexual antiquities as religious artefacts was bound up with the construction of theories about the evolution of culture, the major intellectual preoccupation of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The study of 'Phallic Worship' is shown to have been part of the development of key approaches for identifying cultural 'primitivism', particularly in regards to sexuality and religion, both ancient – the search for the 'origins of man' - and modern - through contact with contemporary people thought to be untouched by 'civilisation'. The 'primitivism' or 'paganism' of Classical antiquity revealed in its sacred sexual imagery (often seen as problematic by challenging antiquity as the founder of 'civilisation') was explored and even celebrated for revealing an alternative religio-cultural model in which attitudes to sexual imagery, sex and the body were constructed differently from those associated with mainstream, modern Christian mores.

#### 4.1 Constructing cultural evolution

The dominant model for understanding human culture in the second half of the nineteenth century was an evolutionary one: 'primitive' cultural behaviour was defined as the predecessor of 'civilised', rational thinking. Aspects of sex and religion in a culture become central concerns in developing such theories.<sup>872</sup> In the wake of the powerful influence of Darwinism, a socio-cultural version of evolution theory had been pioneered in the 1860s and 1870s, especially by Edward Burdett Tylor (1832-1917) in his *Primitive Culture*, the 'bible of nineteenth-century anthropology',<sup>873</sup> and in the work of

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<sup>872</sup> See Lyons and Lyons, 2004.

<sup>873</sup> Carabelli, 1996: 116.



such anthropologists as Sir John Lubbock (1834-1913) and John Ferguson McLennan (1827–1881).<sup>874</sup> Their new ‘Science of Man’, which wanted to see human culture treated as ‘scientifically’ as were biology and physics, assumed that every culture could be placed along a series of developmental stages from ‘primitive’ through to ‘civilised’, as ‘man transcended, by means of his rationality and inventiveness, enslavement to his basic animal needs.’<sup>875</sup> This in turn was translated into a Museological methodology by the collector Pitt Rivers, who aimed to represent the progression of human evolution through the material culture he gathered and arranged in his collection.<sup>876</sup> Wellcome, who we have seen named the Pitt Rivers Museum as his nearest counterpart, set this evolutionary narrative at the heart of his museum’s approach:

‘I have for many years been collecting for the purpose of demonstrating by means of objects that will illustrate the actuality of every notable step in the evolution and progress from the first germ of life up to the fully developed man of today.’<sup>877</sup>

As previous work has argued, Wellcome devised his plans in the late nineteenth century and they remained relatively unchanged until his death in 1936, despite the evolutionary narrative of cultural development being increasingly discredited as the twentieth century progressed.<sup>878</sup> On arriving at the Wellcome museum, visitors first entered the ‘Hall of Primitive Medicine’ which contained material designed to reflect ideas from the ‘lower stages of the human mind’.<sup>879</sup> Material from the ‘Religio-Medico’ section provided a good deal of the material for this area of the museum, the conflation between religion and healing, according to contemporary anthropological views, being prominent in ‘primitive’ thought.<sup>880</sup> The visitor, on leaving this room, walked through to areas of the

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<sup>874</sup> Stocking: 1987: 102-9. On suggestions that ‘social Darwinism’ is not really Darwinism see Bowden, 1991: 70-1. For argument that socio-cultural evolutionary theory development outside of Darwin’s influence see Harris, 1968.

<sup>875</sup> Skinner, 1986: 390. See Stocking: 1987: 102-9.

<sup>876</sup> Lane Fox [Pitt Rivers], 1874; Lane Fox [Pitt Rivers], 1875. See Bowden, 1991: 49.

<sup>877</sup> Wellcome to Malcolm, 31/8/1926 quoted in Skinner, 1986: 399.

<sup>878</sup> On the development of Wellcome’s plans see Skinner, 1986: 384. On Wellcome as out-of-step with increasingly discredited evolutionary school see Skinner, 1986: 408

<sup>879</sup> WHMM Handbook 1920: 14 (WA/HMM/PB/Han/17). On the Hall of Primitive Medicine see Larson, 2009: 400-2, Skinner, 1986: 390.

<sup>880</sup> WHMM Handbook 1920: 14, 26 (WA/HMM/PB/Han/17, WA/HMM/PB/HAN/22); Rivers, 1915; Rivers, 1924. On Wellcome’s adherence to this view see Mack, 2003: 218-220.

museum in which was displayed images and equipment of individuals who had made significant advancements in biomedical science.<sup>881</sup> Thus, Wellcome's layout told an evolutionary narrative about human society and achievement: beginning by presenting behaviour and belief dictated by primal needs, and a vulnerability to death and disease, it moved through to show the control of natural forces through rational, logical research.. . However, we shall see below that to some extent Wellcome's museum display attempted to problematise this paradigm.<sup>882</sup>

The worship of forces which could ensure successful procreation, as expressed in the production of sacred sexual imagery, was, in this model, designated 'primitive' behaviour. In 1884 Jennings described the 'simple and primitive idolatry' he had discovered by analysing phallic imagery from antiquity and elsewhere. The image of the phallus in 'primitive' religious belief, he suggested, represented 'procreative power seen throughout nature, and in that primaeval age was regarded with the greatest awe and veneration'.<sup>883</sup> This was reflected in the Wellcome museum where a selection of Roman phallic amulets, (see fig. 10) with other material showing phallic imagery, were displayed in the 'Hall of Primitive Medicine'.<sup>884</sup> The 'primitivism' of 'Phallic Worship' was dependent on its revealing a preoccupation with procreation and fertility, a characteristic of 'enslavement' to 'basic animal needs' and an urge to worship those forces which seem to be in control of such necessities. These essential preoccupations, driven by biology, greatly concerned Wellcome. His 'Phallic Worship' section formed part of the broad collection which reconstructed 'primitive' life, as part of his presentation of the history of humanity and its responses to health.

'Phallic Worship' studies did not simply borrow from a new evolutionary anthropology, however. Rather, evolutionary theory had been inherent in the tradition when it began a hundred years before Tylor's *Primitive Culture* of 1870. Knight's

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<sup>881</sup> Larson, 2009: 400-2, Skinner, 1986: 390.

<sup>882</sup> See Larson, 2009: 400-2.

<sup>883</sup> Jennings, 1884: 178.

<sup>884</sup> The museum accession documents describe a number of Roman phallic amulets as displayed in 'Case 24' which, according to museum handbook of 1927 was part of the 'Amulets, Charms and Talismans' display in the Hall of Primitive Medicine (WA/HMM/CM/ACC.3; WA/HMM/CM/INV/C.3 for R23446; A665718/R23448; A665717/R23449; A665707; R23456; R23447; R23451; R23452; A665706/R23453; R23444; A665712; R23445; WA/HMM/PB/Han/19). On the Hall of Primitive Medicine see Larson, 2009: 400-2, Skinner, 1986: 390

*Worship of Priapus* shows the same drive to reveal the earliest origins of socio-religious customs, practices and language which would motivate anthropologists defining 'primitive' culture in the next century. Knight had observed that 'original principles in the human mind' were preoccupied with the power of procreation.<sup>885</sup> Although the definitions of 'culture' in terms of 'primitive' and 'civilised' would not be systemically theorised until the 1860s, Knight, as well as Hamilton, had used 'primitive' (in regards to 'worship' and 'language') in reference to historically early peoples.<sup>886</sup> The importance of Classical material in these theories about the history of religion had been part of a wider eighteenth-century appropriation of the narrative of Roman history for embryonic ideas about the development of culture.<sup>887</sup> When these ideas, and the interpretation of ancient sexual imagery, were revived by the ASL in the 1860s they were by now framed by the terms 'primitive' and 'civilised' to refer to the chronology of cultural behaviour.<sup>888</sup> This, however, was still five years before Tylor's seminal work identified 'primitive culture' as a distinctive stage in the evolution of human society. In fact, although they did not make it a major area of study, the cultural evolutionary theorists of the 1860s and 1870s used the practice of fertility cults as examples in constructing their definition of 'primitive' behaviour, demonstrating the influence of the 'Phallic Worship' theory on mainstream intellectual ideas.<sup>889</sup> The theory of 'Phallic Worship', developed largely through the interpretation of Classical sexual imagery, was thus part of the conceptualisation of the theory of cultural evolution.

#### 4.2 Comparative Method and 'Survivals'

Two central methods of cultural evolutionary theory were also found in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century study of universal fertility cults and can too be traced back through this tradition. In searching for the 'primitive' origins of humanity, evolutionary anthropologists of the 1860s and 1870s had developed the 'comparative method' which looked to modern day 'primitive' cultures, those thought to still display

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<sup>885</sup> Knight, 1894: 15.

<sup>886</sup> Knight, 1894: 81.

<sup>887</sup> Orrells, Bhambra and Roynon, 2011: 8.

<sup>888</sup> Westropp, Wake and Wilder, 1874: 34.

<sup>889</sup> Lubbock, 1870: 116, 250; McLennan, 1886: 339, 341; McLennan, McLennan and Platt, 1896: 202, 220.

the 'lower stages of the human mind', as representing earlier stages of cultural evolution, in order to fill the gaps in historical evidence.<sup>890</sup> This included contemporary 'savage' societies - the native peoples of non-European colonized countries - and, within the 'civilised' world, 'folk' peoples who appeared to maintain customs from an earlier age. The Wellcome museum handbook of 1920 shows that they followed this approach well into the twentieth century:

'In many of the practices and customs common among primitive races today in the treatment of disease we find a reflection of what medicine must have been in very early times in Europe'.<sup>891</sup>

Through the means of objects, 'primitive' culture could be reconstructed using a mixture of archaeological, ethnographic and 'folklorist' material. This was the approach in the Pitt Rivers museum and, as we might expect, also in Wellcome's 'Hall of Primitive Medicine', where objects from ancient Rome, late nineteenth-century Africa and early twentieth-century Italian peasant villages sat side by side to demonstrate 'primitive' responses to healing, usually connected with the 'religio-medico'. In Wellcome's 'Phallic Worship' section we find, together with ancient material, amulets from contemporary Europe, discussed below, as well as sexual imagery from turn-of-the-twentieth-century Africa, Australasia and the Pacific, such as a wooden post shaped as a stylised male figure with phallus, from the Te Arawa tribes in New Zealand created in around the 1880s (fig.56).<sup>892</sup>

Wellcome clearly understood this object, and other 'savage' sexual emblems, as representing the same 'primitive' belief in sacred sexuality as his Roman figurines of Priapus. This is demonstrated in their classification within the 'Phallic Worship' section but also, for example, in a pamphlet produced in 1927 entitled *Memoranda Concerning the Collection of Information and Material Among Primitive Peoples*, which contained instructions for those travelling to the colonies who would be coming into contact with 'natives' about what questions to ask and what objects the museum especially wanted

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<sup>890</sup> Tylor, 1871: 257; Haddon and Quiggin, 1910: xiv. On this see Burrow, 1966; Stocking, 1987; Harris, 1968: 150-153.

<sup>891</sup> WHMM Handbook 1920: 6 (WA/HMM/PB/Han/17).

<sup>892</sup> This is now at the British Museum, Oc1954,06.308. See also Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A132579; A182098; A26668; A645447; A163666; A641118.

them to try to acquire. Among other types of material, it asked the travellers to look out for the 'Phallic emblems or fetishes, or other objects fashioned in the shape of genital organs' as examples of 'amulets, charms, fetishes, etc. associated with the healing art and used or carried as a protection from disease and evil spirits...'<sup>893</sup> Wellcome's pamphlet was based on a similar document produced in 1874 by the British Association for the Advancement of Science, entitled *Notes and queries on anthropology for the use of travellers and residents in uncivilised lands* and this demonstrates Wellcome's adherence to this late nineteenth-century anthropological methodology of employing others 'in the field' to bring home material to study, despite the fact that this was somewhat outdated by the 1920s.<sup>894</sup> The prominent request for 'phallic emblems' in the *Memoranda* shows that, for Wellcome, belief in sacred sexual imagery and 'primitive' culture were closely linked. Scott's *Phallic Worship* of 1941, which as we have seen drew evidence from Wellcome's collection, makes direct comparisons between the 'Phallicism in Ancient Greece and Rome' and 'The Phallic Gods in India' with the 'Phallicism in the Religions of savage and Primitive Races', the native peoples of America, Australia and to Africa.<sup>895</sup>

This method of finding comparable behaviour in ancient and modern 'primitives' can also be traced back to earlier response to Classical sexual imagery. When first unearthed in the eighteenth century, sexual imagery in Pompeii been compared by some to material seen on the islands of the Pacific, newly 'discovered' by James Cook.<sup>897</sup> However, Knight and his colleagues had not included such comparisons in their work. . In the 1860s, by which time the notions of the 'primitive' and 'civilised' were beginning to crystallise , the ASL's founder Richard Burton had visited the 'savage' people of Dahome in West Africa and 'discovered' what he saw as a living representation of ancient attitudes to sexual imagery.<sup>898</sup> The importance of Roman

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<sup>893</sup> 'Memoranda concerning the collection of information and material among primitive peoples' (WA/HMM/PB/Han/27).

<sup>894</sup> Skinner, 1986: 402. In 1887 Frazer had also privately printed *Questions on the customs, beliefs and languages of savages* to facilitate research on *The Golden Bough*, though this had focused little on the acquisition of objects.

<sup>895</sup> Scott, 1941.

<sup>897</sup> Coltman, 2006: 107. See also Jenkins and Sloan, 1996: 241.

<sup>898</sup> See Lyons and Lyons, 2004: 57.

culture as a point of comparison, for making sense of the material, is evident in his observations:

‘the Dahoman Priapus is a clay figure of any size between a giant and the pigmy, crouched upon the ground as if contemplating its own Attributes... A huge penis, like the section of a broom-stick... projects horizontally from the middle.’<sup>899</sup>

His description of the phallic imagery found throughout the towns in this area of Africa is reminiscent of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travellers’ accounts of visiting the ruins of Pompeii: ‘In Dahome [phallic worship] is uncomfortably prominent; every street from Whydah to the capital is adorned with the symbol.’<sup>900</sup> This proto-version of the ‘comparative method’ sees Burton drawing upon his extensive knowledge of Roman phallic imagery and religion to understand contemporary Africans.<sup>901</sup> Like eighteenth-century travellers to Pompeii before him, the ubiquity of phallic imagery in this society had led Burton to the conclusion that the ‘primal want is progeny’.<sup>902</sup> Burton’s account would be repeated over the next hundred years as key evidence of ‘savage’ worship of the phallus.<sup>903</sup> Scott, in 1941, would quote it almost in full, as well as a less well-known account by an American settler in 1851 on the Native Americans which also describes their phallic figurines as ‘Priapus’.<sup>904</sup>

As with the ‘comparative method’, the related anthropological theory of ‘survivals’ was an integral aspect of research into ‘Phallic Worship’. In *Primitive Culture* of 1870 Tylor had coined ‘survivals’ as ‘processes, customs, opinions, and so forth, which have been carried by force of habit into a new state of society different from that in which they had their original home and they remain as proofs and examples of an older condition of culture out of which a newer has been evolved’.<sup>905</sup> Where the comparative method looked to whole ‘unevolved’ societies, ‘survivals’ of earlier customs, it was suggested,

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<sup>899</sup> Burton, 1865: 320.

<sup>900</sup> Burton, 1865: 320..

<sup>901</sup> Burton later contributed to translation of the *Priapeia* for a publication of 1890. See Lyons and Lyons, 2004: 57.

<sup>902</sup> Burton, 1865: 320..

<sup>903</sup> Westropp, Wake and Wilder, 1874: 32.

<sup>904</sup> Scott, 1941: 114, 116.

<sup>905</sup> Tylor, 1871: 15. On survivals see Hodgen, 1936.

could persist within 'civilised' culture. An important part of evolutionary theory was the belief that these anachronistic 'processes, customs, opinions' provided a window onto earlier culture, and thus 'filled the gap' in the same way contemporary 'savages' could. For Tylor 'meaningless customs' of 'civilised' life had to be attributed to remnants of a process which had 'some forgotten meaning': a 'practical, or at least ceremonial, intention when and where they first arose, but are now fallen into absurdity from having been carried on into a new state of society, where their original sense has been discarded'.<sup>906</sup> For phallic worship theorists this theoretical framework was applied to the reconstruction of the religious use of sexual imagery. In 1891, an anonymous publication, sometimes attributed to Hargrave Jennings, suggested that, while 'primitive' peoples had recognised the deeply sacred meaning of the image of the phallus, as humanity developed 'superstition and avarice continued these symbolical representations for ages after their original meaning has been lost and forgotten; when they must of course appear nonsensical and ridiculous, if not impious and extravagant'.<sup>907</sup> Here we find a wedge driven between genuine, meaningful religious conviction and less meaningful belief in supernatural power. Tylor had also made this distinction, using 'superstition' as a prominent example of a 'survival'.<sup>908</sup> The conflation between the definition of a 'survival' and a 'superstition' is reliant on the idea that both denote a lack of genuine understanding or memory of the original meaning of a particular practice or belief. Hence the production of phallic imagery continued when its sacred significance was no longer remembered. In the early twentieth century psychoanalysis translated this cultural process of remembering and forgetting into an individual psychology, Freud describing the survival of phallic worship as a 'psychic impression' while Hirschfeld, as we have seen, referred to 'subconscious' knowledge of the original sacred meaning of phallic imagery.<sup>909</sup> Here the individual's mind has the power to remember or forget that she had once worshipped at the phallic altar, just as a whole society could 'forget' its once sacred fertility cults.

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<sup>906</sup> Tylor, 1871: 85.

<sup>907</sup> Anonymous, 1891: 70.

<sup>908</sup> Tylor, 1871: Vol 1, 142.

<sup>909</sup> Hirschfeld, 1935, trans. Green: 181. Freud, 1916, trans. Brill: 59.

These statements about the development of the understanding of phallic imagery appear to simply rephrase the 1860s Tylorian theory of 'survivals'. However, the anonymous 1891 author quoted in fact lifted this passage from Knight's *Worship of Priapus* over a hundred years earlier, and it also appeared verbatim or paraphrased across several other publications in the late nineteenth century.<sup>910</sup> Knight had developed this idea through the study of Roman sexual artefacts, especially phallic amulets, such as the example with the *mano fica* fist which appeared as an illustration in *Worship of Priapus* (fig. 38).<sup>911</sup> He proposed that, while at one time the ancestors of the Romans had unanimously understood this image of male genitalia as a sacred symbol, as it was repeated across thousands of objects throughout Roman history, its meaning began to be lost until eventually understanding dwindled to a point that 'superstition' alone continued its production and use.<sup>912</sup> Hamilton had provided Knight with living proof of this theory while acting as British consul in Naples, as he explained in his letter published with Knight's *Worship of Priapus*.<sup>913</sup>

'I had long ago discovered that the women and children of the lower classes, at Naples... frequently wore, as an ornaments of dress, a sort of Amulets (which they imagine to be a preservative from the mal occhii, evil eyes or enchantment) exactly similar to those which were worn by the ancient Inhabitants of this Country for the very same purpose...'<sup>914</sup>

'Struck with this conformity in ancient and modern superstition', he says he collected together past and present specimens and deposited them in the British Museum.<sup>915</sup> In particular Hamilton noted that the modern Italian peasants, living in a 'civilised' nation, wore a *mano fica* symbol as an amulet very similar to the ancient version where it was combined with at least one phallus (fig. 38).<sup>916</sup> Winckelmann, in writing on the ancient *mano fica* fist and phallus amulets from Herculaneum, had also observed that 'this ridiculous and shameful superstition survives even today among the common folk in

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<sup>910</sup> Knight, 1894: 14-15. See also Anonymous, 1880: 12. See Carabelli, 1996: 119 on Knight's proto-survivals theory.

<sup>911</sup> Knight, Hamilton and Wright, 1894: Pl. 2.

<sup>912</sup> Knight, 1894: 28, 42. See Davis, 2008: 24.

<sup>913</sup> British Museum: Am1983,Q.240.

<sup>914</sup> Hamilton, 1894: 4.

<sup>915</sup> Hamilton, 1894: 4.

<sup>916</sup> Hamilton, 1894: 4.



Naples'.<sup>917</sup> For Knight the *mano fica* symbol had once 'represented the act of generation, which was considered as a solemn sacrament' but was now worn by the women of Italy without any real understanding of its original meaning; this process, he argued, had begun even in antiquity when the ancient phallic amulets he studied had been created.<sup>918</sup>

In the mid-nineteenth century this interpretation had continued. Witt's catalogue given to the British Museum describes phallic amulets 'also worn in the pockets by the peasantry in Naples and other parts of Southern Italy.'<sup>919</sup> The ASL had adopted Knight's use of Roman material in creating a model for the evolution of the human relationship with phallic imagery as a transition from 'worship' to 'superstition'. Hodder Westropp, in 1865, had set out clear evolutionary stages of the understanding of the phallus:

'First, when it was the object of reverence and religious worship; secondly, when it was used as a protecting power against evil influences of various kinds, and as a charm or amulet against envy and the evil eye, as at the postern gate at Alatri and at Pompeii, and as frequently occurs in amulets of porcelain found in Egypt, and of bronze in Italy.'<sup>920</sup>

Here Westropp links the 'superstitious' understanding of the phallus with the belief in its power against the evil eye, something which Knight had implied but not explicitly spelled out. Thus we see how the 'survivals' model could explain the relationship between the two different interpretations of the supernatural power of the phallus which we have examined in this chapter, as one developed out of the other. In this model, we begin with an original, genuine understanding of the sacred meaning of the phallic symbol, as a representation of the creative power of the deity to fulfil human's basic needs of fertility. This understanding is lost over the generations until the symbol is used with only a vague sense of its supernatural goodness which is manifested in an idea that it

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<sup>917</sup> Winckelmann, 2011, trans. Mattusch: 96.

<sup>918</sup> Knight, 1894: 28.

<sup>919</sup> Witt Manuscript Catalogue, no. 112, British Museum archives. This entry is for British Museum: WITT.286.

<sup>920</sup> Westropp, Wake and Wilder, 1874: 31. See Knight, 1894: 41.

can combat evil. This explanation for the phallus as an *apotropaion* is still important in scholarship today.<sup>921</sup>

In the late nineteenth century, we find another explanation for the apotropaic phallus, as part of a challenge to the Tylorian/Knightian conflation of ‘survivals’ with ‘superstition and avarice’. Elworthy in *The Evil Eye* of 1894 identifies belief in the protective power of certain objects, not as the ignorant repetitions of an old ritual, but common to all human psychology:

‘We in these latter days of Science, when scoffing at superstition is both a fashion and a passion, nevertheless show by actions and words that in our innermost soul there lurks a something, a feeling, a superstition if you will, which all our culture, all our boasted superiority to vulgar beliefs, cannot stifle, and which may well be held to be a kind of hereditary instinct... Thus it has stood its ground in spite of all the scoffs of the learned, and the experimental tests of so-called scientific research, until we may with confidence assert that many practices classed as occult, and many beliefs which the educated call superstitious, are still performed and held firmly by many amongst ourselves, whom we must not brand as ignorant or uncultured.’<sup>922</sup>

The Wellcome museum handbook also espoused a similar version of the ‘survivals’ theory, insisting that the use of amulets for protection can be found ‘not only among the most barbaric tribes, but also among the highest civilised peoples of today’.<sup>923</sup> Because of this conviction, Elworthy clearly did not want to use the theory of ‘superstitions’ as ‘survivals’ to explain the apotropaic phallus. Instead, he suggests, all *apotropaia* are thought to work by distracting the evil eye with their ‘strange, odd, or uncommon’ appearance.<sup>924</sup> And since ‘nothing... so much attracts or excites curiosity as obscenity and indecency’, he suggests, the phallus has been used as a universal symbol of protection.<sup>925</sup> This idea originates from Plutarch’s second-century AD *Moralia* and his own ancient survey of *probaskania* (paraphernalia thought to combat the evil eye):

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<sup>921</sup> Johns, 1982: 62.

<sup>922</sup> Elworthy, 1895: 3, 6, 7.

<sup>923</sup> WHMM Handbook 1920: 14 (WA/HMM/PB/Han/17).

<sup>924</sup> Elworthy, 1895: 148.

<sup>925</sup> Elworthy, 1895: 148. For this idea Elworthy references an early nineteenth century text, Edward Dodwell’s 1819 *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece* (Dodwell and Heath, 1819: vol. ii. p. 34). For other explanations of the apotropaic phallus see Varone, 2001: 16 who explains the reverence

'That is why people think that the category of "anti-evil-eye" amulets/talismans [*probaskania*] help against envy, because they draw off the gaze by their bizarreness [*atopia*, literally 'out of place-ness'], so that it rests less upon those that are affected by it.'<sup>926</sup>

In this interpretation it is the object itself which provides the protection, rather than symbolizing a protective divinity whose devout worship it represents. Catherine Johns is an inheritor of Knight's theory of the 'good luck' phallus as a development from an original fertility-giving phallus.<sup>927</sup> However, Plutarch (and Elworthy's) explanation has clearly inspired John Clark's current theory about the apotropaic power of the phallus residing in the shock and laughter caused by looking at it, and extends this theory, somewhat controversially, to images of sexual activity, particularly if they represented 'taboo' acts.<sup>928</sup> However, in Plutarch and Elworthy's theory, the evil eye of a malevolent person is distracted by the odd image, rather than dispersed by laughter produced from looking at it, as in Clarke's explanation. In these related theories, inspired by Plutarch, the special properties of phallic imagery do not lie in a lost sacred meaning: their power is self-generated and is not connected to an original worship of procreation but is simply a shocking image.<sup>929</sup>

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for the phallus by the Roman reverence for real life large penises and Carabelli, 1996: 55 on the mobility of the phallus (as described by Aristotle) which combats the 'rigidity' of the evil eye.

<sup>926</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia, Quaestiones convivales* ('Table Talk'), problem 7, 680c-683b, translated in Ogden, 2002: 223.

<sup>927</sup> Johns, 1982: 62.

<sup>928</sup> Clarke, 2007: Ch.4; Clarke, 1998: 212. Clarke builds upon Jacobelli's interpretation of images of sexual activity found in the Suburban Baths in Pompeii (Jacobelli, 1995). Johns, 1982: 82 also suggests the phallus was the 'source of preposterous fun'. See also Skinner, 2005: 259 – 262. See Aristotle, *Poetics* 5.1449a on an ancient view of laughter as apotropaic.

<sup>929</sup> It could be suggested that the 'evil' to be combated was the inability to have children. However, it seems likely that in Roman conception the phallic amulet was thought to bring generalised good luck, rather than fertility, as they were commonly given to children, see Pliny *Natural History* 7.16–8, 28.39. Elworthy's interpretation of Plutarch also has the effect of reintroducing the idea of the 'obscene' phallus. As we have seen, there had been a tradition of arguing that the phallus was not considered 'indecent' in antiquity, and to label it as such was to anachronistically impose contemporary values on it. According to Elworthy it is precisely its 'indecent' and 'obscenity' *in antiquity* that gives it its potency, this being the factor which is most likely to 'excite curiosity'. I have suggested that, in the Knightian tradition, the ancient phallus amulet was not considered 'obscene' in the contemporary sense. Arguably, it did still 'refer to sexual love', contrary to Johns, 1982 (10) in the sense that it represented, in the abstract, ideas of the creative power of the divinity as a procreative act. Elworthy's understanding translates Plutarch's *atopia* as 'obscenity and indecency', imposing a negative quality onto what Ogden translates as 'bizarreness'. Elworthy's ancient phallic amulet therefore refers directly to sex as an 'indecent', rather

Nevertheless, the theory of a surviving tradition in the comparison of ancient phallic artefacts with similar modern examples from within ‘civilised’ cultures was of particular importance to Elworthy and the folklorist movement at the turn of the twentieth century. Hamilton’s observations about the practice of eighteenth-century Neapolitan women of wearing phallic amulets should be seen as a key instigator in the modern folklorist interest in amuletic objects, and especially the search for repeated symbols used as *apotropaia* throughout history.<sup>930</sup> Following Hamilton, Folklorists searched for amuletic objects from contemporary ‘civilised’ societies to support these claims, a collecting culture which greatly increased in the early twentieth century.<sup>931</sup> Edward Lovett put together a vast collection of small objects which were carried for protection by contemporary Londoners, which Wellcome later acquired and added to.<sup>932</sup> The phallus remained an important example of such transhistorical and transcultural use of images.<sup>933</sup> Modern Naples, with its ‘strange mix of ancient and modern superstitions’, also continued to be of great interest for folklorists.<sup>934</sup> During his time in Naples, Elworthy observed that small objects shaped as the *mano fica* fist were, as Hamilton had found in the last century, still sold in the local shops and worn by the local people (as they are today) and he purchased several of these examples for his own collection, following Hamilton in declaring them a direct survival of the ancient Roman apotropaic amulet which he had seen in the Naples museum.<sup>935</sup> Wellcome too brought together modern examples of the Italian *mano fica* fist with the ancient versions he collected in great number, including a coral hand set in silver from turn-of-the-century Italy (fig. 57) This was originally in the collection of Adrien de Mortillet (1853–1931), the anthropologist and major folklore collector who specialised in the transhistorical use of

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than to the sacred, natural act in Knight’s interpretation. However, Knight also maintained an eroticism in his description of the sacred phallus, see below..

<sup>930</sup> Elworthy, 1895: 3.

<sup>931</sup> Elworthy collected contemporary amulets, including from Britain, Elworthy, 1895: 3, 125 Figure 9; 203 Figure 81; 205 Figure 82; 209 Figure 84; 229 Figure 91; 259 Figure 356; Figure 166 112.

<sup>932</sup> See Hill, 2007.

<sup>933</sup> Elworthy, 1895: 148.

<sup>934</sup> Folklore Society (Great Britain), 1881: 176-177; Jacobs, Nutt, Wright and Crooke, 1921: 210.

Chichester, 1856 describes the ‘strong undisciplined passions and vivid imaginations of a southern people with a half savage mode of life’ and the way in which Englishmen not only observe but fall victim to the ignorance and superstition, accused of sorcery but the ‘poor deluded creatures’ of the provinces of the (relatively) more ‘civilised’ city of Naples (95, 193-202). See Mapei, 1859: xc.

<sup>935</sup> Elworthy, 1895: 152.

amulets, acquiring material from across five continents and throughout history, which Wellcome purchased in its entirety and later went to the Pitt Rivers museum.<sup>936</sup>

### 4.3 Greece and Rome on the 'ladder' of cultural evolution

The prominent role of sexual antiquities as evidence of fertility rites in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century underscores an important question present within the evolutionary narrative: if all cultures could be placed along a developmental ladder, where should Classical antiquity be placed? In other words, were the Greeks and Romans primitive or civilised?<sup>937</sup> Many practices, particularly around sex and religion, seemed to show antiquity displaying 'primitive' behaviour according to the newly consolidated modern definition. Classical culture presented a difficulty for the dichotomy between primitivism and civilisation which Britain and the West had constructed as it increasingly came into contact with indigenous peoples. The religious use of sexual imagery was seen as 'primitive' according to evolutionary theory, but research had also shown that this had been a pervasive, indeed primary, aspect of religious belief in Classical antiquity. According to the comparative approach, the Greeks and Romans thus displayed the same traits as those 'savages' to which missionaries were sent in the African colonies.<sup>938</sup> Conversely, there were many aspects of 'civilised' culture which were conceived as existing in, indeed often originating from, ancient Greece and Rome, including ancient democracy, medicine, philosophy, literature and technologies. Sebastian Matzner has expressed this as an issue of 'alterity and identity':

'Throughout Europe's cultural history, the reception of classical antiquity is marked first and foremost by the intrinsic ambivalence of it being at the same time the foundation and the Other of contemporary cultural identity. It is, as it were, the resident alien at the core of Western civilisation'.<sup>939</sup>

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<sup>936</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A665906. Other examples from the de Mortillet collection include also A665892, A66590. From elsewhere A641885.

<sup>937</sup> See Orrells, Bhambra and Roynon, 2011: 4.

<sup>938</sup> See Coltman, 2006: 108.

<sup>939</sup> Matzner, 2010. Other discussions of this alterity and identity in reception of the ancient world are found in Armstrong, 2005: 5; Orrells, Bhambra and Roynon, 2011: 4

The modern world's engagement with ancient objects featuring explicit sexual imagery played a central role in the construction of this ambiguity. This remains true today: Chris Gosden, examining Wellcome's archaeological collection, suggests that one Roman phallic *tintinnabula* 'challenges us to rethink [the ancients] as rational ancestors'.<sup>940</sup>

Scholarly and popular ideas about this engagement have often been concerned with problematic reactions to this alterity and the 'primitivism', exoticism or 'paganism' of Classical culture revealed by its sexual antiquities – the 'alien at the core of Western civilisation'. Previous accounts have described the 'trauma' experienced by previous generations, as the discovery of ancient phallic deities threatened the foundations of civilisation and the historical mandate for empire building.<sup>941</sup> In the late nineteenth century the anthropological theory of 'survivals' had been applied in some contexts to explain away the 'primitive' aspects of Greek and Roman culture, seeing them as simply leftovers from an unrefined age.<sup>942</sup> This made it possible to imagine Imperial Romans wearing images of male genitalia around their necks and running an administratively complex world empire. In 1887 Andrew Lang (1844-1912) who combined folklore and Tylorian anthropology with the study Greek myth and society, concluded that the 'cruel' and 'obscene' elements of Greek life were simply 'relics of savagery'. For him, this meant that fifth-century Athens could be seen as 'civilised', merely maintaining 'survivals' of its primitive past.<sup>943</sup> However, as we have seen, the prevailing idea is that Victorians and later generations simply hid the evidence of this ancient 'primitivism' by censoring the material which showed them to be comparable to modern 'savages'.

Those interested in 'Phallic Worship' in this period did not omit evidence from antiquity. Rather, as we have seen, it played an indispensable role in developing the theory of universal fertility cults. The Wellcome museum's 'Phallic Worship' section was

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<sup>940</sup> Gosden, 2003: 169.

<sup>941</sup> Gaimster, 2000. See Harris, 2007: 113. See also de Caro, 2000: 11-12; de Caro, 2000b; Frost, 2007: 140; Johns, 1982: 21. For this idea in popular culture see Morrison, R. 'A Rude awakening', *The Times*, 20/9/2002: 16-17. See Turner, 1981: 111, 114 on nineteenth century engagement with the 'unsavory side' of Greek culture through Greek myths, who suggests the 'anxiety' may have been caused by the 'affinity of their thoughts with immoralities in the myths' including various types of sexual behaviour. The ever-growing body of archaeological evidence, he argues, made such 'immoralities' hard to ignore. Fisher and Langlands, 2011: 302 critique the idea that 'these objects challenged the foundations of Western ideas about civilisation and imperialism'.

<sup>942</sup> See Carabelli, 1996: 117.

<sup>943</sup> Lang, 1887: 258.

made up predominantly of Roman material which was not segregated to a secret room, but on display with other material displaying ‘primitive’ beliefs. As we have seen, antiquity’s ‘primitivism’, far from threatening notions of civilisation, in this context encouraged debate about the development in human culture. The Wellcome museum in fact gave space to both the ‘primitive’ and ‘civilised’ aspects of antiquity. It collected and displayed antique material which revealed a culture routinely turning to the supernatural for fertility, protection and healing, *and* which gave birth to Western biomedical science. As well as Roman phallic artefacts, visitors could see ‘Greek and Roman objects of historical medical interest, instruments of surgery, strigils, cupping vessels, artificial bronze limbs’, as well as manuscripts of Classical doctors Hippocrates and Galen.<sup>944</sup>

It is clear that Wellcome was unusual in this approach. An address given at the opening ceremony of the museum in 1913 by Norman Moore, the future President of the Royal College of Physicians indicates this. Standing in the Hall of Statuary, Moore identified around him material representing ‘two great branches of medicine’: one concerning ‘local superstitions, with charms and amulets and incantations’ which was represented by the ‘primitive figure’ of Ixtlilton, the god of medicine of the Aztecs, the other ‘the control and causation of disease’, represented by a plaster copy of the Apollo Belvedere – as the father of Asclepius – who embodied ‘the true ancestors, the true observing predecessors of Hippocrates and Galen and Avicenna’ (see fig. 50).<sup>945</sup> For Moore, antiquity belonged to only the second branch. When he looked around the museum that day he did not expect to find Classical cultures represented in Wellcome’s ‘Hall of Primitive Medicine’, . For Wellcome, antiquity belonged here because of a belief in the power of certain objects, especially phallic shaped amulets, to bring fertility and good luck. However, they also belonged in sections dealing with the history of biomedicine because of a sophisticated system of observatory healthcare. Skinner has shown that this anthropological approach to medical history which saw ‘primitive’ and ‘folk’ medicine as worthy subjects, was regarded by other twentieth-century medical historians with suspicion and derision: at this time other medical museums were

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<sup>944</sup> WHMM Handbook 1914: 65 (WA/HMM/PB/Han/15); Wellcome archives MS.MSL.60.

<sup>945</sup> WHMM Handbook 1927: 26-27 (WA/HMM/PB/Han/19).

interested only in Moore's second branch of medicine, the observatory tradition.<sup>946</sup> Where alternatives to biomedical history featured it was usually to warn of its dangers and to establish the superiority of orthodox medicine.<sup>947</sup>

Wellcome did not attempt to challenge the linear narrative of amelioration from 'savagery' to 'civilisation', especially in terms of access to modern medical practices.<sup>948</sup> However, he did try to give a voice to 'non-civilised' approaches to health, including promoting those from within perceived 'civilised' cultures.<sup>949</sup> Frances Larson has argued that this attempt was largely unsuccessful and that the narrative of Western-civilised supremacy over the 'primitive' was dominant in the museum, as exemplified in the fact that the visitor moved from the 'Hall of Primitive Medicine' to the 'Hall of Statuary', where 'the great civilisations into which the roots of Western science and medicine could be directly traced'.<sup>950</sup> In fact, the Hall of Primitive Medicine displayed material from the Classical civilisations, while the Hall of Statuary also displayed 'medical deities of savage, barbaric and other primitive peoples', indicating that the display was more fluid, in terms of its representation of the evolutionary narrative, than Larson suggests.<sup>951</sup> In the Hall of Statuary, Ixtlilton, the god of medicine of the Aztecs stood alongside a statue of the centaur Chiron, the teacher of healing, according to Greek mythology, which is rooted in the biomedical tradition (see fig. 50).

In the Wellcome museum, this duality of antiquity's evolutionary status was encapsulated in the treatment of sexual antiquities. Sexually themed objects, as we have seen, were treated as 'religio-medico' artefacts revealing the 'primitive' conflation between sex and religion to ensure the 'preservation of life and health'. However, they were also valued for what they could say of ancient pathological knowledge, part of the

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<sup>946</sup> Skinner, 1986, 414. See Larson, 2009: 145; Hackett, 1951.

<sup>947</sup> Skinner, 1986: 414.

<sup>948</sup> On his establishment of medical institutions in Africa, particularly to tackle malaria, Wellcome compared his work to that of explorer Henry Stanley (1841-1904) who had been instrumental in 'opening the way for Christian civilisation, and of improving the lot of millions of human beings living in the most revolting conditions of savagery', although Wellcome admitted that Stanley's own intentions in defeating malaria were so that 'that Dark Continent might yet become a white man's land' ('Oral evidence, memoranda and appendices to the final report' 1929: 5 (WA/HSW/OR/L.5).

<sup>949</sup> See Skinner, 1986: 402.

<sup>950</sup> Larson, 2009: 146.

<sup>951</sup> See WHMM leaflet 1913 (WA/HMM/PB/HAN/5).



biomedical tradition.<sup>952</sup> To an extent, all images of the human body were considered 'medical' in this sense. Ancient images of male genitals were often identified by the museum as featuring 'a long, swollen prepuce suggesting phimosis' (see fig. 9 and 4).<sup>953</sup> This disease, in which the foreskin gets stuck and cannot be retracted, was seen as evidence of the existence and knowledge of venereal disease in antiquity.<sup>954</sup> This diagnosis of archaeological images of the body by researchers and collectors interested in biomedical histories had begun in the late nineteenth century, and would continue as the discipline of palaeopathology developed in the twentieth century.<sup>955</sup> In particular, the ancient anatomical votive found at healing sanctuaries was pathologised, researchers believing them to represent the disease or disfigurement of which the devotee wished to be cured, or wanted to give thanks for having been healed.<sup>956</sup> The collection of 'rarer Roman votive offerings of anatomical, pathological and obstetrical interest' which Wellcome acquired in 1910 from the Oppenheimer collection, including those shaped as sexual body parts, had previously been published in an article of 1894 in the *British Medical Journal* by Oppenheimer's collector, Dr Louis (Luigi) Sambon, an Italian medic who became well-known for his work for the London School of Tropical Medicine. In this Sambon had 'diagnosed' the penis votives with 'long foreskin completely covering the

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<sup>952</sup> WHMM Handbook 1920: 20 (WA/HMM/PB/Han/17).

<sup>953</sup> WHMM Handbook 1920: 20 (WA/HMM/PB/Han/17). See also Johnston-Saint Travel Diaries, Feb-Apr 1930: 41 (WA/HMM/RP/JST/A.7); Jan-Apr 1929: 81 (WA/HMM/RP/JST/B.3); WHMM Index Cards (WA/HMM/CM/INV/C.3); WHMM Lists, 'Captain Johnston-Saint's purchases', 1926-1930 (WA/HMM/CM/LIS/23). Johnston-Saint comments on a Roman lamp, that it has a 'large priapus obviously depicting phimosis' ('priapus' meaning phallus here), perhaps mistaking the shape of the end of the phallus (which forms the nozzle of the lamp) which protrudes, perhaps to allow the wick to sit more steadily, as the shape of a phimosis-affected penis (Johnston-Saint Travel Diaries, Feb-Apr 1930: 41 (WA/HMM/RP/JST/A.7)). In fact, we often find this feature in ancient phallic figures. A particularly extreme example is found in the fresco in the House of the Vettii in Pompeii which shows Priapus weighing his enormous phallus against a money of bag. In the same house, this penis shape appears on a fountain figure, possibly of Priapus, although this may be, like the lamp, a functional shape, as his phallus is the spout for water to run. There are certainly many examples in the ancient world of the penis shown with regular, pulled back foreskin, so it is not clear what the significance of examples like the Vettii Priapus fresco are, whether they really are meant to show phimosis and what this could mean. An Egyptian stone phallic amulet was entered into the Wellcome accession register with the comment 'APPEARS TO BE UNCIRCUMCISED' (WA/HMM/CM/INV/A.84, entry for A129353).

<sup>954</sup> WHMM Handbook 1920: 20 (WA/HMM/PB/Han/17).

<sup>955</sup> Sambon, 1895; Rouse, 1902. Potter, 1985: 25 who suggests 'that the votive deposits so well-known from Italy and elsewhere should be considered not only in terms of their art-historical interest, but also as an indication of the more prevalent ailments that afflicted the patrons of these sanctuaries' and enlists Dr. Calvin Wells a doctor and expert in palaeopathology to make medical assessments of the votives found in Republican Roman Ponte di Nona. See also Johns, 1986: 59.

<sup>956</sup> Sambon, 1895.

glans penis' which indicate 'phimosis from venereal disease'.<sup>957</sup> This biomedical interpretation of ancient male genitalia was clearly adopted by Wellcome when he took on Sambon's collection, perhaps through reading Sambon's work on the material but more likely when Sambon himself later came to work for Wellcome in 1919.<sup>958</sup>

While Sambon treated votives purely from a biomedical perspective, Wellcome's extremely broad definition of the 'medical' meant he was also interested in their anthropological significance and the cultural religious practice in which they were used, an understanding of their ancient significance which was articulated in their display within a temple shaped cabinet, as we have seen. The Roman and Etruscan votives were joined in the Wellcome collection by hundreds of other objects which demonstrated the universal practice of dedicating something to a deity in thanks or in appeal for an issue relating to health or the body, such as modern Mexican ex-votos paintings. The museum's interest in this ritual as it was performed in antiquity is also demonstrated in two fourth-century Greek plaques showing Athenians bringing anatomical votives to healing shrines on the Acropolis.<sup>959</sup> Other material in the collection represented this perceived duality in the ancient approach to healthcare, a reliance on appeals to the supernatural as much as on an increasingly sophisticated biomedical understanding. A plaque found at the Sanctuary to the mythical hero Amphiaraos, at Oropos in Greece, where he was worshipped as a healing god, shows him as a doctor, tending to the shoulder of a man (fig. 58).<sup>960</sup> In the background the same man is shown sleeping, while a snake crawls over him, thus depicting the practise of 'incubation' in which a sick person slept in a healing shrine to be cured by the god overnight. Pausanias tells us about this practice at the Amphiareion and we know from inscriptions that votives were also dedicated here.<sup>961</sup> The snake too may have been read by Wellcome as a link between this healing ritual and fertility rites: ancient serpent-worship having been associated with phallic worship since Knight's time.<sup>962</sup> The snake also had

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<sup>957</sup> Sambon, 1895: 148.

<sup>958</sup> Sambon correspondence file, 1913-21 (WA/HMM/CO/EAR/845).

<sup>959</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: 3526, 7451/1936.

<sup>960</sup> Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: 3369

<sup>961</sup> Pausanias *Description of Greece*: 1.34.4-5. For interest in healing at this sanctuary, including the practice of incubation at the time Wellcome was collecting, see Jayne, 1925: 305. For serpent-worship at this sanctuary see Ogden, 2013: 321-324.

<sup>962</sup> Knight, 1894: e.g. 49. Wake, 1888.

a long modern pedigree of association with healing, as in the modern use of the Rod of Asclepius, entwined with a snake, as a medical symbol. The Wellcome museum's crest showed two snakes crawling towards the Egyptian hieroglyph *ankh*, meaning 'life' or *crux ansata* ('cross with handle') and which had been used as a pharmaceutical sign, here a reference to Wellcome's multimillion-pound pharmaceutical company which had funded his collecting venture. However, the sign had also been read as a phallic symbol, being the subject of the second book in the *Nature Worship* series attributed to Jennings.<sup>963</sup> The crest therefore embodied Wellcome's embrace of the 'two branches' of medical history, one of which linked directly to biomedical healing, and the other which was bound up with the anthropological, and more esoteric, interpretation of sacred symbolic images which conveyed a fundamental preoccupation with the 'preservation of life'. Classical antiquity in the museum straddled these two, combining advanced pathological knowledge with a belief in supernatural powers to preserve life and health. Sexual antiquities embodied this duality, and in the case of the penis-shaped votives which were displayed as the focal point of the museum, they advertised the museum's acceptance of Classical 'primitivism'.

#### 4.4 Declining from a 'natural' state

In some contexts, the 'primitive' aspects of antiquity revealed in its sacred sexual imagery, were positively celebrated, as a conscious departure from its problematisation by others. The 'primitivism' or 'otherness' of Greek and Roman culture, revealed by its sacred sexual imagery, stimulated investigation into socio-sexual mores that were seen as contrasting with those of the normative modern, Christian West. Hargrave Jennings, associated with libertarian occultist groups, saw the reverence of images of sex and the body in antiquity revealing a greater 'freedom' towards sexuality.<sup>964</sup> Jennings refers us to museums to witness phallic imagery and the Classical nude as evidence of an antique celebration of naturalism: 'Every department of the art of the ancients, in all parts of the world, bears the most unmistakable witness of this great truth'.<sup>965</sup> Jennings

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<sup>963</sup> *Phallism a description of the worship of lingam-yoni ... With an account of ancient & modern crosses, particularly of the crux ansata ... and other symbols, etc* (Anonymous, 1889).

<sup>964</sup> Jennings, 1884: 102, 104, 105. On Rome as sexual utopia see Blanshard, 2010.

<sup>965</sup> Jennings, 1884: 104.

was particularly influential on nineteenth-century ideas that combined sexual liberalism and occultism in the notion of 'sex magic', such as in the work of American occultist and fellow Rosicrucian Paschal Beverly Randolph (1825-1875), who introduced ideas of sexual spiritualism to America.<sup>966</sup> His work in turn gave rise to turn-of-the-twentieth-century secret libertine occult organisations which used 'sex magic' as the basis of their teachings, such as 'The Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor' ('H B of L'), created in 1884 and Aleister Crowley's 'Ordo Templi Orientis'.<sup>967</sup>

Freud, who as we have seen drew upon Knight's Classically inspired theories, and upon his own collection of antiquities, expressed his admiration of ancient attitudes to sex as an evolutionary narrative: 'In the course of cultural development it finally happened that so much godliness and holiness had been extracted from sexuality that the exhausted remnant fell into contempt' and thus 'for a long series of generations we have been in the habit of considering the genitals or *pudenda* as objects of shame, and in the case of more successful sexual repression as objects of disgust.'<sup>968</sup> We see here that the standard evolutionary narrative of amelioration from 'primitive' to 'civilised' has been inverted.

In this Freud drew upon Enlightenment precedents who had led the way in the use of ancient sexual imagery to critique modern, Christian society in order to argue that a 'natural' state of humanity had degenerated with the rise of 'civilisation'. The Society of Dilettanti's research on the 'worship of Priapus' and other Roman cults, had been an important part of their anti-clerical campaign.<sup>969</sup> They had attempted to show that, at the same time as sanctimoniously branding sexual imagery as immoral, and censoring it, the Christian church was, like paganism, developed from a theology based on sexual iconography, as in Knight's radical theory that the cross is a phallic symbol.<sup>970</sup> This had been demonstrated notably in Hamilton's 'discovery' of the conformity between ancient

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<sup>966</sup> Godwin, 1994: 13; Deveney, 1997; Chapman, 2011

<sup>967</sup> Godwin, 1994: 25; Deveney, 1997; Chapman, 2011.

<sup>968</sup> Freud, 1916, trans. Brill: 60. On this Freud drawing upon Knight's work in this, see Armstrong, 2005: 67. Funke, Forthcoming shows that Hirschfeld, a sexual reformer, who called for greater sexual tolerance in contemporary Europe, used Eastern phallic worship in particular as a critique of Western repression.

<sup>969</sup> On ancient cults and anti-Christian discourse see Turner, 1981: 1-2, Saxl, 1938-9: 9; Carabelli, 1996: 25. 9; Godwin, 1994: 4. On Payne Knight's anti-Christian feeling see Godwin, 1994: 1-3.

<sup>970</sup> Knight, 1894: 28. See also 14, 15, 22, 37 n.7. 107. See Johns, 1982: 22-24 and Carabelli, 1996: 15; Godwin, 1994: 3; Janes, 2009; Rousseau, 1988.

Roman and Catholic sexual amulets.<sup>971</sup> He had drawn upon the work of Conyers Middleton (1683-1750) who in 1729 had also used Classical antiquities to reveal the 'exact conformity between Popery and paganism' showing 'the Religion of the present Romans to be derived entirely from that of their heathen ancestors'.<sup>972</sup> Knight's development of the understanding of the image of the phallus using Roman archaeological evidence is a narrative of degeneration: it moves from 'a very natural symbol' within a 'very natural and philosophical system of religion' to a state where 'the original meaning has been lost and forgotten' and the phallus appears 'nonsensical and ridiculous, if not impious and extravagant'.<sup>973</sup> Knight had been building upon other anti-clerical Enlightenment receptions of ancient phallic cults such as by Voltaire (1694-1778), who had observed that this religious ceremony only appeared 'ridiculous to men of education in more refined, more corrupt, and more enlightened times'.<sup>974</sup> Pierre Sylvain Maréchal (1750-1803) in his 1780 catalogue of objects from Herculaneum had also insisted that the ancients had been more 'innocent' when they produced images now seen as 'indecent':

'One blushes, perhaps, only to the degree that one has strayed from nature; and a virgin's eye can linger with impunity on objects which arouse vicious ideas in a woman who has lost her innocence.'<sup>975</sup>

These ideas should be seen in the context of ideas developing at this time about the 'noble savage', often associated with French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) and his *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* in 1754 (although the extent to which he actively romanticised these early stages of humanity has been debated).<sup>976</sup> In the mid-nineteenth century the ASL's interest in ancient phallic religions had also been connected with an ideal of greater sexual freedom within a wider dissident response to contemporary normative sexual morals.<sup>977</sup>

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<sup>971</sup> Hamilton, 1894: 3.

<sup>972</sup> Hamilton, 1894: 3; Middleton, 1729.

<sup>973</sup> Knight, 1894: 14-15.

<sup>974</sup> Anonymous, 1891: 2.

<sup>975</sup> Maréchal and David, 1780: 4.23. On this passage see Kendrick, 1987: 8.

<sup>976</sup> On the association of Maréchal's work with Rousseau see Kendrick, 1987: 8. For a challenge to this see Lovejoy, 1948.

<sup>977</sup> Lyons and Lyons, 2004: 157-9.

In the late nineteenth century, antiquity remained a key source of inspiration for sexual libertines like Jennings, revealing a 'healthy' social attitude in which sexuality and spirituality functioned together in daily life. While those like Maréchal had argued for the Roman's 'innocence', suggesting that they did not even make a connection between the image of the penis and the sexual act, Jennings followed Knight's suggestion that they understood it, but that an ancient closeness to nature meant that this act was not yet tainted with post-pagan notions of obscenity. Knight's analysis of ancient phallic imagery, despite insisting that it was not 'indecent' in its original context, did not entirely desexualise it in the way Maréchal had either. This is evident in his description of the ancient Roman female wearer of the phallic amulet, in which he expressed the fertility bestowed upon her by the object as the deity himself impregnating her ('having taken her into his service, made her a partaker of his most valuable blessings, and employed her as the passive instrument in the exertion of his most beneficial power').<sup>978</sup> In the late nineteenth century, Jennings, building on these earlier ideas, highlighted the ancient 'natural' acceptance of sexual arousal which existed together with a reverence for the power of, both human and divine, procreation, represented in sexual imagery. For him, their closeness to nature allowed the ancients to curb these natural libidos and adopt a healthy attitude to sex and the body. He suggests naturalism was deliberately employed in order to desensitize people to the 'instruments of sexual activity'.<sup>979</sup> He traces this to the laws of Lycurgus in Sparta, 'who knew nature well' and, in the seventh century BC, introduced 'free exhibition of the naked human form' because it was 'the surest and most complete means of reducing desire within rule and limit, and of placing irregular eagerness within the bounds of control'.<sup>980</sup> In other words, potentially lascivious feelings already existed which had to be controlled. According to Jennings Greeks were not innocents but knew that the best way to tackle 'nature' was to work with it, rather than suppress it. Ancient 'primitivism'

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<sup>978</sup> Knight, 1894: 28. This debate continues today: Johns, 1982: 10 follows Maréchal in suggesting of Roman phallic amulets 'wearers would not have thought of their connection with sexuality any more than most of us consider the Christian implications of 'keeping our fingers crossed''. See also Clarke's 'The Opposite of Sex', Clarke and Larvey, 2003: 95. Beard, 2008: 233, in a Knightian approach, has recently criticised the recent 'fashion' of desexualising Roman phallic objects (she does not acknowledge that this interpretation has a long pedigree), suggesting instead that 'sexual they cannot avoid being'.

<sup>979</sup> Jennings, 1884: 104.

<sup>980</sup> Jennings, 1884: 104..

represented for Jennings, not a naive acceptance of sexual imagery, but the sanctity of the sexual act. In this he drew upon d'Hancarville's unusual reading of the Latin author Suetonius in his description of the Roman emperor Tiberius's paintings of the 'twelve postures'. Usually read as evidence of the emperor's extreme sexual corruption, here these paintings showed how the 'Great Act could be the most successfully accomplished, that is, for the purpose of extorting therefrom the most exquisite pleasure, and at the same time of realising the original intentions of Nature in the securing of the most felicitously endowed progeny.'<sup>981</sup> In this reading, both human sexual pleasure and procreation are celebrated, as well as their connection to divinity, recalling in this way the Indian guides to 'good' sex. As Burton had studied the Indian *Kama Sutra*, Jennings drew upon a comparable idea in Classical antiquity to celebrate non-Christian attitudes to sex. Sexual pleasure was a natural part of the worship of the creative force.

We have seen that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century ancient images of sex were widely sought out to reconstruct a past which embraced both divine and human sexuality. This continued a tradition using Classical antiquities, by the methods of collection and of study, as an important reference point for debates about the history, and the future, of religion, sex and civilisation, as these debates became increasingly crucial in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In the final chapter the Classical past appears again as a model for comparison to modern, Christian attitudes to sexuality. However, while we have so far found the reception of ancient sexual imagery focused on sex as procreation between male and female, Chapter 3 examines sexual antiquities accessed for modern engagement with a non-procreative ancient sexual experience - that of sex between men.

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<sup>981</sup> Jennings, 1884: 105.

### Chapter 3

#### Uranian collections: sexual antiquities and same-sex desire

In Chapter 2 we saw an entry in the notebook of collector and archaeologist John Marshall at the turn of the twentieth century, in which were notes from his research on 'Phallic Worship'. I suggested that this wide-spread nineteenth-century anthropological theory may have informed Marshall's engagement with the substantial collection of sexual antiquities, not least the phallic artefacts, which he put together with his collecting and life partner Edward Perry Warren. While this tradition clearly touched upon their work, when we look through the rest of their dozens of notebooks, letters and limited published work, it is clear that their engagement with this material was not framed primarily by a universal narrative of human culture rooted in the need to procreate, but by an idealisation of ancient erotic relationships between men, especially in Greece, and a desire for its 'revival' in the modern world. Specifically, they drew upon the ancient model of *paederastia*, an erotic-pedagogic relationship between an older and younger, usually upper class, Greek male citizen. When we turn to Warren and Marshall's collection we find a substantial number of objects displaying images of men in sexual encounters with each other. This type of ancient sexual imagery is almost entirely missing from those collections put together to illustrate an transhistorical preoccupation with fertility such as we explored in the previous chapter. This chapter traces the ways in which the deliberate and systematic collection and the new careful study of sexual antiquities, in particular Greek vases as well as Roman vessels, fuelled late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century debates about ancient and modern same-sex sexual relations. This contributes new insights to a burgeoning area of scholarship which has thus far focused on the reception of literary texts, particularly the works of Plato, or on the appreciation of ancient sculpture.<sup>982</sup> This chapter focuses particularly on Warren, who is largely missing from histories of the scholarly interpretation of ancient homoerotic imagery, and from those which explore the development of modern

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<sup>982</sup> Halperin, 1990; Dowling, 1994; Davidson, 2001; Orrells, 2011; Aldrich, 1993; Blanshard, 2010; Dellamora, 1990; Edsall, 2003; Gifford, 1995; Kaylor, 2006; Matzner, 2010; Mader, 2005; D'Arch Smith, 1970; Verstraete and Provencal, 2005.



same-sex identity (in particular its connection with Oxford Hellenism, that academic force which shaped the modern reception of ancient homoerotics from the 1860s onwards).<sup>983</sup> Indeed, this chapter demonstrates that there is an important history yet to be charted in which these two narratives are combined, and in which Warren is a key figure.

### Section 1: Depicting *paederastia*: Greek vases, Roman vessels and knowledge of ancient male love

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century witnessed a definitive moment in sexuality and material culture studies. As part of the developments in the archaeological interpretation of ancient artefacts discussed in the previous chapter, this saw sexual antiquities newly employed in the construction of knowledge about sexual relations between men in antiquity. Such images were collected, studied and illustrated by those seeking to reconstruct what seemed, in comparison to modern, Christian society, an especially tolerant cultural attitude to male-male attachments. In particular, this period saw the development of a methodology which would become central to sexuality studies of the late twentieth century. This looked to ancient Greek vase-paintings as evidence of the conventions of *paederastia*, within a new understanding of this medium as providing a picture of ancient 'real life', in some ways better than that provided by literature. While some homoerotic vases had been collected and studied since the eighteenth century, the shared homoerotically-focused interests of many connoisseurs and scholars of vases, in particular the relationship between Edward Warren and the art historian John Beazley, created a unique moment which resulted in the influential catalogue of 'male courtship' vases published by Beazley in the mid-twentieth century. This in turn laid the foundation for the seminal work of scholars such as Kenneth Dover in the late twentieth century.<sup>984</sup> Building upon an established tradition which relief upon literary sources, visual culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century provided evidence for a model of *paederastia* based on physicality, virility and which included sexual relations. In particular, a new understanding and

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<sup>983</sup> For Oxford Hellenism and same-sex desire see Dowling, 1994; Orrells, 2011. For (brief) histories of scholarship on homoerotic antiquities see Shapiro, 1981; Davidson, 2001; Nussbaum, 1999.

<sup>984</sup> Beazley, 1989; Dover, 1989.

collection of Archaic and early Classical Greece vase-painting, as well as some newly collected rare images of Roman male-male sex, revealed an overtly sexualised pederastic aesthetic. This was differentiated from ideas drawn from Plato in particular, which had dominated nineteenth-century thinking about same-sex ancient relations. When compared with the visual evidence, Plato's picture of *paederastia* came to be seen by some as unrepresentative of wider Greek norms, in its preoccupation with the spiritual over the physical aspects of the attachment to the point that it espoused chastity between male lovers.

### 1.1 Greek vases and 'real life' *paederastia*

The historiography of the scholarship of homoerotic vase-painting usually begins in 1947 in the production of the first (almost) comprehensive catalogue of 'male courting' scenes by John Beazley.<sup>985</sup> In this Beazley lists over one hundred extant instances of three iconographic motifs found on Greek vases made between 560-475BC. Beazley identified three scene-types, the first two of which we already met in Chapter 1. 'Alpha' scenes which show the *erastes* fondling, or attempting to fondle, the *eromenos*' genitals; 'Beta' scenes which depict the giving of gifts from an elder lover to a younger man, and 'Gamma' scenes in which the young man is penetrated, usually intercrurally (between the thighs).<sup>986</sup> Beazley's descriptions were more coded than I have expressed them here, but we can be sure he recognised these scenes as sexual acts because he identifies them as depicting progressive stages in the courtship of a boy. Kenneth Dover's *Greek Homosexuality* of 1978 has been rightly identified as skilfully transforming Beazley's catalogue into a comprehensive study of the 'social conventions governing same-sex eroticism'.<sup>987</sup> In particular he reconstructs the sex life of the *erastes* and *eromenos* in an especially uncoded and frank manner.<sup>988</sup> Dover's methodology was in turn applied by such influential scholars in the field of the history of

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<sup>985</sup> Beazley, 1989. On additions to Beazley's catalogue see Shapiro, 1981: 401. On Beazley as beginning of this story see Shapiro, 1981: 401; Dover, 1989: 96. On Beazley's achievements in identifying male-male sex scenes see Shapiro, 1981: 401; Dover, 1989: 96. For Beazley as the authority on Greek vase-painting see Kurtz, 1985; Boardman, 1974: esp. 7; Lear and Cantarella, 2008: 25.

<sup>986</sup> Beazley, 1989: 4, 14, 22.

<sup>987</sup> Nussbaum, 1999 : xi.

<sup>988</sup> Nussbaum, 1999 : xi; Shapiro, 1981: 401; Halperin, 1990: 7-12; Skinner, 2005: 7.

sexuality and/or ancient homoerotic imagery as Michel Foucault, David Halperin, Alan Shapiro, Thomas Hubbard, and John Clarke.<sup>989</sup>

What has not yet been acknowledged is the extent to which this important scholarship is the culmination of earlier developments of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. This period saw the beginnings of the comprehensive identification and cataloguing of these repetitive images and the recognition of this material as evidence of the 'social conventions governing same-sex eroticism'. Scholars are increasingly aware that without Warren's prolific collecting 'we would know much less than we do about homosexuality and Classical art'.<sup>990</sup> His 'male courting' vases and Roman homoerotic material form a significant part of the canon of evidence now used in sexuality studies. However, Warren has not yet been credited for his intellectual impact on our current understanding of the material, especially through his direct influence on Beazley.<sup>991</sup> A wider implication of these findings is that the important methodology of reading vase-painting, and other ancient imagery, as evidence of social history should be seen as having developed as part of a particular interest in homoeroticism, this being a central concern of some of the key scholars examining Greek vases at this time. We may compare this to the already established and related theory that the scholarship of ancient statuary, and the discipline of Art History itself, originated in the eighteenth century in the sexualised engagements with ancient male statuary by Johann Winckelmann.<sup>992</sup>

Published in 1928 and 1932, Warren produced a three-volume thesis on ancient *paederastia* (and its modern revival), entitled *A Defence of Uranian Love* (a reference to the Greek 'heavenly' love for boys, as distinct from the 'pandemic' (common) love of women).<sup>993</sup> In this Warren declares of *paederastia* that to 'know what it was' with the greatest 'clearness and precision' one must look to Greek vase-painting.<sup>994</sup> In this notion that vase-paintings provided evidence of real life in Greece, Warren was

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<sup>989</sup> Foucault, 1978-1986, trans. Hurley; Halperin, 1990; Shapiro, 2000; Shapiro, 1981; Clarke, 1998.

<sup>990</sup> Davis, 2001: 248.

<sup>991</sup> For Warren and Marshall scholarship and influence see Percy, 2009; Percy, 2010.

<sup>992</sup> Potts, 1994.

<sup>993</sup> Warren, 2009. For ancient Uranian Love see Plato, *The Symposium*, trans. Gill: 180e.

<sup>994</sup> Warren, 2009: 84.

influenced by German scholar Karl August Baumeister (1830-1922).<sup>995</sup> Baumeister suggested in 1884 that vase-painting ‘illustrated and made plain’ the ‘habits of life of the ancients’ and that in engaging with these objects we ‘often obtain a glimpse of things unrecorded by any historian’.<sup>996</sup> In his application of this idea to vases showing erotic bonding between men, Warren was also very likely influenced by his close associate Paul Hartwig, the German Classical archaeologist, who we saw in Chapter 1 produced some of the earliest research on Greek vases. In his influential work of 1893 on the ancient artists of vase-painting, Hartwig had published three outline illustrations of images from red-figure vases which show men in sexual encounters.<sup>997</sup> He declared that these ‘pictures on the cups of this period so often realistically present’ the ‘wooing of men in love’.<sup>998</sup> The shared interest between Warren and Hartwig in this subject is evident in the way in which they shared homoerotic vases with each other, as we saw in Chapter 1.<sup>999</sup> Warren would later leave in the care of Hartwig probably his most precious homoerotic purchase, the Roman *skyphos*, later named the Warren Cup.<sup>1000</sup> Hartwig and Warren both drew upon the even earlier work of French scholar Joseph-Emmanuel Ghislain Roulez whose *Choix de vases peints du Musée d'antiquités de Leide* was published in 1854.<sup>1001</sup> Roulez suggests ‘the figured works of art that have been handed down to us provide even more evidence’ of Greek pederasty than literature,<sup>1002</sup> being ‘scenes of real life’ which show what really went on between men in Greece.<sup>1003</sup>

These ideas are also evident in the small group of publications of the 1920s and 1930s exploring ancient sexual life through its imagery which we examined in the previous chapter. *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* (1925-8) by German Classicist Paul

<sup>995</sup> Warren to MFA Boston, quoted in Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 152.

<sup>996</sup> Baumeister, 1884, trans. Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 152.

<sup>997</sup> Hartwig, 1893: PLS.24.1, 25; 72.1; 22.1.

<sup>998</sup> Hartwig, 1893: 659 quoted in Licht, 1971, trans. Freese: 441. The full title is *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blüthezeit des strengen rothfigurigen Stiles: Mit Unterstützung der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und aus privaten Mitteln* (1893).

<sup>999</sup> On Hartwig see Nørskov, 2002: 96-7; von Bothmer, 1995: 82, 98. On Hartwig and Warren see Rouet, 2001, trans. Nash; Pollak and Merkel Guldán, 1994. On Hartwig and Warren’s shared interest in homoerotic vases see Murley, 2012: 85.

<sup>1000</sup> Murley, 2012: 85, n.335.

<sup>1001</sup> Hartwig, 1893: 80, 277; Edward Perry Warren Archives, Sackler Library (20).

<sup>1002</sup> He references the Latin texts of Cornelius Nepos and Cicero.

<sup>1003</sup> Roulez, 1854: Pl. XVII. The translations for Roulez are my own or an unpublished translation by Rory Melough.

Brandt, *Die Erotick der Antike* (1921) and *Glossarium Eroticum* (1932) by fellow German Gaston Vorberg and *Bilderlexikon der Erotik* (1928) by Leo Schidrowitz and the Vienna *Institut für Sexualforschung* all published photographs of homoerotic vase-paintings to illustrate same-sex desire in Greece.<sup>1004</sup> Hartwig's interpretation of these vases was particularly influential on Brandt in seeing these images as evidence of real-life behaviour between ancient male lovers.<sup>1005</sup> Vorberg's work, however, illustrates the intimate connection between Warren's collecting and this developing study of sexuality through vase-paintings, using several examples from Warren's collection, some of which had previously belonged to Hartwig.<sup>1006</sup> As with the supposedly suppressed phallic objects discussed in the previous chapter, Vorberg was able to access and photograph Warren's homoerotic images at the Boston museum, despite claims that they were kept hidden away in 'dark storage' during this time.<sup>1007</sup>

These developments in the study of vase-painting in particular were part of substantial new scholarly interest in the close-analysis of these objects, primarily for the purpose of identifying individual painters. Paul Hartwig, his colleague Adolf Furtwängler, and their fellow late nineteenth-century German archaeologists began this study and it was taken up and developed in the next century by Beazley, whose approach remains the prevailing technique.<sup>1008</sup> However, the emerging idea that vase-painting showed a picture of daily life in Greece, perhaps a more realistic one than literature could provide, should also be seen as part of the wider advances in the archaeological and anthropological approach to material culture, as addressed in the

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<sup>1004</sup> Licht, 1925: 3. 208; Vorberg, 1965: 417-22, 445, 448-450, 453, 460-1, 463; Institut für Sexualforschung, 1928: 2. 514-516.

<sup>1005</sup> Licht, 1925.

<sup>1006</sup> Vorberg, 1965: 421, 450 (these are MFA Boston: 08.292; RES.08.31).

<sup>1007</sup> Whitehill, 1970: 676.

<sup>1008</sup> Furtwängler together with Wilhelm Klein and Friedrich Hauser suggested signatures found on vases were those of the ancient artist. In the early twentieth century Beazley utilised the methodology of Italian scholar Giovanni Morelli of close analysis of painting styles to identify individual 'hands', Boardman, 2001:129-130; Von Bothmer, 1987; Rouet, 2001, trans. Nash: esp. 4, 26-7, Ch. 1 and 5. On Warren's role in this history see Rouet, 2001, trans. Nash: 34-6.

previous chapters.<sup>1009</sup> This saw all material culture as evidence of the thoughts and beliefs of the culture that produced them, as distinct from its aesthetic value as 'art'. Although this approach to antiquities had been developing from the eighteenth century onwards, vase-paintings had thus far been treated primarily as evidence of mythological and religious beliefs. In the late nineteenth century we see a shift towards reading these as images of actual daily life.<sup>1010</sup> Unlike anthropological research, which in the early twentieth century moved away from the collection and analysis of ancient artefacts, archaeological research on Greek vases went from strength to strength. Many Classically trained scholars studying Greek vases at this time were, as we have seen, also collectors and connoisseurs and thus motivated by the aesthetic and monetary value of objects. However, they were often also archaeologists or used archaeological methodologies. In fact, the strength of the partnership of Warren and

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<sup>1009</sup> The idea that vase-painting and other visual evidence provides 'uninhibited realism' in a way literature does not persists today in scholarship, see Shapiro, 2000: 14; Blanshard, 2010: 98. However, much recent scholarship has problematised this idea, asking us to take into consideration the restraints of function, context and patronage of vases in interpreting their paintings as evidence of social history, see Giuliani, 2013, trans. O'Donnell: 14; Dover, 1989: 7-8; Shapiro, 2000: 15; Lear and Cantarella, 2008: 28, Levine, 2001: 207; Clarke, 2006: 510 (in criticism of Williams, 2006: 6. The original context and function of homoerotic vases is thought to have been their use at the all-male drinking party, or *symposium*, where sexual encounters were common and an erotic atmosphere was created by the presence of dancing girls and young boys as servers. Vickers and Nash Briggs, 2007: 48-50, N.27 have dismissed the idea of vase-painting as 'first-hand, quasi-photographic, evidence of... daily life' by a controversial contention that Athenian vases depicting erotic activity between men were in fact imitations of the decoration found on vessels of precious metals made for rich patrons, thus vase-painting are not 'first-hand records of widespread Athenian practice' but, like the literary sources, illustrative of a very limited, elite practice. Quoting the findings of Banner, 2003, they show that a very small percentage of extant vase-painting features erotic images, with homoerotic scenes making up a small number of these, again, suggesting they do not represent the practice of Athens at large, directly questioning an idea which was important in the early twentieth century for uncovering the 'reality' of Greek relations between men. Recent scholarship also stresses the importance of seeing images on vases and elsewhere as representations of an ideal, which related variously to real life practices but also may have played a role in the construction of such reality. This is addressed by a range of scholars and in relation to a range of material in von den Hoff and Schmidt, 2001 It has especial relevance for thinking about images of sexual activity, where ideology - what we might also call fantasy - must be expected to play a central role, for example in images designed to heighten an erotic atmosphere at a *symposium*. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century we find a particular concern over the distinction between the 'real' and 'ideal' in romantic pursuits, and this manifested itself in discourse over contemporary homoerotic relations. We also find it impacting to some extent on readings of ancient images. Stähli, 2001, writing for von den Hoff's volume, considers the relation of vase-paintings to the construction of masculinity for the male ruling class in Athens. Such images could present an ideal of strength and power for both the younger and older partner in *paederastia*, a relationship characterised by an inequality of power. We will see that the relation of visual culture to the masculinity of Greek pederasty became a central concern in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. This included Roman images of the Greek *symposium* which presented a sense of masculinity for both older and younger male sexual partners.

<sup>1010</sup> See Percy, 2010; Murley, 2012: 112.

Marshall was located by themselves and contemporary observers in Warren's connoisseurial talents combined with Marshall's archaeological analysis.<sup>1011</sup> They even embraced wider anthropological concerns, as in Marshall's interest in 'Phallic Worship'.

As we saw in Chapter 2, these developments in the archaeological and anthropological understanding of antiquities were also connected with the field of Sexology and the 'medicalisation' of sex. This is true also for the study of homoerotic Greek vases. The interconnectivity of scholarship on material culture at this time is demonstrated in the *Bilderlexikon der Erotik*, produced by the Vienna sex institute. Although they were not trained anthropologists, archaeologists or classicists, they adopted the approach of comparative religious studies, as we have seen in the previous chapter and the new archaeological approach to Greek vases as evidence of sexual life. The latter was very likely due to the influence of Paul Brandt, who assisted them in their publication.<sup>1012</sup> His own work together with that of Gaston Vorberg, although both grounded in Classics, owe much to sexological approaches in identifying and cataloguing ancient sexual practices, and in this way are also the antecedent of Kenneth Dover's work.

## 1.2 The physicality of *paederastia*

If these ancient images were now thought to be pictures of real life between male lovers, the most significant piece of evidence which they revealed to those to examine them was a pronounced physicality in the ancient pederastic relationship. On these vases were recognised depictions of sexual acts between an older male *erastes* (lover) and a younger male *eromenos* (beloved). In the on-going debate over the nature of *paederastia*, antiquities provided an alternative to a model developed in the nineteenth century drawn largely from Plato.<sup>1013</sup> Although the interpretation of Plato was debated, as we shall see below, the dominant model based on his dialogues stressed a spiritual, even celibate, attachment between men. Davidson has recently charted the development of the modern understanding of *paederastia* as moving from 'pure' - as in

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<sup>1011</sup> Beazley, 1941: 338.

<sup>1012</sup> Schidrowitz to Malcolm 19/12/1928 (Wellcome Library: SA/FPA/A7/71).

<sup>1013</sup> On Plato as a dominating force for nineteenth century ideas of Greek *paederastia* see Verstraete and Provencal, 2005: 8; Blanshard, 2010: 99-100, 143-148; Dowling, 1994.

the 'pure' and 'spiritual' affection described in Oscar Wilde's 1894 courtroom speech - to 'pure sex', as in the 1970s and 80s work of Foucault and Dover, in which penetration is seen as the central function of the attachment.<sup>1014</sup> In his chronology, Davidson suggests there was essentially no change in this understanding until the mid-twentieth century. I argue instead that a pivotal moment of change can be located at the beginning of the twentieth century. Davidson suggests that the 'pure' attachment described by Wilde was essentially the same as that of 1930s scholars who 'did not deny the physical element... but concluded that it was not central'.<sup>1015</sup> In fact, in this later scholarship there was a much greater stress on the physical side of the relationship than Davidson allows. This pointed the way for a comprehensive change to the scholarly consensus by the 1970s. Davidson suggests that there were no 'dramatic new finds' in the first half of the twentieth century, but I will show that scholars were looking at a new body of evidence in the newly collected and newly examined visual culture. In particular, I want to highlight Warren's role in this process which is missing from Davidson's and other's accounts, and the significant impact which Warren had, not only through collecting the relevant material, but in his analysis of this material and especially his influence on his friend John Beazley.

Debates about whether Greek *paederastia* had included sexual relations had a long pedigree prior to Wilde's famous law court speech in which he evoked their purity. Non-physical aspects of the relationship drawn from the extant literature focused on its function as an institutionalised mentor-pupil relationship within Greek society, in which an older man would take on the moral development of a younger man and help him in developing the essentials of male citizenship. These ideas were located in the works of Plato, especially his *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*, which were read as espousing an attachment greatly concerned with seeking spiritual and philosophical development.<sup>1016</sup> Such ideas had been met with scepticism from at least the eighteenth century, and drew upon cynicism from within antiquity itself. The Roman historian Edward Gibbon (1737-1794), paraphrasing Cicero, had suggested that pederastic 'passions' were disguised by the 'thin device of virtue and friendship which amused the philosophers of

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<sup>1014</sup> Davidson, 2001: 5.

<sup>1015</sup> Davidson, 2001: 4.

<sup>1016</sup> E.g. Jacobs, 1823: 212- 254.



Athens'.<sup>1017</sup> In the early nineteenth century German philologist and anthropologist Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker (1784-1868), in one of the first studies of ancient same-sex desire in 1816, had agreed that 'often indeed Platonic Love was merely a mask for lechery'.<sup>1018</sup>

In the latter half of the nineteenth century the 'Platonic' interpretation, which stressed a spiritual attachment between *erastes* and *eromenos*, had been substantially strengthened and promulgated. This has been explained by an increase in the prominence of Plato in Classical scholarship, originating from the introduction of his works into Oxford University's Greats curriculum by Benjamin Jowett (1817-1893). In addition, the Oxford don's own influential translation of the *Symposium* essentially denied all possibility that what Plato described was a sexual relationship.<sup>1019</sup> A more balanced picture had been proposed by Classicist John Addington Symonds whose *A Problem in Greek Ethics*, the first English-language thesis on ancient 'boy-love', published in 1883, described a 'passionate and enthusiastic attachment subsisting between man and youth, recognised by society and protected by opinion, which, though it was not free from sensuality, did not degenerate into mere licentiousness'.<sup>1020</sup> The 'reality' of ancient pederasty and its physicality became more important for Symonds in later life.<sup>1021</sup> In 1889 he had argued against his ex-tutor Jowett's conviction that Plato's description of *paederastia* had been simply a 'figure of speech which no one interpreted literally' - as Daniel Orrells has expressed it, a 'theoretical construct used by Plato in order to think through his conceptualisations of the Beautiful and the Good'.<sup>1022</sup> Symonds told Jowett that, on the contrary, the relationships Plato described

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<sup>1017</sup> Gibbon, 1821: 8.100 n. h. Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputatione*, IV 33.

<sup>1018</sup> Welcker, 1816: 230, my translation. Pieter van Limburg Brouwer produced another influential account of *paederastia* in 1833, also arguing that there was 'always some sensuality', Brouwer, 1833: IV. P. II, 224-275, my translation.

<sup>1019</sup> On Jowett and Plato in the Oxford curriculum see Dowling, 1994: 64; Orrells, 2011: 99; Woods, 1998: 4. On Jowett's interpretation see Dowling, 1994: 71, 95; Orrells, 2011: 99-100. On this as leading to increase in a chaste model of *paederastia* see Dowling, 1994: 115-6.

<sup>1020</sup> Symonds, 1901: 8. See Aldrich, 1993: 78; Dowling, 1994: 130. Gibbon's conviction was maintained in this period, see Day, 1874: 50 who declares 'it is impossible to avoid the suspicion, especially from the lively descriptions of Plato, that, generally speaking, there was something morally rotten in those outwardly graceful friendships and that a Hellenic *erastes* was not always a virtuous friend'.

<sup>1021</sup> Dowling, 1994: 130.

<sup>1022</sup> Jowett, 1892: i. 534; Orrells, 2011: 99-100. See also 109. See Aldrich, 1993: 78; Dowling, 1994: 95, 130.

had been 'a present and poignant reality'.<sup>1023</sup> These were 'realistic depictions of real people' which had been sensual as they were also virtuous.<sup>1024</sup>

In 1894, the culmination of Jowett's promulgation of a chaste reading of the Platonic dialogues saw Wilde in a public court room declaring that 'the Love that dare not speak its name... such as Plato made the very basis of his philosophy ... is a deep, spiritual affection that is as pure as it is perfect'.<sup>1025</sup> The precise meaning of Wilde's statement has been the subject of much debate. Later commentators have questioned whether he really meant, or really believed, that Plato had prescribed a celibate *paederastia*, if we can interpret 'pure' this way, and have pointed to the obvious implications of the context in which he attempted to align himself with this 'pure' model: in the face of a charge of 'gross indecency' brought against him which in this case referred to sodomy with other men.<sup>1026</sup> However, as Linda Dowling has convincingly shown, Wilde's public declamation is an indication of the strength of the 'Platonic' model at this time, as understood as a 'spiritual and emotional attachment that was, at some ultimate level, innocent or asexual'.<sup>1027</sup>

Contrary to Davidson's argument, this nineteenth-century 'Platonic' model, which we have seen was debated even at the time, did not essentially survive intact into the mid-twentieth century. Although it persisted in some circles,<sup>1028</sup> by the 1930s we also find a model of ancient *paederastia* which, although following Symonds in his balance of the bodily and the spiritual, is more emphatic in the fulfilment of physical desires and the resistance to 'Platonic' ideas of chastity.<sup>1029</sup> Paul Brandt's work of 1925, which Davidson reads as not having moved much from the Wildean 'pure' attachment, in fact gives much space to the 'sensual' relationship between a man and what Brandt calls his 'sexual companion', while at the same time stressing the 'ethical' and 'intellectual' aspects of their attachment.<sup>1030</sup> Warren, writing in the 1930s, was particularly emphatic in insisting that the 'Uranian Eros' was 'consonant in his spiritual flights with his earthly

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<sup>1023</sup> Symonds, 1984: 100.

<sup>1024</sup> Symonds, 1984: 100.

<sup>1025</sup> Quoted in Ellmann, 1988: 463.

<sup>1026</sup> Orrells, 2011: 43, 193-203; Blanshard, 2010: 95-6; Foldy, 1997: 119.

<sup>1027</sup> Dowling, 1994: 115-116.

<sup>1028</sup> See Orrells, 2011: 218-9 on the Cambridge Apostles.

<sup>1029</sup> Warren, 2009: 13.

<sup>1030</sup> Licht, 1971, trans. Freese: 434.

base'.<sup>1031</sup> Importantly, while nineteenth-century scholars had fought over the deciphering of Plato's model of boy-love, Brandt and Warren, the latter of whom had himself studied Jowett's Greats syllabus at Oxford, agreed that Plato *did* prescribe chastity between men and boys but concluded that this was an anomaly in Greek thought. Brandt suggests that 'Socrates', as created by Plato, would not have 'required' the 'renouncing of the sensual' from other Greeks.<sup>1032</sup> Warren more vehemently insists that the 'Puritan' ethic of 'Christian ascetic mortification' found in Plato did not reflect the ethos of the 'Greeks in general'.<sup>1033</sup> 'We need not search Plato for the theory which was the theory of the Greeks at large', wrote Warren.<sup>1034</sup>

Warren's use of 'Puritan' speaks directly to the language of the late nineteenth-century chaste model of Platonic Love, as in Wilde's reference to the 'pure' attachment of the Greeks, as well as to Warren's own religious upbringing, as we will see later.

According to the new methodology, as outlined above, the behaviour of the 'Greeks in general' could be found in the real life scenes depicted in visual media, especially Greek vases which showed men engaged in sexual activity with younger men and boys (see figs. 26, 29, 59, 63, 65). As this section will show, beginning in the late nineteenth century, the new collection, interpretation and cataloguing of these images provided a vital new source of evidence for the physicality of 'real' *paederastia* in Greece. This challenges Davidson's chronology, which locates this important development in the 1970s and 1980s with Dover's comprehensive use of vase-painting to build a detailed picture of the *erastes/eromenos*' active sexual relationship (particularly to 'translate' what Dover sees as the euphemistic descriptions of Plato), as well as Foucault's conviction, inspired by Dover, that vases are 'infinitely more explicit' than literature and demonstrate that 'the Greeks showed more than they told'.<sup>1035</sup> The turn of the twentieth century was, in fact, a key moment for these realisations and for

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<sup>1031</sup> Warren, 2009: 130.

<sup>1032</sup> Licht, 1971, trans. Freese: 455-6.

<sup>1033</sup> Warren, 2009: 130; Quoted in Potvin, 2011: 77.

<sup>1034</sup> Warren, 2009: 137.

<sup>1035</sup> Davidson, 2001: 44. Dover, 1989: 91 uses images on vase-painting to interpret Plato's suggestion that 'it is credible to grant any favour in any circumstances for the sake of becoming a better person' (*Symposium* 185b, trans. Dover). 'To translate from euphemism into plain English' Dover says, this reveals that the 'acceptance of the teacher's thrusting penis between his thighs or in his anus is the fee which the pupil pays for good teaching'.

the addition of visual culture into the standard body of evidence with which to reconstruct ancient male-male erotic relationships. Although these developments built upon some sporadic earlier scholarly interest, that homoerotic vase-paintings were not widely recognised before the late nineteenth century is demonstrated in the work of John Addington Symonds in his study of ‘the relation of *paederastia* to Greek art’<sup>1036</sup>. In *A Problem in Greek Ethics* he draws upon the standard visual motif which was commonly recognised in the nineteenth century as representing an *erastes/eromenos* relationship: examples of statuary of Zeus often depicted as an eagle according to the Greek myth, with his boy-servant/lover Ganymede.<sup>1037</sup> However, Symonds finds an absence of sexual desire within *paederastia* represented in material remains. He insists that no ‘obscene works of painting or of sculpture were provided for paederastic sensualists similar to those pornographic objects which fill the reserved cabinet of the Neapolitan Museum’.<sup>1038</sup> We note, as in the previous chapters, that it is not the ‘reserved’ nature of the collection which prevents him from finding the material he is looking for, reminding us of the co-existence of censorship and scholarship at this time. Homoeroticism is especially lacking in this collection. One of the only examples of sexual activity between men in Naples is found on an Etruscan black-figure *amphora* crudely painted with two men having anal sex, which was in the collection from at least the 1930s, at which time Vorberg published a photograph of it. However, Vorberg, like later scholars, did not explicitly link this image with the conventions of institutionalised *paederastia*.<sup>1039</sup> The only homoerotic material Symonds found at Naples is ‘a group of a Satyr tempting a youth’.<sup>1040</sup> This must refer to a marble sculpture of Pan putting his arms around and staring intently at the figure of the youth Daphnis.<sup>1041</sup> Elsewhere, Symonds draws attention to the abundance of visual material which embodies an ancient erotic appreciation for young male bodies, for example in the inscription ‘KALOS’ (beautiful) on many vases, which he takes, as would many others, to refer to

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<sup>1036</sup> Symonds, 1901: 65.

<sup>1037</sup> Symonds, 1901: 67. See Müller and Leitch, 1850: 102.

<sup>1038</sup> Symonds, 1901: 66.

<sup>1039</sup> Vorberg, 1965: 463. This is Naples: 27670.

<sup>1040</sup> Symonds, 1901: 66.

<sup>1041</sup> Naples: 6329.

the depictions of young men which it often accompanies.<sup>1042</sup> However, it is clear that he finds no visual evidence of overt sexuality between men and boys, declaring that:

‘...the testimony of Greek art might be used to confirm the asseveration of Greek literature, that among free men, at least, and gentle, this passion tended even to purify feelings which, in their lust for women, verged on profligacy... there is nothing which indicates the preference for a specifically voluptuous type of male beauty.’<sup>1043</sup>

Twenty years after Symonds’ *Greek Ethics* we find an important turning point in ‘the relation of *paederastia* to Greek art’. At this time many images of pederastic sexual activity on vase-painting were brought to scholarly attention through new collection or study. As we saw in Chapter 1, beginning in the 1890s, a substantial collection of vases showing sex between men were gathered together by Warren and Marshall, and later donated to the Museum of the Fine Arts, Boston. We saw that Warren and Marshall began by making notes on other vases with similar imagery already in European museums, beginning in 1892 with Marshall’s trip to the Gregorian Etruscan Museum in the Vatican in which he made a sketch of a black-figure *amphora* showing a man fondling a boy’s genitals (fig. 23).<sup>1044</sup> In the same year, as we have seen, he and Warren began collecting their own examples of vases with scenes of male-male sexual activity, beginning at their first major collecting outing, the van Branteghem sale. Paul Hartwig, who was to become great friends with Warren and Marshall, had been studying the material in the van Branteghem collection and was also at this time compiling a collection of vases which included several showing male-male sex, many of which he would sell to Warren.<sup>1045</sup> The year after the van Branteghem sale in 1893, Hartwig published his important work identifying painters, *Meistershalen*, which drew attention to erotic themes on Greek vases by including for the first time a selection of

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<sup>1042</sup> Symonds, 1920: 560-1. See Orrells, 2011: 167-9 on Symonds’ pederastic reading of the decoration on a hand-mirror in his *The Greek Poets*.

<sup>1043</sup> Symonds, 1901: 66-67.

<sup>1044</sup> Edward Perry Warren Archives, Sackler Library (26). This is Vatican Greg. 17829/352, Beazley Vase no. 301064.

<sup>1045</sup> On Hartwig and van Branteghem see Rouet, 2001, trans. Nash: 31.

drawings of such scenes, including three showing sexual acts between men.<sup>1046</sup> These came from the *Antikensammlung* Berlin (now part of the Pergamon Museum) and from Warren's haul from the Van Branteghem sale. It was these developments which drew attention to the physicality of *paederastia* as depicted on the vases which were being newly collected and studied.

The idea that these images provided a picture of 'real-life' *paederastia* in Greece, and that this showed an alternative to a usually 'Puritan' model in Plato, can be traced to a brief comment in the 1854 work of Joseph-Emmanuel Roulez on vases in the Leide museum, a publication which we know was read by Warren, Marshall and Hartwig.<sup>1047</sup> Marshall's notebooks reveal a close study of several pages of Roulez's publication which are devoted to *paederastia* and the ancient evidence of it.<sup>1048</sup> Roulez suggests that vase-paintings provide the clearest proof that there is 'always sensuality at the base of this platonic love', and that ancient ideas of the 'innocence and purity of this love' are an 'exception' to the 'general rule'.<sup>1049</sup> He is almost certainly thinking of Plato here. He does not illustrate or directly reference examples of such vases since, he says, 'they cannot be published for reasons of decency', but tells us they are 'usually found at the back of museums'.<sup>1050</sup> We know from other references he makes, however, that Roulez had studied vase-paintings showing sexual activity between men, found at the back of these museums, as we will see below. Again, despite being hidden in this way, they were still accessed for scholarship. Roulez's particular focus, however, is not on scenes of sexual activity but on those which depict what he interprets as the giving of gifts from erastes to eromenos. He illustrates an example from the Leide collection, and catalogues other vases he has found elsewhere, on which items such as chickens, stags, hares and hoops are being exchanged or are simply present in the scene, insisting that to these scenes we should 'attach an erotic meaning'.<sup>1051</sup> Although Beazley has been rightly credited with compiling the first comprehensive list of this

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<sup>1046</sup> Hartwig, 1893: PLS.24.1, 25; PL.72.1; PL.22.1. These are Berlin: F2279 (lost), F2305; Boston: 95.31. Beazley no.s: 200977; 205366; 205271. On the importance of *Meistershalen* and erotic vase-painting see von Bothmer, 1995: 82.

<sup>1047</sup> Hartwig, 1893: 80, 277.

<sup>1048</sup> Edward Perry Warren Archives, Sackler Library (20.2598f).

<sup>1049</sup> Roulez, 1854, trans R. Melough: 69, n. 1.

<sup>1050</sup> Roulez, 1854, trans R. Melough: 69.

<sup>1051</sup> Roulez, 1854, trans R. Melough: 70-73.

motif in 1947 (what he would call his 'Beta' 'courting' scene),<sup>1052</sup> we see that this methodology began at least a hundred years earlier. Roulez's brief study on vases and paederastia had been somewhat influential in the latter half of the nineteenth century on the study of the gift-giving motif, and set in motion, I argue, the methodology of cataloguing instances of *paederastia* on vases.<sup>1053</sup> Indeed, the identification of animals as gifts between man and boy dominated interest in pederastic vase-painting before the late nineteenth century. As we will see below, following Roulez, where vases depicting sexual activity between men were discussed it was often to catalogue gifts in the scene, and not the sexual activity itself.

### 1.3 Homoerotic foreplay: Beazley's 'Alpha' motif

In the late nineteenth century Roulez's brief suggestion that vases revealed the true sexual nature of paederastia was transformed into a new interpretative framework for the flourishing interest in homoerotic vase-painting. The sort of material Roulez had hinted at, those images of men in sexual encounters, began to be increasingly collected, studied and published.<sup>1054</sup> As Roulez had done for gift-giving scenes, at the turn of the twentieth century scholars began to look to the sexual activity depicted in these scenes and their identification as recurring iconographic motifs. Again, we should see this as the predecessor of Beazley's important catalogue. Below we will examine how Beazley directly inherited what was begun in this period through his friendship with Warren especially. Warren's donation to major museums has been recognised as a key event in the history of our modern understanding of Greek vase-painting and male-male relations, but only as the material itself has featured so widely in modern debates.<sup>1055</sup> Warren and Marshall's influence, however, went beyond connoisseurship to scholarship.<sup>1056</sup> Although they did not publish their findings comprehensively, they

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<sup>1052</sup> Shapiro, 1981: 401; Beazley, 1989: 14.

<sup>1053</sup> de Witte, whose catalogue Roulez used to identify gift-giving iconography, in turn draws upon Roulez's work to suggest that the animals found in particular scenes 'have an erotic meaning, all are among the presents through which *erastes* tried to seduce young boys', Lenormant and de Witte, 1861: 180, my translation. Stephani, 1862: 68, 110 also uses Roulez' work on gift-giving courting vases.

<sup>1054</sup> Edward Perry Warren Archives, Sackler Library (20).

<sup>1055</sup> Davis, 2001: 248.

<sup>1056</sup> On Warren's scholarship see Percy, 2009: xii; Percy, 2010 (Percy is also writing a paper on Warren's scholarship on Greek vases); Kaylor, 2009. Davis, 2001: 248 suggests Warren's scholarly ideas deserve further study.

made a crucial step forward in drawing attention to the frequency of the most common image of pederastic sexual activity found on extant Greek vases. This is Beazley's 'Alpha' scene-type in which a male figure reaches across to another male figure to fondle his flaccid penis, while placing his hand on the other's shoulder or face, a motif which Beazley would call the 'up and down' gesture (see figs. 26, 29, 59).<sup>1057</sup> Warren and Marshall were amongst the first to unlock this somewhat coded image - as we will see, it is not always obvious in many instances that a sexual act is taking place. If Symonds had seen any examples of these images he did not recognise them in this way. Warren and Marshall not only collected together seven examples of this scene-type, but also began the process of cataloguing those they found in other collections. The recognition of the frequency of this motif, when just a few years previously Symonds could claim that no same-sex acts were shown in ancient art, revealed a whole new body of material as evidence of the physical nature of *paederastia*. It was clearly confirmation for Warren of Roulez's idea that the widespread sexual activity within real *paederastia* was represented on vases. This would later lead to Warren's more firm theories expressed in his *Defence*, published in 1928 but the product of a lifetime of study, on the physical nature of *paederastia* amongst the 'Greeks in general', compared to Plato's unusually chaste model. Hartwig, who provided Warren with several of his 'Alpha' scene vases, also drew attention to this scene-type by publishing an illustration of one example in *Meisterschalen*.<sup>1058</sup> He chose a later, more unusual, variation found on a red-figure cup (525-475BC) from Berlin.<sup>1059</sup> The pairs of lovers here are clothed but in two examples the *eromenos*' cloak falls open as the *erastes* touches, or makes to touch, the other's penis. Hartwig's main concern was with identifying individual painters, however. Warren and Marshall were more especially interested in the sexual activity displayed in these scenes, and in making a comprehensive study of them.

Warren and Marshall's notebooks reveal the process of their increasing interest in and knowledge of this scene-type. In the Vatican in 1892 this had been the only vase-painting iconography which Marshall had made the effort to sketch (see fig.

<sup>1057</sup> Beazley, 1989: 3.

<sup>1058</sup> Hartwig, 1893: PLS.24.1, 25. This is F2279, Beazley no 200977. Illustrated in Johns, 1982: 99.

<sup>1059</sup> This refers from now on to the *Antikensammlung* Berlin, now part of the Pergamon museum.



23).<sup>1060</sup> That they definitely recognised the act of genital fondling in these scenes is clear from their notes. On a trip to the Central Museum, Athens, around 1900, Marshall made notes on a black-figure *skyphos* in which a taller male touches the genitals of another who is holding a huge white cockerel. He writes, 'paederastic scene - bearded man ... fingering boy's middle'.<sup>1061</sup> That they clearly understood this sexual act as taking place between an *eromenos* and *erastes* is indicated in their label of these scenes as 'paederastic'.<sup>1062</sup> Fundamental to their identification of these scenes as showing sexual acts within the institution of *paederastia*, is the interpretation of the two figures as an older and younger man and the recognition of the various features which Greek vase-painters used to differentiate age.<sup>1063</sup> Warren and Marshall identify in their notes what they call 'knees crooked', in which one figure has to bend to touch the other's genitals due to their difference in height. They also recognised the technique of making one figure bearded with short hair, with the other smooth-faced and with long hair, as a delineation of age.<sup>1064</sup> Warren's understanding of these age-delineating features as the same as those he also found in literature is demonstrated in the *Defence*. Here vase-paintings are said to depict with 'clearness and precision' a passage from Aelian's *De Hipparino et Antileonte* on male lovers 'one of them already bearded, the other with his chin yet naked of beard'.<sup>1065</sup>

A much earlier understanding of this scene-type matching Warren and Marshall's is found in Jean de Witte's 1836 catalogue of the collection of Edmé Antoine Durand. We know that Warren, Marshall and Hartwig read de Witte's work.<sup>1066</sup> He describes a

<sup>1060</sup> Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (26. 0413).

<sup>1061</sup> Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (20. 2575). This is Athens Central Museum: 366. Beazley archive reference: 306269. In the same visit Marshall also makes note of a black-figure *cotyle* (drinking cup) in which a bearded male touches another male on the genitals, describing it as a 'paederastic scene', Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (20. 2575). Later, in the Lewes House register Warren's Greek vases with Alpha scene-types would be described as 'paederastic', Lewes House Register (2 pt 3 p8; 2 Pt 1 Pg 40 No.1084 (9093). See Boston: 8.292 and 13.106.

<sup>1062</sup> Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (20. 2575; 1).

<sup>1063</sup> Hartwig, 1893: 659 and Licht, 1971, trans. Freese: 441 also refer to 'boys' and 'men' on Greek vases. Shapiro, 2000: 14-15 and Hupperts, 1988 suggest that there is sometimes ambiguity with regards to age. The gap, they argue, is sometimes small on earlier vases, but, nevertheless, it seems there is always some visual indicator which can be read as an indication of an age gap. See Blanshard, 2010: 98.

<sup>1064</sup> Warren's notes from Munich in 1894 describe a scene in which 'bearded man towards... his left hand is stretched towards a boy with long hair... his knees crooked', Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (1.1407-9). On these age differentiating features see Dover, 1989: 78; Shapiro, 1981: 401-2.

<sup>1065</sup> Warren, 2009: 83. Aelian, *De Hipparino et Antileonte*, frag. 70.

<sup>1066</sup> Hartwig, 1893: 452; Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library.

scene on an Attic red-figure cup by the Brygos-Painter (480–470 BC): ‘a bearded, half ithyphallic man is seated and caresses a young boy who raises his right hand on the shoulder of the man ... The eromenos is naked and holds a kind of net, in which we distinguish round objects’.<sup>1067</sup> He clearly recognises this as a sexual scene and use of the word ‘*eromenos*’ shows he sees this as a depiction of the institution of *paederastia*. Certain features in this particular scene suggest it was easier to interpret than other ‘Alpha’ examples that we examine below. The comparative sizes of the man and boy especially highlight their age difference and thus the pederastic nature of the scene. The man’s especially large, erect penis draws attention to the fact that a sexual act is taking place. The importance of this particular vase in the history of scholarship on ancient pederastic sexual encounters depicted on vases is demonstrated in its later ownership by Beazley, who donated it to the Ashmolean museum.<sup>1068</sup>

Warren and Marshall’s achievements lie in identifying the particular repeated features of the ‘Alpha’ scene-type, thus drawing attention to less overt examples of this sexual motif. In 1894 in Munich’s *Staatliche Antikensammlungen* Warren would make a special note that the *erastes* in a scene has his ‘hand down’, echoing Beazley’s later ‘up and down’ label.<sup>1069</sup> This gesture is his marker for whether a scene is ‘erotic’ or not, showing us that Warren recognises it as a potentially sexual act.<sup>1070</sup> For example, he writes: ‘there is nothing decisive about A - though the *zweiter* [second] has his hand down.’<sup>1071</sup> To accompany a description of one scene, about which he is unsure if it is ‘erotic’ or not, there is a mini sketch of a shoulder and arm reaching downwards.<sup>1072</sup> He is clearly looking for examples of genital-fondling on vases, and takes care to determine the sex of the figures in such ‘erotic’ scenes to establish male-male sexual activity.<sup>1073</sup> In particular he makes a sketch of a black-figure *amphora*, by the ‘Painter of Cambridge’, made in about 550-500BC, which shows a large, clear, well-executed

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<sup>1067</sup> de Witte and Durand, 1836: 666, my translation. *Ashmolean*: AN G. 276. 45 2.3.

<sup>1068</sup> Ashmolean Museum: AN 1967.304. See Beazley, 1963: 378, 137; Shapiro, 2000: 31–2.

<sup>1069</sup> Beazley, 1989: 4. Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (1.1411).

<sup>1070</sup> He labels them ‘erotic’, ‘not erotic’ or ‘there is nothing conclusive about this’ for example. Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (1).

<sup>1071</sup> Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (1.1411-2).

<sup>1072</sup> Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (1.1411).

<sup>1073</sup> He writes of one figure within a scene of group sexual activity: ‘The boy’s parts are not plain but his eye is a shape showing he is not a woman of the woman’s eye in B. Besides all the women are painted white’, Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (1). This is Munich, *Antikensammlungen*: 1255.

image of an older male quite obviously touching a younger male's genitals (see fig. 60).<sup>1074</sup> Here we see a bearded figure with his arm and hand outstretched downwards, clearly stooping to make full contact with the genitals of a smooth-faced, long-haired youth. The clarity with which this act is represented - both in the quality of the painting and the act itself - is likely the reason why Warren sketched this scene, for later study.

This clear image may be compared to other vase-painting which Warren and Marshall had studied at these museums, in which a figure stands upright with his hand merely pointing toward the other's privates and which could not therefore definitively be labelled 'erotic' in their notes. Warren notes that in these cases the gestures may indicate 'only a conversation'.<sup>1075</sup> The importance of Warren's observations is demonstrated in the fact that the same point is made by Greek vase scholar Alan Shapiro, writing around a hundred years after Warren's trip to Munich. It is especially difficult to judge, Shapiro suggests, when the *eromenos* also reaches up to the other's chin, as then the image resembles that of two men conversing and gesturing with their arms as they talk.<sup>1076</sup> The images which Warren and Marshall chose to sketch, such as the Painter of Cambridge *amphora* at Munich, are referred to in their notes as 'very much to the point', being scenes in which genital fondling is unmistakably taking place, and thus providing unmistakable examples of the depiction of sex between men.<sup>1077</sup>

Evidence that this turn-of-the-century study set in motion a sustained interest in this scene-type as evidence of ancient sexuality, is demonstrated in the richly illustrated 1920s and 1930s volumes of Gaston Vorberg and Paul Brandt, who together included photographs of seven 'Alpha' scenes as evidence of *paederastia*.<sup>1078</sup> The debt to the earlier work is demonstrated in their use of the same material which had inspired turn-of-the-century study, including the Munich *amphora*.<sup>1079</sup> The image on this vase has continued to be used as a key example of the 'Alpha' scene, due to the clarity of the

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<sup>1074</sup> Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (1.1417). This latter is Munich: J1336/1468, Beazley archive: 301629. Illustrated in Johns, 1982: 100.

<sup>1075</sup> Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (1.1411-1424).

<sup>1076</sup> Shapiro, 2000: 20. See also Hupperts, 1988: 261-2.

<sup>1077</sup> Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (1.1424-5). This is Munich: 1123, Beazley archive: 24077. Another vase 'may or may not be to the point', Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (1.1418).

<sup>1078</sup> Vorberg, 1965: 417-22, 450, 751. Licht, 1925: 3. 208.

<sup>1079</sup> Vorberg, 1965: 420.

activity taking place.<sup>1080</sup> The material Warren, as well as Hartwig, had collected themselves was by this time also part of the canon of material for study. Vorberg in particular, as we have seen, had access to Warren's collection and illustrates several of his 'Alpha' scene vases, some of which had previously belonged to Hartwig.<sup>1081</sup> This includes a red-figure fragment which draws particular attention to the act of fondling within the 'Alpha' scene-type. In this fragment we see just the genitals of the *eromenos* and the *erastes*' hand touching them (see fig. 61).<sup>1082</sup> This especially demonstrates the interest in this sexual act by those who had collected and studied this piece. Vorberg continued Warren's work of cataloguing this scene-type, finding other examples in the Naples museum and the Martin von Wagner Museum at the University of Würzburg.<sup>1083</sup> By the 1930s, then, this scene-type was a standard feature of studies into visual evidence of paederastia, and certain vases in particular provided clear and indisputable visual evidence of the physical nature of this relationship.

The reception of one particular vase seems to have been especially important in the development of the modern interpretation of the 'Alpha' scene and the physical nature of ancient *paederastia*. This is a black-figure *kylix* which is now at Munich and was found in the Etruscan tombs at Vulci in the early nineteenth century in excavations by the Candelori family, who owned that part of the land.<sup>1084</sup> It shows on the inside a bearded man leaning close to a long-haired youth and touching his chin.<sup>1085</sup> It is badly damaged so that the lower halves of both figures are missing from the scene. Hung either side of the figures, a dead hare and a cloak are partially visible. At some point before the 1850s, perhaps before it was sold by the Candelori family to King Ludwig I of Bavaria (1825–1848), the damaged part had been repainted, this modern restoration having since been removed by the Munich museum in the twentieth century.<sup>1086</sup> The modern repainting completed the scene so that the bearded man bent down to touch

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<sup>1080</sup> Percy, 1996: Fig. 8; Johns, 1982: 100.

<sup>1081</sup> Vorberg, 1965: 450, 421. These are MFA: RES.08.31e; 08.292.

<sup>1082</sup> Vorberg, 1965: 450. This is MFA: RES.08.31e.

<sup>1083</sup> Vorberg, 1965: 417-22.

<sup>1084</sup> This refers from now on to the *Staatliche Antikensammlungen* Munich.

<sup>1085</sup> Munich: 2133/J41; Beazley archive: 31945. On its provenance: Jahn, 1854: 41. See Stephani, 1862: 68 n.6; Licht, 1925: 3. 208; Vorberg, 1965: 750; Beazley, 1989: 10.

<sup>1086</sup> On the sale to King Ludwig see Jahn, 1854: 41. On the repainting see Beazley, 1989: 10. For the original and modern repainted scene see Viermeisel and Fellmann, 1990: 144, FIGS.21.7, A-B.

the other's genitals, and the cloak and hare were also filled in. The anonymous nineteenth-century painter had clearly observed some of the conventions of this scene-type, or had seen at least one other example which they had used as a guide. Furthermore, we know that they understood this scene to have originally shown a sexual act: the repainting gave both partners very large erect penises. Erections are not common in our extant 'Alpha' scenes and the *eromenos* is never erect.<sup>1087</sup> We know this because of the comprehensive cataloguing of this scene-type carried out by Beazley. The modern painter did not have this resource when they created their anachronistic restoration. However, perhaps they were not concerned with accuracy but wanted to deliberately enhance or even exaggerate the sexual nature of this encounter.

What is clear is that an act which would now be considered vandalism drew attention to the sexualised nature of this scene and was very likely fundamental to the modern interpretation of this motif, and of vase-painting more widely, as evidence of physical *paederastia*. A description of this repainted scene appeared in a number of catalogues and scholarship during the nineteenth century and the phallic nature of the figures was naturally remarked upon.<sup>1088</sup> However, as I have suggested above, scholarship had focused on the hare hung up behind the figures, as an identifying feature of a gift-giving scene, and not the sexual encounter between man and boy.<sup>1089</sup>

In 1894, Warren made a sketch of the repainted scene on a visit to the Munich museum, purposefully drawing and colouring in the large erections of man and boy - if anything, making them slightly larger and more erect (fig. 62).<sup>1090</sup> Seeing this overtly sexual image early on in their studies very likely drew Warren and Marshall's attention to the sexualised nature of this scene-type – this version was definitely not 'only a conversation'. They saw this image at a time when they were beginning to categorise 'Alpha' scenes which they found across collections, including those which were much less obviously sexual than this fantasy version. It very likely framed their understanding of other material they saw and collected, and encouraged a physical model of

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<sup>1087</sup> See Shapiro, 2000: 23; Dover, 1989: 78; Williams, 2006: 55.

<sup>1088</sup> Jahn, 1854: 41; Stephani, 1862: 68 n.6.

<sup>1089</sup> Stephani, 1862: 68 n.6.

<sup>1090</sup> Warren Archives, Sackler Library (1.1400)

*paederastia*, as argued in Warren's *Defence*. The repainted scene was also illustrated by Brandt and Vorberg in their own presentation of sexualised attachments between men and boys at Greece.<sup>1091</sup> Did these scholars know they were looking at modern repainting? If so, did they know that it was an inaccurate reconstruction? It is likely that they, like the re-painter, had also not seen enough vases to recognise the anachronism of the depiction. If they did suspect it was a reconstruction and were unsure of its accuracy, it still would have confirmed their already developing theories, capturing the spirit of what they believed these attachments were like. We saw in the last chapter how non-original objects could nevertheless be considered archaeologically valuable, seen as being able to fill gaps in extant material in the reconstruction of the past. We shall examine below other modern representations of the past, the understanding of which blurs the line between authenticity and realistic fantasy. We might suggest that, paradoxically, in *not* representing exactly the original, this particular piece, for Warren and others, more accurately represented what they understood as the behaviour of the 'Greeks in general', working better than original material to dispel the anomaly of Platonic chastity, and present 'real life' relationships between Greek men. Its publication in the mid-war period demonstrates that, contrary to James Davidson's chronology outlined above, by this time scholars were exploring a very different construction of *paederastia* from the 'asexual, spiritual and pure' attachment asserted by Wilde.

#### 1.4 Homoerotic sex scenes: Beazley's 'Gamma' motif

The end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century saw increased interest in another type of sexual scene between men depicted on Greek vase-paintings. This is Beazley's 'Gamma' scene in which, as he later described, 'the moment is later than in Types Alpha and Beta and the two figures are interlocked'.<sup>1092</sup> Although this is not as formulaic as the 'Alpha' scene, with its standard 'up and down' gesture of the *erastes*, in each 'Gamma' scene the couple embrace seemingly for the purpose of intercrural

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<sup>1091</sup> Licht, 1925: 3. 208; Vorberg, 1965: 751. Brandt erroneously labelled the vase as from the National Museum in Athens.

<sup>1092</sup> Beazley, 1989: 22, 25.

(between the thighs) penetration of the *eromenos* by the *erastes*.<sup>1093</sup> Hartwig drew attention to two of these scenes in 1893, publishing illustrations of them in *Meistershalen*. One of these came from a vase which Warren had purchased the previous year at the van Branteghem Sale. This is a late Archaic red-figure *kylix* (490–480 B.C) by Douris, found in Cerveteri, and shows a winged male figure, identified as Eros or sometimes the god of the west wind, Zephyros, grasping and lifting in the air another cloaked male, sometimes identified as Hyakinthos, the boy Zephyros admired (fig. 25).<sup>1094</sup> The other, very similar ‘Gamma’ scene which Hartwig published is also attributed to Douris and appears on a red-figure *kylix* which was in Berlin but is now lost.<sup>1095</sup> It shows a similar winged figure grasping a long-haired boy who holds a lyre. In these scenes we do not see the penis as it enters the space between the thighs, as in other ‘Gamma’ scenes, such as another Douris red-figure fragment of a *kylix* (c.490–480 BC) which Warren acquired and which shows a similar scene in which a winged figure grips a young holding a lyre.<sup>1096</sup> Although these scenes feature a divine figure and thus quite obviously do not depict scenes of ‘real-life’, Hartwig insisted they are the ‘ideal representation of the wooing of men in love’.<sup>1097</sup> He is suggesting, therefore, that even in their ideal relationships between men and boys, the Greek *erastes* had physical relations with his *eromenos*.<sup>1098</sup>

The importance of the Berlin example of this ‘Gamma’ scene-type for the early twentieth century’s sexualised model of ancient male-male relationships is demonstrated in Paul Brandt’s reference to it in *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* of 1925, in which he refers to Hartwig’s reading of it as evidence, not simply of mythology,

<sup>1093</sup> See Shapiro, 1981: 134; Williams, 2006: 55.

<sup>1094</sup> Hartwig, 1893: PL.22.1. This is Boston MFA: 95.31. Beazley Archive No.: 205271. See Lear and Cantarella, 2008: 158; Shapiro, 1981: 410-11 n. 71; Vermeule, 1969: 25; Dover, 1989: 75, 93, 98; R574; Beazley and Caskey, 1954: no. 127; Beazley, 1963: 1570.30. On the various identification of the figures see Shapiro, 1981: 410-11 n. 71.

<sup>1095</sup> Hartwig, 1893: Pl.72.1. This is Berlin: F2305. Beazley Archive No.: 205366. See Lear and Cantarella, 2008: 157; Beazley, 1963: 450.31; Kilmer, 1993: Pl. AT P.146, R595.1 (I); Shapiro, 1981: 410-11 n. 71 (also on the various identification of the figures).

<sup>1096</sup> MFA Boston: 13.94. Beazley archive no.: 9017565. See Lear and Cantarella, 2008: 158, Fig. 4.18 (I); Beazley, 1963: 1570/30; Shapiro, 1981: 410-11 n. 71 (also on the various identification of the figures).

<sup>1097</sup> Hartwig, 1893: 659 quoted in Licht, 1971, trans. Freese: 441. On vase-painting as representing ideology in Greece see von den Hoff and Schmidt, 2001. On these vases as part of a move to mythical ‘courting’ scenes in the early fifth century see Shapiro, 1981: 410, 410-11 n. 7.

<sup>1098</sup> Hartwig, 1893: 659 quoted in Licht, 1971, trans. Freese: 441.

but of an ideal representation of real *paederastia*.<sup>1099</sup> A new photograph of it also appeared in 1928 in the *Bilderlexikon der Erotik* as part of an historical treatment of same-sex love.<sup>1100</sup> The importance of these developments is evidenced in Beazley's catalogue in which he follows Hartwig's interpretation and includes the scene in his catalogue of those showing 'courting' between real life *erastes* and *eromenos*.<sup>1101</sup> In the late twentieth century its illustration was also used as the front cover picture for Symonds' *A Problem in Greek Ethics*.<sup>1102</sup> Gaston Vorberg's *Glossarium eroticum* in 1932 also added several examples to the catalogue of 'Gamma' scenes which were being collectively compiled at this time.<sup>1103</sup> As in the history of the understanding of the 'Alpha' scene that I have outlined, there are examples of scholarly interest in the 'Gamma' scene earlier in the nineteenth century. And as with 'Alpha' scenes, this interest tends to focus on identifying gift-giving on vase-paintings, rather than investigating the sexual life of ancient pederasts and their lovers. One 'Gamma' scene-type in particular was the focus on this early interest. In the early twentieth century, this was in the collection of Edmé Antoine Durand and appeared in Jean de Witte's 1836 catalogue of the collection, which we have seen was later read by Warren, Marshall and Hartwig.<sup>1104</sup> A black-figure *amphora* by the Berlin Painter (c.540BC), found in Vulci and now in the British Museum, shows on each side a man and boy engaged in intercrural sex and surrounded by other men and boys in various stages of courtship (see fig. 63).<sup>1105</sup> De Witte identifies this 'Gamma' scene as showing the convention of *paederastia*, as he did for Durand's example of the 'Alpha' scene, describing the figures as '*erastes*' and '*eromenos*'.<sup>1106</sup> Unlike his description of the 'Alpha' scene, however, which specifically referred to the sex act (fondling) taking place, de Witte does not mention the intercrural sex which is clearly depicted. On two almost identical scenes the man's penis is seen entering between the boy's legs.

<sup>1099</sup> Licht, 1971, trans. Freese: 434.

<sup>1100</sup> Institut für Sexuallforschung, 1928: 2. 514-516.

<sup>1101</sup> Beazley, 1989: 25. 1.

<sup>1102</sup> Symonds, 1983.

<sup>1103</sup> Vorberg, 1965: 448, 461.

<sup>1104</sup> de Witte and Durand, 1836: 665.

<sup>1105</sup> This is British Museum: 1865,1118.39/Museum Secretum W39. Illustrated in Johns, 1982: Fig. 27.

<sup>1106</sup> de Witte and Durand, 1836: 665.



However, elsewhere in nineteenth-century scholarship we find an interpretation which identifies both the sex act and the convention of *paederastia* on this same vase. Joseph-Emmanuel Roulez's 1854 treatment of *paederastia* and gift-giving, examined above, refers to the British Museum vase and its description in de Witte's catalogue, as 'the most curious and the most significant' for 'our subject'.<sup>1107</sup> He does not describe in detail the sex act acting place, but refers in a footnote to the fact that 'details are indicated that I regarded as appropriate to pass over'.<sup>1108</sup> It is very likely that this vase, with its scenes of intercrural sex, is what he was thinking of when he made the influential suggestion that vase-painting provides the clearest proof that there is 'always sensuality at the base of this platonic love'.<sup>1109</sup> As with Alpha scenes vases, the focus of Roulez's interest in this vase, unlike those who inherited his ideas in the late nineteenth century and beyond, is not in the penis pushing between the thighs, but in the necklaces, stags, chickens, hares, foxes and wreaths which he identifies as gifts from *erastes* to *eromenos*.<sup>1110</sup> However, one comment he makes links these gifts to the sexual activity. A stag held by one of the *eromenoi* watching the scene of intercrural sex is described as 'without doubt the price for his compliance'.<sup>1111</sup> This indicates that Roulez saw the gift as payment to the *eromenos* for agreeing to have done to him what he can see happening to one of his peers in the same scene. Beazley followed this understanding, and suggested that gift-giving scenes between *erastes* and *eromenos* (his 'Beta' type) were meant to be followed by intercrural sex scenes (his 'Gamma' type), in the chronological stages of 'courting' boys represented on vases.<sup>1112</sup>

We find a surprising connection between the theory of universal sacred sexuality addressed in the previous chapter and ancient homoerotic imagery, when we discover how this particular vase came to the British Museum. It had been acquired from the Durand collection by George Witt, the member of the Anthropological Society of London, for his 'Collection illustrative of Phallic Worship' which was bequeathed to the museum in 1865, as we saw in Chapter 2. It seems incongruous to find an image of a

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<sup>1107</sup> Roulez, 1854, trans R. Melough: 80.

<sup>1108</sup> Roulez, 1854, trans R. Melough: 80 n.9.

<sup>1109</sup> Roulez, 1854, trans R. Melough: 69, n. 1.

<sup>1110</sup> Roulez, 1854, trans R. Melough: 80-81.

<sup>1111</sup> Roulez, 1854, trans R. Melough: 80.

<sup>1112</sup> Beazley, 1989: 14.

non-procreative act to illustrate a theory focused on fertility in which, as we have seen, images of male-female sex are so prevalent. This is the only example in Witt's collection of same-sex imagery; however, it does appear, albeit very rarely, in other collections examined in the previous chapter. We find what seems to be another act of intercrural sex on a Greek black figure *lekythos* (550-500BC), collected by Henry Wellcome for his 'Phallic Worship' section.<sup>1113</sup> However, the quality is so bad it is not obvious that this is a same-sex act taking place. Another vase which depicts the moment before male-male sex is about to occur is found on a vase previously in William Hamilton's eighteenth-century collection. Its publication as a fully coloured painting in d'Hancarville's catalogue of Hamilton's first vase collection in 1766 marks the earliest publication of male-male sexual imagery in this medium.<sup>1114</sup> This is the now well-known fifth-century red-figure bell *krater* (wine mixing vase) by the Dinos Painter which shows a young man climbing into the lap of another who has an erect penis, seemingly for anal sex, now in the British Museum.<sup>1115</sup> It is unusual in its depiction of male-male sex on a Greek vase after the year 475BC. In d'Hancarville's catalogue this had been left without a description, which Whitney Davis has suggested was to 'avoid scandal' at the time of publication.<sup>1116</sup> However, he may also have avoided labelling this image as it did not illustrate his theory of ancient fertility cults, which he tried to expound throughout his text on Hamilton's collection. We do not have any explicit reference to religious associations with homoeroticism in this or other texts on 'Phallic Worship'.<sup>1117</sup> We have seen in Chapter 2 that other non-procreative acts feature in imagery interpreted as symbolising the worship of procreative powers. Bestiality, we have seen, was interpreted as a powerful symbol of fertility, due to the mythological associations with virility of the specific animals engaged in inter-species sex, namely goats and bulls. Other images of heterosexual oral or anal sex were valued as illustrating the union of male and female sexual powers. We shall return to this issue below.

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<sup>1113</sup> Wellcome collection: 665723.

<sup>1114</sup> d'Hancarville, 1766-67: Vol.2 Pl. 32.

<sup>1115</sup> This is British Museum: 1772,0320.154/1292/ F65. Beazley archive no.: 215288. See Dover, 1989: R954, 87; Percy, 1996: 119.; Williams, 2006: 57; Keuls, 1985: 293.

<sup>1116</sup> Davis, 2001: 260.

<sup>1117</sup> On the connection between 'phallicism', homoeroticism and sexual antiquities in the modern period see Davis, 2001: esp. 260-1; Davis, 2010: Ch. 2.

However, what is most pertinent for the current study is that d'Hancarville fails to link this image of male-male sex with the institution of *paederastia*. As we have seen his interest was less in reconstructing the 'real' sexual life of ordinary people than in uncovering secret sects which celebrated unrestrained sexuality. Whatever d'Hancarville made of it, this vase has since proved contentious regarding the interpretation of its male-male sex. Scholars have recently suggested the seemingly equal ages of the young men and the irregular presence of an old man and a woman who are watching the scene (rather than the usual group of men and other boys on 'courting' scenes) indicate that this is a scene from a male brothel (the man and woman representing pimp and madam), rather than of an attachment between two freeborn males.<sup>1118</sup> However, William Percy has argued that this scene should be added as a fourth group to Beazley's classifications of depictions of the classic *erastes* and *eromenos* relationship.<sup>1119</sup> Likewise in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, as vases began to be recognised as showing *paederastia*, this vase was not as straightforwardly categorised as such. It was described in 1870, in the catalogue of the British Museum's Greek and Etruscan vases, as a scene showing an *erastes* with his *eromenos* 'mounting the chair'.<sup>1120</sup> Vorberg would later publish a photograph of this vase as a depiction of ancient *pedicare* (anal sex), demonstrating its importance as evidence of physical relationships between men in Greece, but he did not expressly associate it with the *erastes/eromenos* relationship.<sup>1121</sup> Beazley's catalogue, which built upon this earlier scholarship, did not include this vase in its scenes of 'male courting'. Thus, while this particular scene promoted the idea of sex between men at Greece, perhaps because of its unusual form and its lack of the standard age-differentiated relationship, it appears not to have especially added to knowledge of the *erastes* and *eromenos* relationship which we have seen was being built up through engaging with other Greek vases.

### 1.5 The chronology of physical *paederastia*

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<sup>1118</sup> Keuls, 1985: 293; Davis, 2001: 260. Other reasoning is that it closely resembles a scene between a young man and woman, the latter who is thought to be a prostitute.

<sup>1119</sup> Percy, 1996: 119.

<sup>1120</sup> Birch and Newton, 1870: 31. This is British Museum: 1772,0320.154/1292/ F65.

<sup>1121</sup> See Vorberg, 1965: 460.

Through his pioneering collection and study of Greek vases Warren was one of the first to recognise the disappearance of the iconography of men having sex from vase-painting after the early Classical period, decided by scholarly consensus after Warren's death to be 475BC, with exceptions like the bell *krater* above.<sup>1122</sup> This discovery was key for Warren in developing a chronology of Greek *paederastia*, in which he saw a traditional physical, virile attachment replaced by a spiritual, chaste relationship in the later Classical period.<sup>1123</sup> The subject of vase-paintings reflected for Warren a *real* change in attitudes at Athens.<sup>1124</sup> It is not clear that he thought sex between men actually stopped after 475BC or whether it only signified the change in the aesthetics of homoeroticism which we will see he identified. Here we see Warren initiating a late twentieth debate on the explanation of the disappearance of this iconography.<sup>1125</sup>

Warren appears to have combined these observations about the dating of vases with an established theory about the chronology of Greek art. This theory, developing at the turn of the twentieth century, suggested that Greek artistic representations of the male nude moved from, as Warren described, a 'strong hard-muscled figure' in the Archaic and Early Classical period, to a later Classical figure who is 'broad thighed, effeminate; he is no longer of the gymnasium but of the *gynaikonitis* - the women's area'.<sup>1126</sup> The explanation given by turn-of-the-twentieth-century scholars for this change in ancient aesthetics was the increased presence of women in Athenian daily life, beginning in the latter half of the fifth century.<sup>1127</sup> Beazley would describe the

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<sup>1122</sup> On Warren realising this see Percy, 2010.

<sup>1123</sup> Williams, 1999: 58 suggests the Platonic dialogues show a growing intellectualization of pederasty as chaste and spiritual until in the *Laws*, Plato's last work, it is dismissed as unnecessary and unnatural.

<sup>1124</sup> Percy, 2010, agrees that Warren recognised the disappearance of pederastic scenes on vases but argues that Warren, like Percy himself (see Percy, 1996: 208), believed that these scenes continued on metal vessels, as upper class fashion changed, thus signalling no change in attitudes towards sexual relationships with boys.

<sup>1125</sup> Shapiro, 1981: 133-143 sees the disappearance of this iconography as reflecting a real change in attitudes, if not behaviour. He attributes it to the rise of the lower class men (democrats, hoplites, and especially oarsman, and those normally excluded from the *gymnasia*, the space where pederasty flourished). Upper class men, he argues, did not want to advertise their particularly aristocratic tradition of *paederastia* on their *symposia*-ware, in the face of this democratization.

<sup>1126</sup> Warren, 1941: 416; Edward Perry Warren Archives, Sackler Library, 20: 2540; 11.1951-1965 (1899); Walters, 1905: 376. Dover, 1989 comments on the standard Greek ideal changing after the mid fifth century.

<sup>1127</sup> Warren, 1941: 416 'in the second half of the fifth century women mingled with the lives of men'. Walters, 1905: 376 describes Greek vases which depict 'the softer side of Greek life, the life of the women's quarters, or the sentimental scenes of courting which begin to prevail towards the end of the fifth century, are the products of a later development of social conditions'.

earlier Archaic and Early Classical period as ‘that athletic, aristocratic, and heroic age which became fully articulate, just at the close, in Pindar and Aeschylus, in Critius (*sic*) and Myron.’<sup>1128</sup> In sculpture, the ‘harder’ aesthetic of Kritios’ brawny *Tyrranicides* and *Kritios boy* and the muscular tension and contortion of Myron’s *Discobolus* (discus thrower) were compared to Praxiteles’ ‘softer’ *Apollo Sauroktonos*.<sup>1129</sup> In literature, the Odes of Pindar (written between c. 498 and 443 B.C) were seen as a joyful celebration of youthful masculinity and athletic achievements. These ideas about the feminisation of Greek art, brought together with his observations about the disappearance of pederastic motifs in Greek vase-painting, allowed Warren to make important links between ancient masculinity and physical pederasty. From looking at vases he concluded that this earlier masculine era of Greek history had also been, as he put it, a ‘pre-eminently paederastic period’.<sup>1130</sup> The physical relations between men and boys had been part of what he called a ‘harder and sterner’ erotic attachment.<sup>1131</sup> This had been destabilized, he believed, by feminine influences which undermined the strength of Greek masculine social organisation and the male-male bond, in turn diminished the homoerotic appreciation of male bodies and the idea that sex with these bodies was a healthy part of male relationships.

Warren had found evidence of the connection between homoeroticism and manly athleticism in Pindar’s sexualised celebration of the bodies of young athletes, and conversely evidence of the influence of feminisation at Athens in Plato’s prescription that these same bodies should be rejected by the lover on his philosophical journey (a prescription, Warren no doubt thought, aptly delivered by a woman).<sup>1132</sup> Warren found this degradation of homoeroticism especially in representations of Eros, whom Symonds had called ‘the special patron of *paederastia*’. Warren perceived a

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<sup>1128</sup> Beazley, J. D. (1929). ‘Obituary Edward Perry Warren’, *The Times*, 7/1/1929: 3.

<sup>1129</sup> Warren, 2009: 233. See also Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 334 who explain that Warren was ‘refreshed by the Lysippean reaction against that softer and more feminine art’. The *Discobolus* was caught mid-action in the very activity that honed his masculine physique and conveyed the aesthetics and ethics of discipline in the Greek gymnasium (see Jenkins, 2012). See Hallett, 2005: 13 on the continued idea in scholarship that the Greek nude became less brawny from fifth century onwards.

<sup>1130</sup> Warren, 2009: 84.

<sup>1131</sup> Warren, 2009: 84.

<sup>1132</sup> Warren, 2009: 85. Compare ‘he will regard beauty of body as something petty’ (Plato, *The Symposium*, trans. Gill: 201c) with ‘I... melt... whenever I look upon the fresh-limbed youth of boys.’ (Pindar Fragment 123 *Beloved Boy Theoxenus*, trans. Hubbard, 2003: 43.). On Pindar and homoeroticism see Hubbard, 2002.

change from depictions of an athletic Eros to an androgynous and asexual figure: it was Eros whom he described as moving from the 'gymnasium to the *gynaikonitis*'.<sup>1133</sup> Plato's description of the pederastic Eros, according to Warren, 'obliterate[s] the manly in favour of the androgynous spiritual'.<sup>1134</sup> In fact Warren refers to Plato as 'Praxitelean', in reference to the 'soft' representations of male bodies and of Eros himself, by the sculptor.<sup>1135</sup> Plato demonstrated for Warren the link between feminised aesthetics and ideas of pederastic chastity in the late Classical attitude.<sup>1136</sup> In particular, the *gymnasium* and the *palaestra* were important for Warren's theory, as he knew these places of athletic training had been associated with pederasty since antiquity.<sup>1137</sup> Here athletic bodies were both created and, as they trained nude,<sup>1138</sup> appreciated, but this was also the space where men could make contact with youths. The discipline of training was required for the creation of muscular bodies, which in turn

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<sup>1133</sup> Warren, 1941: 416. The early, masculine figure of Eros which Warren references is found on an *askos* (small, round vessel) by Makron (c. 490-480BC), which Warren purchased and presented to the Bowdoin museum in 1926, Bowdoin: 1923: 3. For another athletic Eros Warren collected see Boston 01.8079 which shows even more clearly the link between Eros and athletic physiques. On one side is a damaged scene showing the bottom half of Eros running after a youth in a cloak (see Lear and Cantarella, 2008: 162). On the reverse is a youth stood facing front showing the accessories of an athlete: he is holding a wreath and *fillet* (headband worn by athletes) and wearing a *kynodesme* (a strap used to tie up the penis while exercising naked). The Eros and the athlete are very similar in physique. Warren, 1941: 416 explains that the feminization of Eros on vases, by the end of the fifth century, saw 'floating androgynous' figures. These are small, child-like *erotes* found positioned above other figures in vase-painting. Marshall wrote in his notebook that, at the time of Plato's dialogues, we find depictions of Eros on vases which are 'womanish', soft and λείος (smooth), Warren Archives, Sackler Library. In sculpture, Warren saw the 'harder and sterner' Eros represented by the 'livelier' statue of Lysippos compared to the 'drooping figure which is thought to echo the Praxitelean Eros', Warren, 2009: 32.

<sup>1134</sup> Warren, 2009: 233.

<sup>1135</sup> Warren, 2009: 32, 233. Plato is accused of 'softening' the 'strict fifth-century rule' by changing the definition of τὸ καλόν (beauty) from 'noble to the fair', Warren, 2009: 233. In their notebooks Warren and Marshall highlight Plato's definition of τὸ καλόν as 'a soft, smooth, slippery thing' in the *Lysis*. These are feminine qualities attached to a masculine concept, they argue. They compare the use of ἀπαλός (soft) in the *Lysis*, to its use in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* (191), in which Euripides describes the effeminate Agathon as 'ἀπαλός', as well as being 'close-shaven' and having a 'women's voice' – all features which allow him easily to be disguised as a woman, and in Aristophanes' *Birds* (667) in which it is used to refer to Procne's attractive feminine qualities, Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (2794f. 'In Plato' Warren writes 'we find [τὸ καλόν] engaged by beauty, whereas in Pindar no youth may conquer in a boxing-match but the heroes, his prototypes and models, march on to the scene'. Warren, 2009: 84.

<sup>1136</sup> Warren, 2009: 137.

<sup>1137</sup> Warren gets his evidence from Cicero's claim that exposure to naked bodies at the gymnasium lead to pederasty in Greece, Warren, 2009: 84. See Symonds, 1901: 37: 'The palaestra [wrestling school] was the place at Athens where lovers enjoyed the greatest freedom. In the *Phaedrus* Plato observes that the attachment of the lover for a boy grew by meetings and personal contact in the gymnasiums.'

<sup>1138</sup> The word gymnasium comes from the word γυμνάζω, 'train naked'.

advertised their disciplined and physical lifestyle, all of which were essential to attract an older man. As Warren explained:

'It was with no softened *eromenos* that the Greek lover was occupied. Constantly associated in field, palaestra, agora, and feast with all the best youths of the day ... Seeing their firm outlines and hard muscles... he was... occupied with the contemplation of ἀρετὴ ἀνδρεία – the power and glory of the masculine'.<sup>1139</sup>

In this Warren was influenced by Symonds's model of ancient pederastic desire, which also combined the appreciation of a disciplined body *and* mind, and, as we have seen, included 'sensuality'. Symonds wrote in 1883:

'The Greek lover... admired the chastened lines, the figure slight but sinewy, the limbs well-knit and flexible, the small head set upon broad shoulders, the keen eyes, the austere reins, and the elastic movement of a youth made vigorous by exercise. Physical perfection of this kind suggested to his fancy all that he loved best in moral qualities. Hardihood, self-discipline, alertness of intelligence, health, temperance, indomitable spirit, energy, the joy of active life, plain living and high thinking - these qualities the Greeks idealised'.<sup>1140</sup>

Warren found evidence of the correlation between masculine athleticism and pederastic sex in this earlier 'harder and sterner' period of Greek history, on Archaic and Early Classical vases. Here he saw athletically built men and boys engaged in sexual acts, often on the same vase as images of boys training at the *gymnasium*. For example, the Munich *kylix* showing an 'Alpha' scene, which Warren sketched in 1894, depicts on the shoulder two naked young men wrestling, while either side two further naked men await their turn to practise.<sup>1141</sup> The men in this scene have the same muscular physiques as the naked figures engaging in courtship and sex below. The compositions of the two scenes also resemble each other: two figures in the centre are physically engaged, while two others look on at either side. Ultimately, though, it was the realisation of the dating of these pederastic vases and their disappearance after the early Classical

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<sup>1139</sup> Warren, 2009: 85.

<sup>1140</sup> Symonds, 1901: 69.

<sup>1141</sup> This is Munich: J1336/1468, Beazley archive: 301629. Illustrated in Johns, 1982: 100. Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (1. 1417).

period which, I argue, provided Warren with clear evidence that ancient physical pederasty could only survive within a highly masculine-centred society and that this was easily obliterated by the feminine influences of women.

### 1.6 Anal sex on Roman vessels

As well as Greek material, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Roman antiquities were also brought to the attention of those scholars of ancient art and sexuality who were increasingly interested in reconstructing ancient relationships between men. In the previous chapter we saw that Roman artefacts of a sexual nature found in great numbers at Pompeii and Herculaneum had long been collected and studied as evidence of the connection between sex and religion. However, as I have suggested, this had not usually included images of homoerotic sexual activity. As we have seen, although Greek vase-painting with similar themes had not been comprehensively studied until the late nineteenth century, it had been increasingly noted throughout the century as the study of vases and of ancient sexual life began to become interconnected scholarly subjects. The very small body of comparable Roman visual evidence would be practically unremarked upon until the early twentieth century. At the turn of the century, their new collection would bolster theories of a sexualised model of ancient male-male attachments. I argue they did not only provide evidence about Rome, but also the Greek relationships which were being increasingly reconstructed through the study of vase-painting. This, I suggest, is due to their seeming appropriation of Greek pederastic aesthetics. As we saw in Chapter 1, at the turn of the twentieth century Warren and Marshall collected together eleven Roman objects featuring images of early Imperial male-male sexual activity, consisting of seven pieces of Arretine ware pottery, three *spintria* (tokens) and the lavish silver *skyphos*.<sup>1142</sup> This was, and remains, the largest collection of Roman artefacts showing male-male sex ever put together. These later went to Boston, except the Arretine ware pieces, of which two went to the Ashmolean, Oxford, one went to the Metropolitan, New York, and

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<sup>1142</sup> MFA Boston: RES.08.33f, RES.08.33e, RES.08.33c, 13.109, RES.08.32r, RES.08.32s RES.08.32t; Metropolitan Museum: 21.88.165; Ashmolean Museum: 1966.251, cat.62, number unknown; British Museum: GR1999.4-26.1. On the Arretine ware, see Clarke, 1998: 72-78, 86; Clarke, 1993; Pollini, 1999. On the Warren Cup see Williams, 2006; Clarke, 1993; Clarke, 1998: 59-72, 82-90; Clarke, 2006; Pollini, 1999.



the Warren Cup which was never passed on in Warren's lifetime, but is now in the British Museum. Only a handful of other extant Roman objects showing men having sex have been identified, in addition to some frescoes showing group sex.<sup>1143</sup>

As we saw in Chapter 1, on the majority of these objects we find a repeated motif: a naked or semi-naked male couple lie one behind the other on a couch, both facing the viewer on their left sides, while the front partner is penetrated anally from behind by the other (see figs. 1, 33, 34). This, therefore, presented late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars with a different motif and mode of sexual activity from the fondling and rubbing that was being examined on Greek vase-painting. Anal intercourse is rarely found on Greek material and appears on only two items that were definitely being studied at this time (on the British Museum bell *krater*, which shows the moment before the act, and the crudely painted image of two men on the Etruscan black-figure amphora in the Naples museum). The Roman penetration-from-behind-lying-on-the-side motif, when well executed and of a sufficient size, is more easily recognisable as a sexual act - much more 'to the point' - than many Greek images of male-male sex. However, in smaller, cruder images the gender of penetratee may be ambiguous, such as on the tokens Warren acquired, in which a male figures kneels over another who is prostrate. The prostrate figure has been identified in some instances as female.<sup>1144</sup> We know from his notes, however, that Warren recognised this figure in the examples he collected as male.<sup>1145</sup>

The images on the Warren Cup especially, as well as some of the Arretine ware depictions, show with clarity and detail, anal sex between figures who are quite clearly male. These may be contrasted to the Greek images which, as we have seen, are sometimes small and poorly executed. As we saw in Chapter 1, Warren evidently

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<sup>1143</sup> In addition to those discussed below: a cameo glass perfume bottle (25 BC–AD 14), youth and boy having anal sex, from Spain, George Ortiz collection: 221, ex collection D. R. Machuca. See Clarke, 1998: 79-82; copper alloy *spintria*, 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, two males having anal sex, British Museum R.4476, R.4473, R.4483; copper alloy *spintria*, 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, two males having anal sex, found London, 2011, Museum of London, number unknown. As the British Museum online catalogue points out, this token looks very similar to one of their tokens (R.4476) which has been identified as depicting two males. However, this very recent find has been labelled as a male-female scene here: <http://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/455487>, accessed 1/4/13. Another Roman object which may show male-male sex is a bronze basin, 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, showing a satyr having sex with a figure who is currently identified as a nymph in the museum catalogue but may be a boy, Naples: 129478.

<sup>1144</sup> <http://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/455487>, accessed 1/4/13.

<sup>1145</sup> Lewes House Register (4 p270 2617 photo 9183).

recognised these Roman objects as depicting scenes of male-male sex as his records describe the repeated motif on these objects as ‘two youths reclining on couch, the one enjoying the other *in vas indebitum* [up the bum]’.<sup>1146</sup>

Warren’s collecting drew attention to these Roman images, which revealed a model of especially sexualised attachment between men. Vorberg would draw attention to the Warren Cup as evidence of male-male anal sex or ‘*pedicare*’ in the ancient world, in his publications, beginning with *Die Erotike der Antike in Kleinkunst und Keramik* in 1921, which gave pride of place to more-than-life-size photographs of the Warren Cup on its first page.<sup>1147</sup> Smaller versions appeared again in *Glossarium Eroticum* in 1932 together with the two Greek anal sex images we have looked at, the British Museum bell *krater* and the Naples vase.<sup>1148</sup> Vorberg had been allowed access to photograph and publish the Warren Cup for its first ever publication and here we see Warren as not only the propagator but also the gatekeeper of modern knowledge of ancient homoerotic imagery. The Arretine ware was also described in a catalogue in the early twentieth century.<sup>1149</sup> Despite being privately published, Vorberg’s work containing photographs of these very explicit scenes of male-male sex should be acknowledged as a significant moment in the history of the study of sexual antiquities. We know his work was important for other scholars of art, such as Beazley.<sup>1150</sup> His broadcasting of photographs of the cup appeared nearly eighty years before its purchase by the British Museum, which was widely hailed as a major step forward in the acknowledgement and serious study of visual homoeroticism in antiquity, and fifty years before work such as Dover’s which has been seen as the first proper scholarly acknowledgement of sexual relations between men in antiquity.<sup>1151</sup>

Roman male-male sexual imagery had played a small part in earlier interest in sexual antiquities. D’Hancarville was responsible for a very early, if not the first, publication of visual depictions of Roman male-male sex. His *Monumens de la vie privée des XII Césars d’après une suite de pierres et médailles gravées sous leur*

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<sup>1146</sup> Lewes House Register (1 Pt 1 Pg 37 No. 112, 3 Pg41 No.1745 photo 9125).

<sup>1147</sup> Vorberg, 1921: 1-3. On Vorberg and the cup see Williams, 2006; Clarke, 1993: 276.

<sup>1148</sup> Vorberg, 1965: 355, 456-7, 460, 463.

<sup>1149</sup> Chase, 1916: 39, 40, 53-59.

<sup>1150</sup> Beazley, 1989: 11, 12-13, 24, 25.

<sup>1151</sup> Nussbaum, 1999: xi.

*règne*, first published in 1780, illustrated fifty or more plates of supposedly ancient gemstones, medallions and cameos. Like the illustrations in his *Veneres et Priapi* which we discussed in the last chapter, these are thought to be mostly or entirely the product of modern imagination.<sup>1152</sup> The images in *Monumens de la vie privée* show ‘the sexual vices of the Roman emperors, often sodomitical or homosexual in nature’.<sup>1153</sup> They were meant to be visual evidence which corroborated and elaborated the sexual anecdotes on the lives of the Caesars in Latin texts, such as by Suetonius and Catullus. We find here images of ceremonies to Priapus together with the scenes of male-male sex. I suggested in Chapter 2 that *Veneres et Priapi* drew attention to the sacred significance of male-female sex by combining it with such images of Priapic worship. Was the same effect intended with the inclusion of homoerotic imagery? d’Hancarville’s treatment of images of the emperors suggests not. The narrative here is one we have met in Chapter 2: the corruption of a primitive, natural, worship of generative powers, as it was perpetuated in an increasingly ‘refined’ culture, and the male-male sex here is a significant symbol for d’Hancarville, of this degeneration. In one image we see a sacrifice to Priapus in which the attending emperor Tiberius is, the text tells us, unable to control himself and buggers the young and handsome priest, debasing the solemn ceremony (‘how horrible and horribly depraved!’).<sup>1154</sup> Although we probably should not accept d’Hancarville’s expressions of disgust at face value, these images were clearly not designed to show male-male sex as sacred in the way that male-female sex was.<sup>1155</sup>

Even though it is not clear they were ever considered genuinely ancient, these images did function to draw attention to same-sex sexuality in antiquity. Friedrich Karl Forberg (1770-1848) drew upon *Monumens de la vie privée* in 1824 to explain various male-male and male-female sexual acts in his *Apophoreta*, (‘second course’), a commentary on a fifteenth-century collation of Latin erotic epigrams and quotations entitled *Hermaphroditus* by Antonio Beccadelli (1394-1471).<sup>1156</sup> Crucially, some of the images from *Monumens de la vie privée* were used to illustrate the first edition of

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<sup>1152</sup> Blanshard, 2010: 66.

<sup>1153</sup> Davis, 2001: 261.

<sup>1154</sup> d’Hancarville, 1782, my translation: 85, no. 20.

<sup>1155</sup> See Davis, 2001: 262.

<sup>1156</sup> Davis, 2001: 249-50: 249, 262.

*Apophoreta*, exposing these supposed ancient images including those of ‘*pedicatio*’ (anal sex) between men to a new generation.<sup>1157</sup> In the early twentieth century, Paul Brandt was interested in Forberg’s work and he owned a copy of a new French edition with newly created illustrations of ancient acts.<sup>1158</sup> It is likely that he was also aware of the original illustrated edition which used d’Hancarville’s images, but none appear in his own *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* in 1925, which, although a study of Greek culture, did include a substantial and wide-ranging number of photographs of Roman sexual antiquities, including Warren’s phallic figures, as we have seen in the previous chapter.<sup>1159</sup> Brandt may have suspected that d’Hancarville images were not genuine, although we have seen he did publish non-original material, such as the repainted Munich *kylix*. Symonds, who read Forberg, may also have considered the images to be modern inventions, as there is no mention of their male-male sexual imagery in his survey of ancient art, despite taking in other Roman imagery.<sup>1160</sup> Alternatively, perhaps, he read an edition with no illustrations. We should acknowledge, as I have suggested, the fluidity at this time in the understanding of original material and material which could capture the spirit of original culture, thus we might be surprised if d’Hancarville’s images were not used as evidence of ancient same-sex activity because of issues of authenticity.

The key explanation for why d’Hancarville’s images did not feature in this nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholarship may be a conceptual division in the reception of ancient sexuality, which Alistair Blanshard has recently highlighted, between ‘Greek Love’ and ‘Roman Vice’.<sup>1161</sup> d’Hancarville’s images, and the text accompanying them, stress the immorality of acts driven by lust alone, whereas Brandt and Symonds were both interested in an attachment which was, while physical, also balanced by moral and spiritual considerations (despite, as I have shown, Brandt’s model especially stressing the physical due to his use of Greek images of male-male sex as evidence). As an example of the pedigree of this division between ‘Greek Love’ and ‘Roman Vice’, we may look back again to the turn of the nineteenth century and the

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<sup>1157</sup> Davis, 2001: 249-50: 249, 262.

<sup>1158</sup> Davis, 2001: 249-50. He also translated the text into German.

<sup>1159</sup> Licht, 1925: 3. 72, 164.

<sup>1160</sup> Symonds, 1896: n. 5.

<sup>1161</sup> Blanshard, 2010: esp. xii-xiii.

reception of another Roman image of male-male sex. A fragment made of cameo glass<sup>1162</sup> (c.70-80AD) found in Rome shows part of the Roman standard motif of male-male sex identified above.<sup>1163</sup> Lying on a red and blue intricately carved couch, we see most of a naked, male body and behind him a glimpse of his partner's body including his right arm and hand which reaches around to grasp the other's right thigh. Neither of the men has a head. This object had been owned in the nineteenth century by a succession of men connected with the British Museum, where it now resides.<sup>1164</sup> A sketch was made of this object which, as with the Munich repainted vase, reconstructed the missing parts of the scene, and which is now also in the British Museum (see fig. 64).<sup>1165</sup> Dyfri Williams, curator at the museum, has given its creation date as 1826/7, and the artist as the painter and archaeological writer Edward Dodwell (1767-1832).<sup>1166</sup> However, the museum catalogue dates this earlier, to 1768-1805, and states that it had been in the collection of Charles Townley, he who provided d'Hancarville and Richard Payne Knight with much of their material for their theory of the universal worship of fertility.<sup>1167</sup> If Townley did acquire the modern sketch, this may suggest that this same-sex image was linked with ideas of sacred sexuality. The reconstruction certainly would have encouraged this understanding. In the modern sketch, the penetrating partner has been completed with the horns of Pan, the lustful, mythological character and a key image for phallic theorists, as we have seen in Chapter 2. However, the modern artists also depict the boy with an expression of fear, turning in horror to see Pan's lustful face. This then gives the hand which the boy places on the other's arm a meaning of resistance, rather than encouragement as it might be seen in similar images, such as on a fragment collected by Warren in which the two males are kissing.<sup>1168</sup> Rather than 'Greek Love', therefore, this image is aligned with 'Roman Vice'.

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<sup>1162</sup> A technique in which a design is produced by carving through fused layers of differently coloured glass.

<sup>1163</sup> British Museum: 1956.3-1.5. Clarke, 1998: 79-82; Williams, 2006: 60-1.

<sup>1164</sup> These were Italian Sir Anthony Panizzi (1797 - 1879) the Keeper of the Department of Printed Books, William Richard Hamilton (1777 - 1859), another British official and antiquarian, and Sir Charles Thomas Newton (1816 - 1894) who was a collector of other sexual antiquities, see British Museum: 1859,1226.507; 1926,0324.39.

<sup>1165</sup> British Museum: 2010,5006.570. See Williams, 2006: 61.

<sup>1166</sup> Williams, 2006: 61.

<sup>1167</sup> <http://www.britishmuseum.org>, accessed 11/04/2013.

<sup>1168</sup> MFA Boston: RES.08.33f.

I argue that, at the turn of the twentieth century, Roman images very similar to that on the cameo glass fragment, but not reinterpreted as scenes of mythological lust, conveyed the spirit of 'Greek Love'. These were those found in Arretine ware and the silver *skyphos* and brought to attention by Warren's collecting. Unlike d'Hancarville's neo-Classical gems and the sketch of the cameo glass fragment these Roman sexual images evoked the moralising tone of Greek *paederastia*. I suggest Warren himself would have interpreted these images in the same way that recent commentary has, in which they have been seen to borrow from a Classical Greek model of formalised erotic-pedagogic courtships between freeborn citizen males.<sup>1169</sup> This archetype, it is argued, was not native to Rome but had become fashionable with Roman philhellenists, at least in their fantasies, and thus found expression in their art.<sup>1170</sup> Scholars have debated whether these images show a Roman's historical idea or fantasy of what Greek pederasty had been, or a depiction of a real encounter between Romans, who are to some extent playing the roles of the Hellenic *erastes* and *eromenos*.<sup>1171</sup> This Roman material, like Greek vase-painting, shows indicators of age difference, usually in body size and physique. On Side A of the Warren Cup (fig. 1) we also find the standard Greek motif of bearded *erastes* and smooth-faced *eromenos*.<sup>1172</sup> However, these scenes are not in the style of Greek vase-painting showing male-male sexual activity. They appear to draw instead upon another motif in Greek vase-painting - the all-male drinking party (*symposium*) (see fig. 3). We discussed in the introductory chapter the homoerotics of this iconography. In the imagery of the Roman Arretine ware and Warren Cup, as on Greek vases depicting the *symposium*, the two men lie on Greek couches (*kline*) strewn with cushions (see figs. 1, 33, 34). On the Warren Cup

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<sup>1169</sup> See Clarke, 2006: 510; Clarke, 1993; Pollini, 1999: 28-29; Williams, 2006: 51-59; Williams, 1999: 91-94.

<sup>1170</sup> See Pollini, 1999: 28; Blanshard, 2010: 110; Williams, 2006: 42; Williams, 1999: 72. There is a debate around how indigenous particularly models of male-male relationships were to Rome and the extent to which the particular characteristics of Greek *paederastia* were adopted. Generally it is argued that the only native acceptable male-male relationships in Rome were between master and slave or citizen and foreigner, not between two free-born males.

<sup>1171</sup> Clarke, 2006: 510; Pollini, 1999: 28-29; Williams, 2006: 51-59; Williams, 1999: 91-94.

<sup>1172</sup> See Pollini, 1999: 31-32; Williams, 2006: 51; Clarke, 1993: 292. Clarke, 1993: 292 suggests however that in other physical features they look of a similar age.

we find the Greek *chlamys* (cloak, as opposed to Roman *toga*), which the men have slipped out of to have sex, and a pair of Greek *auloi* (double flutes).<sup>1173</sup>

If this is a Greek *symposium*, we witness a moment which is never shown in Greek art: when the men sharing a couch move from talking and flirting, to a sexual encounter. As I have suggested, this encounter is depicted in precise detail. On both sides of the Warren Cup we are invited to witness the man's penis enter his partner's bottom, in particular on Side B in which the unusual composition has the penetratee lower himself onto the other's penis using a strap hung from the ceiling. If any images support the idea of an obsession with penetration which, as Davidson points out, has characterised the model of Greek pederasty in scholarship in the last forty years, it is those on the Warren Cup.<sup>1175</sup>

However, these images also signal the ethical and pedagogical aspects of Greek *paederastia*. If this is a Greek *symposium*, they show the romantic, aristocratic and intellectual setting in which the *eromenos* pictured would have been developing his ethical, philosophical and, importantly, manly competence by time spent with his *erastes*. As John Clarke has argued, these Roman images manage to depict this highly sexualised moment in a particularly dignified way.<sup>1176</sup> This is very different from the Roman image of Tiberius attacking the young priest in d'Hancarville's spurious gems. Perhaps for Warren and his associates, these images convey even better than Greek vase-painting the important balance between 'the bodily and the spiritual' which we have seen in early twentieth-century constructions of Greek *paederastia*. Warren acquired the cup in 1911, just as he began writing the *Defence*, and it was kept in his private possession for study as he wrote out his theory of *paederastia*.<sup>1177</sup> It is likely that Warren, essentially a scholar of Greek *paederastia*, did see this exceptional acquisition as bolstering ideas drawn from Greek vases about the physical and intellectual nature of male-male relations at Greece. Unfortunately no notes from Warren on the cup have yet been found.

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<sup>1173</sup> See Williams, 2006: 51. However Pollini, 1999: 36-37 takes the double flutes (which he calls by the Latin name *tibiae*) as evidence that the youth on side A is a Roman slave, since playing them was deemed unsuitable for freeborn males in Rome, whilst Clark does not concede that any of these features indicated a Greek scene, Clarke, 1993: 275.

<sup>1175</sup> Davidson, 2001.

<sup>1176</sup> Clarke, 1993: 284.

<sup>1177</sup> Warren, 2009: 13.

As in recent scholarship, I argue Warren would have had some caveats about seeing these as wholesale ‘Greek’ images. Although we find a somewhat fluid concept of the ‘Greco-Roman’ in this period, we know that Warren did draw a distinction between Greek and Roman homoeroticism. Recent scholarship has identified a distinctly Roman appearance in the younger partner of these images, especially on Side B of the Warren Cup.<sup>1178</sup> In the *Defence*, Warren distinguishes between the desire for a boy in the ‘flush of manhood’ which he finds embodied in the fourth-century BC Greek poet Alcaeus’ description of his hardy *eromenos*, Lycos, and the ‘smooth and shapely youth with a long pony-tail’ of the boy Lyciscus described by the Imperial Roman poet Horace.<sup>1179</sup> Lyciscus’ description matches that of the youngest male on the Warren Cup.<sup>1180</sup> Warren very likely saw this as a Roman aesthetic, although perhaps only in regards to the figure’s physique, as Greek boys also kept their hair long, and we witness this on the pederastic vases Warren collected.<sup>1181</sup> On the Arretine ware we also note a slender, agile *eromenos*. According to Warren, the difference between attraction to the feminine and the masculine in boys was the difference between *paederastia* or ‘vice’ - here again we find the Greek Love/Roman Vice paradigm.<sup>1182</sup>

Despite this, we know that Warren and Marshall considered that in art and in attitudes, ‘much that was truly Greek lived on in the Roman period’.<sup>1183</sup> Warren uses Latin commentary on Greek pederasty in the *Defence*. This indicates that he would have seen these Roman visual depictions as also being able to tell him something meaningful about Greek pederasty. William A. Percy has suggested that Warren would have found this Roman imagery ‘a mere derivative or rather satire of Classical Greek

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<sup>1178</sup> Pollini, 1999: 33-34; Clarke, 2006: 510.

<sup>1179</sup> Warren, 2009: 39.

<sup>1180</sup> Pollini, 1999: 29 makes this connection.

<sup>1181</sup> On the long-hair of Greek boys see Williams, 2006: 52. Williams uses this as evidence that the boy on the Warren Cup is meant to be a free-born Greek and hence the image a standard Hellenic *eromenos/erastes* portrayal. However, Pollini, 1999: 33-34 has argued that long hair was also the style of Roman slaves and thus the boy represents a *puer delicatus*, a young, handsome slave boy whom Romans kept especially for sex, meaning this images conforms to the standard master-slave relationship which were the socially accepted form of homoerotic encounter in Rome. Clarke agrees with Pollini’s position, Clarke, 2006: 510.

<sup>1182</sup> Warren, 2009: 39.

<sup>1183</sup> Beazley, 1941: 334.



models'.<sup>1184</sup> However, I argue, with the exception of the boy on Side B of the Warren Cup, they probably embodied for Warren the 'pre-eminently paederastic period' of masculine, virile but still ethical, sexual relationships between men and boys, in a different, if not better, way than Greek vases. While for Warren Plato's *Symposium*, which had dominated understanding of pederasty, ends in 'ascetic mortification', these images show a more accurate picture in which an evening of 'spiritual flights' concludes with 'earthly base', as in Warren's description of true *paederastia*.<sup>1185</sup> As the Munich repainted vase had presented a modern, overtly sexualised, reception of Greek pederasty, so the Warren Cup presented a Roman version. Vorberg had also printed these two images in one publication.<sup>1186</sup> They could both enhance an understanding of Greek *paederastia*. As we saw in the last chapter, 'non-original' material could still communicate something meaningful about the original culture, even though these Roman images were not copies of Greek art but, like Henry Wellcome's reconstructed pharmacies, were artistic reconstructions of the past.

### 1.7 Warren and Beazley and the transmission of knowledge

We have seen a definitive moment in the development of the use of material culture for the study of ancient sexual life between men. The importance of these developments, at least for the understanding of Greek vases, is evidenced in their influence on Beazley's 1947 comprehensive catalogue of male 'courting' scenes, which should, I argue, be viewed as the culmination of this earlier work.<sup>1187</sup> Beazley draws upon the scholarship of Hartwig, Brandt and Vorberg, using the material they had previously collected and studied.<sup>1188</sup> However, while Warren and Marshall's collecting has been acknowledged as an important source of material for Beazley, yet unacknowledged is the importance of Warren and Marshall's interpretation of this material on this seminal publication, through their friendship with Beazley.<sup>1189</sup> Although they did not publish

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<sup>1184</sup> Percy, 2010.

<sup>1185</sup> Warren, 2009:130. Quoted in Potvin, 2011: 77.

<sup>1186</sup> Vorberg, 1921: Pls. 1-3. See Williams, 2006: 26; Clarke, 1993: 276.

<sup>1187</sup> On Beazley's achievements in identifying male-male sex scenes see Shapiro, 1981: 401; Dover, 1989: 96.

<sup>1188</sup> Beazley, 1989: 8, 10, 11, 12-13, 24, 25.

<sup>1189</sup> On Warren and Beazley's friendship see Murley, 2012: 111-117; Green, 1989: 183, 216-17, 183-5, 216-7, 227, 232-3, 237-238; Williams, 2006: 26; Percy, 2009: xiii; Sox, 1991: 26; 96-8; 126-7. Percy,

most of their findings, they should be seen as a pioneering force in studying the homoeroticism of Greek vases and the forebear of twentieth- and twenty-first-century scholarship which has mined vase-paintings as evidence of male-male relations in Greece. Beazley's interest in Greece and especially in Greek vases was clearly inspired by Warren.<sup>1190</sup>

Beazley and Warren first met around 1910, probably in Oxford where Beazley was studying and where Warren, an ex-student, still visited, possibly through common acquaintances such as the Classical scholar Sir Maurice Bowra (1898-1971) and writer Sir Harold Acton (1904-1994).<sup>1191</sup> Beazley, at this time, was in his twenties and at the beginning of his academic career and Warren, fifty-something, had come to the end of his major period of collecting and was beginning to devote his energies to financially supporting Oxford in their teaching of Classical art history and to consolidating his studies of ancient pederasty. A shared interest in vases (and David Sox suggests, writing poetry) most probably brought the two together.<sup>1192</sup> A young Beazley visited Lewes House, Warren's home in Sussex where much of the collection was still kept, describing what he found there as: 'within, calm, work, a mine of treasures'.<sup>1193</sup> In the Beazley archives at Oxford we find three notebooks in which he made extensive notes from the registers at Lewes House into which were recorded hundreds of acquisitions over many years. His friend, the Classical sculpture scholar Bernard Ashmole (1894-1988), describes how Beazley was able to 'study at leisure a whole range of newly found or newly acquired vases, sculptures, and gems' at Lewes and 'enjoy the intellectual stimulus of these two fine scholars and lovers of antiquity'.<sup>1194</sup> Dietrich von Bothmer, a former pupil of Beazley's, insists his teacher remained 'grateful for the opportunities' in his youth of studying material at Lewes House, which was not yet published or visible to ordinary museum visitors.<sup>1195</sup> In 1915, when Warren took rooms

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2010, acknowledges the importance of Warren's scholarship on Greek vases in his connection with Beazley, and the importance of Warren's understanding of homoerotic ancient imagery, but does not make the explicit connection between Warren and Beazley's catalogue.

<sup>1190</sup> See Ashmole, 1985: 61; Murley, 2012:115; Kurtz, 1985: 9. See Sox, 1991: 97.

<sup>1191</sup> Sox, 1991: 26; Murley, 2012: 114-5.

<sup>1192</sup> Sox, 1991: 26.

<sup>1193</sup> Quoted in Williams, 2006: 26.

<sup>1194</sup> Ashmole, 1985: 60. See Murley, 2012: 115.

<sup>1195</sup> Kurtz, 1985: 9.

again at Oxford, their relationship became closer and in 1918, Warren paid for Beazley to travel to the United States to study the Classical material there.<sup>1196</sup> Beazley was one of many young men whom Warren funded from his considerable wealth.<sup>1197</sup> This patronage and support was part of Warren's deliberate attempt to recreate the mentorship element which he observed between older and younger men in ancient Greek *paederastia*, as Section 2 will explore.<sup>1198</sup> His conception of this relationship, as we have seen, was drawn from the Greek vases which he and Beazley studied, however, we should not assume there was a physical side to their relationship, despite some speculation about Beazley's sexuality.<sup>1199</sup>

Beazley's research in America generated his first publication *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* (1918).<sup>1200</sup> This book paid particular attention to the vases Warren and Marshall had acquired for Boston and New York, dedicating the book to them and thanking them for their 'unwearied labour in building up the magnificent collections of vases in America', for their 'kindness' to him and for being able to use Warren's own drawings of vases for illustration.<sup>1201</sup> Throughout his life, Beazley would remain particularly interested in the collections they had created at these museums, especially because they provided him with fresh material not already known in Europe. Beazley did much to continue Warren's legacy, writing his obituary, as well as a chapter on 'Warren as Collector' for the posthumous biography of Warren produced by his friends, Osbert Burdett and E. H. Goddard.<sup>1202</sup> In both he stressed the importance of Warren and Marshall's collecting for the availability of ancient art for study and appreciation, not only the almost single-handed creation of the Boston and New York Classical departments, but also the donation to many smaller institutions. Beazley also assisted with the publication of *Attic Vase Painting in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Part 1* with the then curator of the Classical collections L.D. Caskey. The

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<sup>1196</sup> Green, 1989: 217.

<sup>1197</sup> Sox, 1991: 99.

<sup>1198</sup> For the connection between the study of ancient *paederastia* and mentorships between older and younger men in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries see Orrells, 2011.

<sup>1199</sup> On the nature of Beazley's friendship with student James Elroy Flecker at Oxford see Rowse, 1989: 287-297; Boardman, 2001: 128-138: n.9, 10; Green, 1989: 184. On Beazley's wife as a 'beard' see Percy, 2010.

<sup>1200</sup> Beazley, 1918: VII.

<sup>1201</sup> Beazley, 1918: VII.

<sup>1202</sup> Beazley, J. D. (1929). 'Obituary Edward Perry Warren', *The Times*, 7/1/1929; Beazley, 1941.

second part, which he wrote alone after Caskey's death, begins with a dedication to Warren and Marshall:

'I feel that in this place I should not fail to rememorate the names of the American and the Englishman to whom the great collection of Greek vases in Boston owes so much: Edward Perry Warren and his friend John Marshall'.<sup>1203</sup>

Unfortunately, most of Beazley's correspondence was destroyed on his death and, with much of Warren and Marshall's also missing, we have very little correspondence between them - only four letters remain. One letter between Warren and Mrs. Beazley dated 10<sup>th</sup> September 1921 shows that he and Beazley remained close friends until late in Warren's life and continued to share an interest in ancient art together. In it he jovially writes: 'Just the time for a visit from your husband. Tell him that a few antiquities... have arrived which he can't have seen unless he came here this summer. Don't tell him that they are all not very important.'<sup>1204</sup>

Beazley's interest in male courtship scene-types on Greek vases specifically, is almost certainly the product of the influence of Warren and Lewes House, at which Beazley made notes on what he called Warren's 'erotic' vases.<sup>1205</sup> His comments on such material show that he aligned himself with Warren's liberal attitude to sexual imagery, in comparison to more conservative responses.<sup>1206</sup> Beazley went on to collect several examples of such vases for his own collection, including the red-figure cup at the Ashmolean, previously in the Durand collection.<sup>1207</sup> He also had a copy made of the Warren Cup, which later he donated to the Ashmolean.<sup>1208</sup> It is likely the original was on display in Lewes House when Beazley was there, or otherwise he was especially shown it by Warren.

As well as owing a considerable debt to Warren's generous spending (on antiquities, on funding study trips), Beazley also owed an intellectual debt to Warren.

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<sup>1203</sup> Beazley and Caskey, 1954; Beazley, 1963.

<sup>1204</sup> Warren to Mrs. Beazley 10/09/1921, Beazley Archive, Oxford.

<sup>1205</sup> Beazley Archives, Oxford, although his own form of shorthand makes it very difficult to know what notes he made. See Green, 1989: 184.

<sup>1206</sup> Beazley, 1941: 354.

<sup>1207</sup> *Ashmolean*: AN G. 276. 45 2.3.

<sup>1208</sup> Williams, 2006: 26. The facsimile is illustrated in Johns, 1982: colour pl. 25 and fig. 84. See also Clarke and Larvey, 2003; Clarke, 1993: 277.

He later thanked him for 'placing his time, his scholarship and his experience at my disposal'.<sup>1209</sup> He respected Warren and Marshall's scholarship, seemingly more so than others at Oxford had, describing Marshall as 'knowing more about ancient art than any other Englishman' with Warren 'not far short of him'.<sup>1210</sup> Beazley has been described as Warren's 'closest intellectual heir' and he clearly attempted to continue Warren and Marshall's work which had influenced him so greatly and taught him so much at the start of his own career.<sup>1211</sup> He was responsible for saving Warren and Marshall's personal papers containing much unpublished scholarship, now at Oxford.<sup>1212</sup> However, he also preserved their work by developing what they had taught him, in his own studies. It is clear that, as well as sharing academic ideas, Beazley had access to Warren and Marshall's notes and sketches of vases at Lewes, such as those we have examined above.

It seems very likely that Warren shared with Beazley his study of homoerotic vases and the beginnings of a catalogue of these scenes which he had started. Warren's findings on these vases are the precursor to Beazley's later comprehensive classification. The use of the label 'courtship' in reference to encounters between men and boys on Greek vase-painting, which Beazley has been credited with being the first to use in 1947, was used by Marshall in reference to gift-giving scenes in his notebook of c. 1900.<sup>1213</sup> There is a striking similarity between Warren and Beazley's identification of the 'Alpha' scene-type as a sexual encounter between men.<sup>1214</sup> For example, Beazley's influential 'up and down' label echoes Warren and Marshall's notes which describe the elder man with his 'hand down'.<sup>1215</sup>

Prior to his landmark publication in 1947 Beazley published observations which closely resemble Warren's, in an article of 1929 on material from excavations at Naucratis. He describes herein two fragments showing men 'courting'.<sup>1216</sup> On one a

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<sup>1209</sup> Beazley, 1918: 9.

<sup>1210</sup> Beazley, J. D. 'Obituary Edward Perry Warren', *The Times*, 7/1/1929: 3; Green, 1989: 183; See Sox, 1991: 97.

<sup>1211</sup> Green, 1989: 183.

<sup>1212</sup> See Sox, 1991: 98.

<sup>1213</sup> Shapiro, 1981 1981: 401; Edward Perry Warren Archives, Sackler Library (20:2598f).

<sup>1214</sup> Beazley, 1989: 4, 8, 9, 12, 13.

<sup>1215</sup> Beazley, 1989: 4. Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (1.1411).

<sup>1216</sup> Beazley and Payne, 1929: 260, 267. One of the fragments was discussed and illustrated in Petrie's 1886 excavation report (Petrie, 1866: 20) but only to discuss the date, not the subject matter.

man 'puts out his hands, one up and one down' - a pre-cursor to the simplified 'up and down' label he uses later.<sup>1217</sup> In this fragment we see only the disembodied arms and hands of the *erastes* reaching out to the *eromenos* and they go down to his genitals and up past his shoulder, the precise spot lost. The other fragment (now in the British Museum) shows the partial faces and chests of both figures, with their hands on each other's chins.<sup>1218</sup> In his description Beazley fills in the missing features, stating that the missing portion of the second fragment must have shown the right hand of the *erastes* 'in the same position' as in the other fragment, i.e. reaching for the genitals of the *eromenos* and 'the man's legs must have been bent at the knee'.<sup>1219</sup> We see that these two fragments together make up one complete 'Alpha' scene-type. Beazley makes reference to the 'up and down' gesture, and the bended knees of the *erastes*, both already identified by Warren. Beazley is clearly aware of this as a repeated motif: 'The group of man and boy is a favourite in Attic black-figure from the second quarter of the sixth century onwards. The degree of intimacy varies.'<sup>1220</sup> It is likely Warren drew his attention to the fact that this is a repeated scene-type. That Beazley first made these observations in 1929 at a time when he had recently been in touch with Warren, who died in 1928, and thus much earlier on in his career than has been generally acknowledged, adds weight to the notion that Warren's scholarship was influential upon him as he developed his ideas.<sup>1221</sup> If they had first appeared only in 1947 they would more likely be the product of the subsequent two decades of research without Warren. It seems Beazley saw the value of the observations Warren and Marshall had made and wanted to develop them into a publication as part of his mission to continue their intellectual, as well as connoisseurial, legacy. Beazley was the product of this important late nineteenth and early twentieth century development in the recognition of visual material as evidence of ancient male-male relationships. In the next section we will see how these were transformed into a sexual ideal for the modern world.

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<sup>1217</sup> Beazley and Payne, 1929; 267.

<sup>1218</sup> Beazley and Payne, 1929; pl. XVI Figs. 3 and 5. This is British Museum: B600.28.

<sup>1219</sup> Beazley and Payne, 1929: 260.

<sup>1220</sup> Beazley and Payne, 1929: 260.

<sup>1221</sup> See also Licht, 1971, trans. Freese: 441 who says 'the pictures on the cups of this period so often realistically present' the 'wooing' of boys.

## Section 2: Performing *paederastia*: sexual antiquities and modern sexual identity

This section illustrates the way in which late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century collection and study of ancient sexual imagery - and the knowledge we have seen was drawn from this visual evidence about ancient relationships between men - informed, and was informed by, discourses around modern same-sex desire. As we saw in the introductory chapter, a substantial scholarship exists on the role of antiquity in the formation of modern sexual identities in this period, as sexual behaviour was increasingly scrutinised and increasingly seen to define a person's identity. Much has been written on the way in which, especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, a wide range of researchers, artists, poets, writers and reformers, turned to Greece,<sup>1222</sup> in particular, to think through their own and others' attraction to the same sex.<sup>1223</sup> However, this has largely focused on receptions of literary antiquity. Where homoeroticism and ancient material culture have been considered, research has centred on the sexualised aesthetic appreciation of Classical and neo-Classical male nudes, emanating from Enlightenment art history and Winckelmann, with only a limited attempt to link expressly the reception of material antiquity with the important developments in sexual identity, especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>1224</sup> In this section, antiquities with overtly sexual imagery, in addition to statuary and other material, are found to be an important site for negotiating the ancient past and modern sexuality, and this therefore contributes to a sparse scholarly area of study, for example in the work of Whitney Davis.<sup>1225</sup> As we will see, ancient material culture provided an alternative model of sexual, social and political norms around sexuality and gender for comparison with contemporary Christian, heteronormative, Western culture.

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<sup>1222</sup> A publication is forthcoming on the reception of Rome and modern same sex identity, see Grove, Forthcoming.

<sup>1223</sup> Halperin, 1990; Dowling, 1994; Davidson, 2001; Aldrich, 1993; Blanshard, 2010; Dellamora, 1990; Edsall, 2003; Gifford, 1995; Kaylor, 2006; Matzner, 2010; Mader, 2005; D'Arch Smith, 1970; Eglinton, 1965; Orrells, 2011; Verstraete and Provencal, 2005.

<sup>1224</sup> On Winckelmann and homoeroticism see Aldrich, 1993: 50f; Dellamora, 1990; Potts, 1994; Flavell, 1979; Honour, 1968. On the connection between ancient material culture and sexual identities see Aldrich, 1993; Potvin and Myzelev, 2009; Potvin, 2011; Cook, 2012; Davis, 2001; Davis, 2010; Davis, 2008. See also Orrells, 2011: Ch. 2; Dowling, 1994: 90.

<sup>1225</sup> Davis, 2001; Davis, 2010; Davis, 2008. See also Aldrich, 1993: 17.

## 2.1 Antiquities and interconnected debates on same-sex desire

Many of the pioneers in the study of ancient homoeroticism and ancient visual culture considered above were informed in their scholarly and aesthetic interests by personal sexual preferences, socio-political ideals regarding sexual lifestyles and research interests into modern sexuality. This has particular significance for the history of the study of Greek vase-painting. Important developments in this field were shaped by a special interest in sexuality and by the homoerotic inclinations of many of the key figures - Hartwig, Warren, Marshall, and perhaps Beazley - who were motivated by their own erotic interests to share with each other images of ancient men in sexual encounters.<sup>1226</sup> Hartwig and his close friend Friedrich Hauser, who also acted as Warren's agent for a while, were part of what has been described as a 'German expatriate homosexual community' of archaeologists and collectors living in Rome.<sup>1227</sup> They were joined in this scene at the turn of the twentieth century by Warren and Marshall, who were collecting and life partners at that time and themselves part of an all-male community in Sussex, England. Marshall would later leave Warren and the community to marry, in a 'betrayal of their common ideal', according to their friends.<sup>1228</sup> Paul Brandt, also a Classicist and expert in ancient sexual imagery, was motivated in his interest in ancient material by a personal homoeroticism also expressed in a literary collection put together with his partner Werner von Bleichroeder, which represented a variety of modern 'homoeroticist visual fantasy' and included neo-Classical elements.<sup>1229</sup>

Brandt, as we have seen, was also connected with sexological research which employed historical and archaeological methodologies to investigate same-sex desires and often to bring about moral and legal change in regards to this, and other, non-normative sexualities. Increasingly well documented is the role of Plato and other

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<sup>1226</sup> On Hartwig's sexuality and his interest in homoerotic antiquities see Murley, 2012: 85; Dyson, 2006: 149. On Warren and Marshall's sexual preferences and their prolific collecting of homoerotic antiquities see below. On Beazley's sexuality see n. 217 of this chapter.

<sup>1227</sup> On Hartwig and Hauser in Rome see Murley, 2012: 85; Dyson, 2006: 149.

<sup>1228</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 240. Marshall had earlier 'threatened' to marry when he and Warren fell out. In 1907 he married Warren's cousin, Mary Bliss and took her to live with him in Rome, Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 226; Dyson, 2006: 151. Marshall's notebooks sometimes mention his attraction for women, Edward Perry Warren archive, Sackler library (20.1205).

<sup>1229</sup> Brandt's collection is described in Weigel, 1930. See Davis, 2001: 249.



ancient literary sources in medical and wider discourses which attempted to use the example of ancient practice to classify and emancipate same-sex sexual desire. This has been identified in the work of the German writer, often seen as the father of Sexology, Karl Heinrich Ulrich, as well as John Addington Symonds, who used his Classical research into ancient Greek *paederastia* in his work with British physician and psychologist Henry Havelock Ellis and their publication *Sexual Inversion*, (a common parlance for same-sex desire at that time).<sup>1230</sup> However, as in other contexts, the reception of ancient literature has been the focus of scholarship on such connections.

The Vienna *Institut für Sexualforschung*, as we have seen, was assisted in their *Bilderlexikon der Erotik* of 1928 by Brandt in their selection of ancient visual evidence of male-male sex. They used his expertise in sexual antiquities in a historical and cultural analysis of same-sex desire, which they combined with psychological and biological research in order to better understand modern sexualities. Brandt and his partner Bleichroeder were also affiliated with Magnus Hirschfeld and his Berlin *Institut für Sexualwissenschaft*'s prodigious research and political campaigning for the emancipation of modern same-sex love.<sup>1231</sup> Brandt's involvement, as the last chapter pointed out, hints at an especial interest in sexual antiquities by Hirschfeld's institute, which very likely included the study or collection of Classical homoerotic material. The visual connection between homoeroticism and antiquity is shown in a photograph of the inside of the institute above whose door hangs a large plaque of Antinous, the Roman emperor Hadrian's beloved, whose name and sculptural form became ubiquitous in nineteenth-century homoerotic discourse.<sup>1232</sup>

The history of Warren's study and collection of ancient images of male-male sex also contributes to our understanding of same-sex desire and social change in its connection with Oxford Hellenism (the Victorian philosophical and literary movement which had been since the 1860s largely steered towards the study of Plato by the don

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<sup>1230</sup> Halperin, 1990: 16-18; Aldrich, 1993: 110-168; Matzner, 2010; Verstraete and Provencal, 2005; Funke, 2013.

<sup>1231</sup> Magnus Hirschfeld archives, Berlin. On Brandt and Bleichroeder affiliated with Hirschfeld see Davis, 2001: 205.

<sup>1232</sup> For the image see <http://www.hirschfeld.in-berlin.de>, accessed 3/5/13. For Antinous and modern homoeroticism see Blanshard, 2010, Waters, 1995; : 111-113.

Benjamin Jowett), as well as wider related artistic and aesthetic movements.<sup>1233</sup> The modern expression, negotiation and defence of 'Greek Love', via ancient literature and to an extent sculpture, has been connected with such major Oxonians as Oscar Wilde, Walter Pater and Symonds (the latter's straddling of several fields in the study of sexuality demonstrating the interconnectivity of these discourses).<sup>1234</sup> Warren, who forms the focus of this remaining chapter, is largely missing from these histories. However, studying at Oxford in the 1880s and connected to such relevant groups of people as Wilde's circle, the Uranian writers, and the Bloomsbury set, Warren's life and work spans across much of this significant period in the history of modern sexuality. Studying under Pater, Warren shows how his cult of aestheticism and philhellenism developed in the early twentieth century. Crucially, Warren is key to understanding the role of Archaeology and collecting culture as these engaged with the movements of sexual ideology and reform. An American, Warren began studying at Harvard but moved to England in 1883 to New College, Oxford, where he found solace in the Classically-inspired homosocial, if not homoerotic, atmosphere.<sup>1235</sup> Warren would later recreate this environment when he set up Lewes House as a space for all-male, masculine communal living: 'the seed cell of his Uranian creed and cause'.<sup>1236</sup>

Warren particularly demonstrates the link between material culture and the group of writers posthumously given the label 'Uranians'. These were Anglo-American poets and writers, writing between the 1880s and 1930s on desire for younger men and frequently eluding to Hellenic motifs, in particular the 'heavenly' (Uranian) love of boys.<sup>1237</sup> Michael Kaylor has recently argued that such major Victorians as Pater and

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<sup>1233</sup> See especially Dowling, 1994; Orrells, 2011.

<sup>1234</sup> Dowling, 1994; Orrells, 2011; Kaylor, 2006.

<sup>1235</sup> Burdett, 1941: 56. On Oxford see Dowling, 1994.

<sup>1236</sup> Green, 1989: 112.

<sup>1237</sup> D'Arch Smith, 1970 first proposed a definable 'group' of 'Uranians', building upon the earlier publication by Walter Breen, under the pseudonym J Z Eglinton, Eglinton, 1965. d'Arch Smith shows that they did not necessarily adopt the label themselves or see themselves as part of a self-conscious 'movement' but 'nonetheless there was a... certain coherence of purpose, a concentration of precisely similar philosophies at precisely similar times' (196). Mader, 2005: 380-2 has shown that there was significant correspondence between particularly English and American Uranians and argues that they should be viewed as a single group not 'divided by an ocean'. For other recent scholarship on the Uranians see Kaylor, 2006; Matzner, 2010; Dowling, 1994: 114-149. I find convincing Kaylor's challenge to the widely held belief that the word 'Uranian' used by British (and American) poets and authors is an Anglicized version of the German 'urning', first used by Karl Heinrich Ulrich in 1864 to describe men who desired men, including himself. Kaylor argues the British Uranians, being mostly Classicists, likely

Wilde should be considered 'Uranians'. He attempts 'a corrective interpretation, hoping to demarcate the distinctly paederastic elements' of their writing previously overlooked.<sup>1238</sup> Warren has been included in this list.<sup>1239</sup> He wrote 'Uranian' poetry and, like Symonds - fellow 'Uranian' and former Oxonian whom he admired, , apologist prose on the virtues of the ancient model of *paederastia*. Warren's *Defence of Uranian Love* – 'at once theoretical, idealistic but also personal' – set out his proposal for the revival of ancient pederasty in the form of a 'Uranian Ideal': a sexual, social and political philosophy for modern life.<sup>1240</sup> Warren links this literary movement to the collection and appreciation of material culture in this period. In his *Defence* Warren called for the revival of precisely the model of 'harder and sterner' ancient pederasty that we have seen he drew from visual culture - a virile and physical male-male attachment, yet still balanced by moral concerns.

It is clear that there was a strong correlation between Warren's relationship with the past, with material culture and with his sexual ideals. 'Being born with a strong visual and tactile sense', Warren's friends and biographers, Burdett and Goddard describe, he 'never fell into the common error of over-emphasis on the literary and philological side of the Classics'.<sup>1241</sup> We have already seen that, for Warren, ancient imagery was able to communicate a truth about the ethics and aesthetics of the past. Warren clearly followed the Winckelmannian idea, sanctified by Walter Pater's essay in 1873 which had inspired a new generation of men, that 'the love of beautiful young men was connected with the spirit of Greek sculpture'.<sup>1243</sup> Warren and Marshall's notes and scholarship confirm that there was a reciprocal engagement between their admiration

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appropriated the term themselves directly from the Greek. They do not seem to have been associated with the German same-sex apologist movement until after 'Uranian' was in common use amongst their own circles and furthermore the British Uranians promoted a specifically paederastic relationship and did not identify with Ulrich's idea of a female psyche trapped in a man's body (Kaylor, 2006; xiii). Other Uranians have been identified as William Johnson Cory, Lord Alfred Douglas, Montague Summers, Charles Kains Jackson, Rev. E. E. Bradford, Edmund John, John Moray Stuart-Young, Charles Edward Sayle and Fabian S. Woodley, see Mader, 2005; D'Arch Smith, 1970.

<sup>1238</sup> Kaylor, 2006: v.

<sup>1239</sup> Mader, 2005 includes Warren in his list of Uranians.

<sup>1240</sup> Kaylor, 2009: lxxxiii.

<sup>1241</sup> Burdett, 1941: 265.

<sup>1243</sup> Sox, 1991: 17. On Warren and this idea see Sox, 1991: 17; Green, 1989: 88. On Winckelmann and homoerotic appreciation of statuary see Aldrich, 1993; Dellamora, 1990; Potts, 1994; Flavell, 1979; Honour, 1968. On Pater's reception of Winckelmann's idea see Aldrich, 1993: 41; Evangelista, 2009: 34. Orrells, 2011: 123-4; Davis, 2010.

for real and sculptured men, as Pater had described of Winckelmann.<sup>1244</sup> In the *Defence* Warren described the ancient *erastes*' engagement with statuary of young men: 'seeing their firm outlines and hard muscles immortalised in sculpture... he was... occupied with the contemplation of... the power and glory of the masculine'.<sup>1245</sup> The modern boy-lover could replicate this experience by looking at the very same objects brought down to him from antiquity. Warren's autobiographical fragment, which is printed in the biography produced by his friends, describes his erotic appreciation of statuary as a young boy and a school friend with the appearance of a statue of Antinous, that emblem of Victorian philhellenist homoeroticism.<sup>1246</sup> Descriptions of Warren's erotically charged tactile engagement with male nudes echo Pater's well-known description of Winckelmann in which he 'fingers those pagan marbles ... that is to deal with the sensuous side of art in the pagan manner'.<sup>1247</sup> A set photographs of Warren cradling a Classical male nude torso in the garden at Lewes House, has been used as evidence of his corporal engagement with sculpture, as has his and Marshall's eroticised analysis of the genital areas of statues.<sup>1248</sup> They identified a method of distinguishing Attic sculpture from the shape of the 'pelvic line'. In the summer of 1893 on a trip away in Rome, Marshall wrote to Warren on the treatment of the public region of various statuary, declaring 'those beastly *Hebungen* ['swellings'] will be the only thing to rescue me from blank despair... for I feel very lonely here'.<sup>1249</sup> Here we see their desire for each other also negotiated through their reception of statuary.

However, while homoerotic engagement with sculpture has been well remarked upon, Warren shows us that the 'Greek spirit' could be found embodied in a range of material, most notably that depicting men in erotic encounters. This imagery which had inspired ancient Greek and Roman *symposiasts* and lovers had been passed down to

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<sup>1244</sup> He describes the German classicist's 'friendships' with young men, who are rated against standards of male beauty in Classical art, and which in turn 'perfected his reconciliation to the spirit of Greek sculpture', Pater, 1980: 152. See also Aldrich, 1993: 41; Evangelista, 2009: 34; Orrells, 2011: 123-4; Dellamora, 1990: 110.

<sup>1245</sup> Warren, 2009: 85.

<sup>1246</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 16.

<sup>1247</sup> Pater, 1980: 177. See also E M Forster's early twentieth-century 'Classical Annex' in which a young man is seduced by a Classical statue of an athlete, Forster, 1972 (published posthumously), see Doloff, 2014; Kaylor, 2006: 404.

<sup>1248</sup> Green, 1989: 88; Murley, 2012: 98-100; Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 183; Edward Perry Warren Archives, Sackler Library (1, 18, 20, 26, 27).

<sup>1249</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 183.

inspire Warren afresh when he acquired it at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>1250</sup> As we have seen, for Warren, these images revealed the real lives of ancient peoples. They provided an alternative picture of society to the heteronormative, feminised and puritanical contemporary Christian West, as he perceived it. They revealed a ‘Pagan’ and ‘healthy’ attitude to sex and the body but crucially a masculine-centred society and inequality of the sexes which valued the celebration of masculine beauty, manly virtues and male-male attachments over women and marriage. Although previous commentary has noted the accordance between Warren’s sexual antiquities and the ideals underpinning his lifestyle and beliefs,<sup>1251</sup> in this section I pick apart how these images allowed Warren to develop the different aspects of his ‘Uranian Ideal’ for modern life.

## 2.2 Theoretical considerations for the reception of ancient homoerotics

The way in which antiquity has been appropriated and deployed in modern discourses on same-sex desire has been debated in regards to the reception of ancient literature. We can apply these various models to the understanding of the role of material culture also. Recently, attention has been drawn to a notion that references to Greece and Rome in earlier periods were a means of evasion, a coded way to enable men who desired men to speak safely of their desires within a hostile legal and cultural climate.<sup>1252</sup> Challenging this is the argument that ‘Greece’ did not simply signify a generalised, homogenous homoerotic desire but that identifying with antiquity was a complex process in which specific, and often varied, aspects of ancient male-male attachment were drawn from a variety of (literary) sources.<sup>1253</sup> We have seen in the previous section that specific types of ancient visual evidence too revealed very precise values about male-male relationships for those that studied them. This was true also of

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<sup>1250</sup> On Warren and the Warren Cup see Kaylor, 2006: 42, see also xxv.

<sup>1251</sup> Sox, 1991; Green, 1989; Davis, 2001: 248; Kaylor, 2009; Percy, 2009; Percy, 2010; Murley, 2012: 87; Williams, 2006, Potvin and Myzelev, 2009.

<sup>1252</sup> Mader, 2005: 388 on D’arch Smith 1970 180-187; Orrells, 2011: 17, 22, 218 (on Jenkyns, 1980: 292). Dowling, 1994: 28 suggests that through Hellenism, particularly within the intellectual confines of Oxford University, the ‘love that dare not speak its name’ could be spoken of to those who knew their ancient history, as *paiderastia*, Greek love’. Blanshard, 2010: 139 describes the Enlightenment use of ‘Greek Love’ as ‘code’ for ‘sodomy’. Mader, 2005: 388 critiquing this model, links it to a 1970s self congratulatory idea of being more open than scholarly predecessors, thus being able to identify and de-code the use of Greece in the Victorian age.

<sup>1253</sup> Mader, 2005: 388; Orrells, 2011: 22.

their role in negotiating modern same-sex desires. We should not imagine, for example, that when Warren and his friends exchanged vases painted with scenes in which an older and younger man embrace and engage in sexual petting, that this was simply a cunning method of safely sharing their preference for men.<sup>1254</sup> As we will see, this material allowed them to say something specific about this relationship.

Another method of reception tells of engagement with antiquity 'confirming' innate feelings and ideas about same-sex desire. David Mader has evoked the image of a 'Greek mirror': when Uranians read Greek literature they saw their own desires and ideals.<sup>1255</sup> Found often in homoerotic writing of the nineteenth and early twentieth century is the story of a revelatory first reading of a Platonic dialogue, usually the *Symposium*, in which the reader proclaims to have found a mirror of their own most secret thoughts. 'It was just as though the voice of my own soul spoke to me through Plato', wrote Symonds in his memoirs.<sup>1256</sup> These readers, in a world of Christian intolerance, find their first positive image of desire between men in the cradle of civilisation itself. Warren describes this experience for the fictional 'boy lover' of his *Defence*, an account of growing up which is at least partially autobiographical:

'He has wanted to know that he is legitimately in relation with what is morally great and healthy. His love has led him to search for it in Greece where he finds a conception and scheme of values correspondent to his best and wisest desires'.<sup>1257</sup>

In reference to himself Warren stated that Plato had 'confirmed some of his ideas' but that this account of boy-love was not satisfactory, and the 'conception and scheme of

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<sup>1254</sup> See Mader, 2005: 388.

<sup>1255</sup> Mader, 2005.

<sup>1256</sup> Symonds, 1984: 160-2. Lytton Strachey of the 'Bloomsbury Set' declared in his diary in 13/11/1896: 'With a rush of mingled pleasure and pain... of surprise, relief, and fear to know that what I feel now was felt 2,000 years ago in glorious Greece', quoted in Strachey, 1971: 82. Warren's short story *A Tale of Pausanian Love*, written in 1887, which takes its title from the speech of Pausanias in Plato's *Symposium*, describes a first reading: 'it expressed to me much that might have been dark to me otherwise... a new world open to me was full of doubts and difficulties but also of beauties'. Although he then explains that he had 'gone beyond' Plato, Warren, 1927, 25. This storyline is strikingly similar to Forster's *Maurice* and in both we see one undergraduate make reference to reading the *Symposium* as a way of introducing his erotic feelings for men to another, Warren, 1927: 13; Forster, 1972: 56. Warren's work was published in 1927 but Forster's was written in 1914, and there is no evidence to suggest he knew about Warren's.

<sup>1257</sup> Warren, 2009: 89.

values correspondent to his best and wisest desires' was, as we will see, found when he looked upon material culture.<sup>1258</sup>

A further method of reception suggests an organic development of identity through engagement with antiquity. This is not to suggest that sexuality can only emerge from learning the 'Classics', but that notions of self-identity could be developed in conjunction with learning about antiquity, as opposed to a fully-formed sexual-cultural politics expressed or defended through a 'conscious and deliberate strategy' of employing ancient models.<sup>1259</sup> Certainly the wider social construction of ideas around same-sex desire has been identified as having been developed through the West's relationship with ancient Greece.<sup>1260</sup> Symonds drew attention to this organic effect and had been concerned about it. He told Benjamin Jowett that studying Plato within the atmosphere of the intimate tutorial systems at Oxford could be 'injurious' in its revelatory effect on certain 'predisposed young men', awakening their desire for their own sex.<sup>1261</sup> It was injurious because once they went out into the real world they would suffer only moral and legal persecution. Warren's friends describe how he would 'grow into, rather than learn about, the Greek spirit'.<sup>1262</sup> Warren and Marshall's notebooks show that their study of vases was being carried out at the same time as, or earlier than, their reading of key ancient texts and modern commentaries elsewhere on ancient *paederastia*.<sup>1263</sup> This suggests that engaging with material culture played an important role in the early formation of Warren's theory of ideal erotic relationships. Warren had a lifelong relationship with antiquity, particularly through his intense collection and study of its material remains, which became inseparable from his personal, social and political ideals. Their friend and academic mentor Professor Curtis Lowry described Warren and Marshall's lives as:

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<sup>1258</sup> Letter Warren to Marshall 1889, quoted in Sox, 1991: 43.

<sup>1259</sup> Mader, 2005: 388.

<sup>1260</sup> See Gifford, 1995; Halperin, 2002; Halperin, 1990; Verstraete and Provencal, 2005; Edsall, 2003.

<sup>1261</sup> Symonds to Jowett 1/02/1889. See Bristow, 1998: 89; Orrells, 2011: 147; Funke, 2013.

<sup>1262</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 365. See also Kaylor, 2009: xxiii.

<sup>1263</sup> For example, Warren's notes show that, in 1894, two years after he began studying and collecting vases, he first read Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker's *Sappho von einem herrschenden Vorurtheil befreit* (1814), a key modern study for other scholars of ancient pederasty. He makes notes on Welcker's references to Xenophon's *Symposium* and Lucian's *Amores*, two ancient texts that are commonly referenced for evidence of Greek and Roman attitudes to pederasty, Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library, 8.3063ff.

'only properly understood by bearing in mind their thorough grounding in the Classics at Oxford; and their collections for the Museums at Boston and New York, the splendid antique Classical departments of which they established... As they understood it, life revealed itself in its truest meaning in Greek Art... their choice was the outcome of a systematic, artistic and wide knowledge of the antique.'<sup>1264</sup>

Burdett and Goddard describe the holistic effect of Warren's love of antiquities as producing a 'devotion' to what they call his 'Greek ideal', which was 'persistent and unwavering throughout Warren's whole life. Indeed it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that every one of his actions and schemes was either directed towards, or motivated by, this ideal'.<sup>1265</sup>

Coming full circle we find that reference to Greece is not merely a euphemism for contemporary feelings but that ancient modes of life are thought to be transposable into modernity.<sup>1266</sup> It is clear that Warren saw 'Greece' 'not merely as an inspiration but as a model to be imitated in modern life'.<sup>1267</sup> This idea of reception framed as a 'revival' had, again, concerned Symonds, who expressed many doubts about its practicalities: 'Greek Love finds no place in modern life and has never found one'.<sup>1268</sup> Warren's friends also doubted the practicalities of his insistence on Uranian 'revival', though not for legal or moral reasons, necessarily. Their comments, however, show that Warren was in some ways considered more likely to be able to achieve this return to antiquity than others, because of his immersive engagement with antiquity:

'It may be doubted, perhaps, whether it is really possible for a modern to 'feel' like a Greek.... But there is in all humanity a sort of recapitulation of the past which makes it plausible to believe that we have within us a sublimated or metamorphosed summary of past human history.... While one man

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<sup>1264</sup> Curtis, L. 'In Memoriam Edward Perry Warren and John Marshall' quoted in Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 412-3. See Green, 1989: 92: '[Warren] had decided that the Hellenic idea was unintelligible without art'.

<sup>1265</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 366.

<sup>1266</sup> Orrells, 2011: 17, 43.

<sup>1267</sup> Edsall, 2003: 191.

<sup>1268</sup> Thwaite, 1984: 182. See Funke, 2013: esp. 142.



may be incapable of being wholly both a modern Westerner and a Hellene, he may have 'known' the Hellenic Eros more completely than the rest of us'.<sup>1269</sup>

This last statement could be taken to refer to Warren's embracing the physical side of pederasty. However, it also suggests a holistic relationship with the Classical past, using more than one sense to engage with it, both the intellectual and the 'visual and tactile'. This idea of 'a modern thinker capable of intellectually travelling back and forth in time', as Daniel Orrells has put it, through a tactile and visual engagement with antiquity, is something which also characterises Winckelmann's Classical reception.<sup>1270</sup> Pater's description of Winckelmann resembles Warren's friend's statement above:

'to most of us, after all our steps towards it, the antique world, in spite of its intense outlines, its own perfect self-expression, still remains faint and remote. To him ... it early came to seem more real than the present'.<sup>1271</sup>

Warren also expressed a feeling of 'separation from modern life'.<sup>1272</sup> In the *Defence* he stresses a dichotomy between 'Greece' and 'the modern world': the two values systems between which the 'boy-lover' can choose. The 'boy-lover' feels out of place in a modern, Christian society in which marriage is the only acceptable relationship model.<sup>1273</sup> The 'sexual morals' he holds are now are considered depraved, he says, but 'among the ancients would have attracted little attention'.<sup>1274</sup> We have established that Warren's relationship with antiquity through a visual and tactile engagement with the past was fundamental to his identity, not simply a code for sexual desire. We now continue by examining how this identity developed with reference to the precise values of ancient sexual culture he drew from visual evidence.

### 2.3 Debates over age difference

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<sup>1269</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 388-9, see also 377.

<sup>1270</sup> Orrells, 2011: 20; Winckelmann, 2006, trans. Mallgrave: 334.

<sup>1271</sup> Symonds had also described Walt Whitman as 'more truly Greek than any other man of modern times', quoted in Dowling, 1994: 90.

<sup>1272</sup> Letter Warren to Marshall, 1889, quoted in Sox, 1991: 43.

<sup>1273</sup> Warren, 2009: 38, 74.

<sup>1274</sup> Warren, 2009: 74.

The fundamental value on which Warren's sexual ideal was based was an age disparity between male lovers. As many had done before him, Warren observed that, in antiquity, homoerotic desire was most often directed towards younger men or boys, and it was this, for which he used the label 'Uranian Love', that he wanted to revive in modern times. As his fellow 'Uranians' drew upon ancient literature, Warren also found this model visually presented by the deliberate markers of age which ancient artists had painted, moulded or hammered out on Greek and Roman vessels, as we have seen above. Warren endorsed this ideal of male attachments for the modern day in the *Defence*, in which he describes the journey of a 'Uranian' in the pursuit of 'love distinguished by inequality of age'.<sup>1275</sup> He expressed his own pederastic desires in his love poetry, directed to a lover in the 'bloom of boyhood and the Flush of Spring' ('for he is young and I am old').<sup>1276</sup> Written in 1902 when Warren was 42, these poems were addressed to Harold (Harry) Asa Thomas - a 'much younger friend'.<sup>1277</sup> Thomas came to live at Lewes House and later became Warren's secretary, eventually being left all of the Lewes House estate and contents on Warren's death.<sup>1278</sup>

In his 'Uranian Ideal', set out in the *Defence*, Warren distinguishes the 'love of boys' from that directed at adults or even young men. These relationships *not* based on age inequality he calls 'Pausanian Love'.<sup>1279</sup> In Plato's *Symposium* Pausanias describes 'Uranian Love' as 'not [of] boys, but intelligent beings, whose reason is beginning to be developed, much about the time at which their beards begin to grow'.<sup>1280</sup> Warren interprets this as a desire for men 'more or less adult'.<sup>1281</sup> We have seen that Warren and Marshall took special care to note the beardless faces of figures which they identify as 'boys' on Greek vases. As with the prescription of chastity,

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<sup>1275</sup> Warren, 2009: 22.

<sup>1276</sup> Warren, 1903: 50-51; 25-28. These poems are entitled 'Lad's Love' and 'The Loss'. See Kaylor, 2009: Ixix, Ixx. The first edition of poetry in 1902 was entitled *Itamos*, meaning 'reckless' or 'enthusiastic'. The second was *The Wild Rose* which Warren explained refers to the 'love of friends in Pagan Greece', being the alternative to the 'Garden Rose', the 'married love in Christendom', Warren, 2009: 93. See Carpenter, 1883 on Uranian Love as an alternative, uncorrupted alternative model to marriage.

<sup>1277</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 278. Warren addressed the 'love poems' to 'H', and David Sox has made a convincing case that this refers to Thomas, Sox, 1991 87.

<sup>1278</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 277.

<sup>1279</sup> Warren, 2009: 22.

<sup>1280</sup> The reference is *Symposium* 180e.

<sup>1281</sup> Warren, 2009: 22 n. 1. He clarifies that Pausanias describes the object of affection as not quite adults but young men.

Warren sees Plato's model of a desire for older males – as expressed through the mouth of Pausanias in the *Symposium* - as 'rare' in Greek thought.<sup>1282</sup> The desires of the 'Greeks in general' are found on Greek vases, as we have seen, and it is these ideas that Warren wanted to revive.<sup>1283</sup> As he found images of a fulfilling sex life between men on vases, so he found images of desire for non-adult males. Two of Warren's own vases in particular are of note in this regard. The black-figure *kylix* which Hartwig gave Warren and the black-figure lid top, both now in Boston, show *eromenoi* who are clearly not adult, indicated by their lack of beard but especially by their small size, highlighted by the pronounced bending of the *erastes*' knees, both features which Warren noted in vase-painting (figs. 26 and 29).<sup>1284</sup>

Warren's positioning as regards to the age of the modern *eromenos*, especially in reference to the Pausanian speech, spoke to a significant issue within the wider campaign for emancipation of male-male attachments. Others attempting sexual reform at this time, such as sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld and his circle in Germany, explicitly prescribed age-equal relations, suggesting that sex with a 'boy' should remain illegal.<sup>1285</sup> Much earlier, Karl Heinrich Ulrich, widely seen as the first sexual reformer, had proposed decriminalising a model in which 'an adult male, freely and of his own consent, complies with the proposals of an adult person of his own sex' but maintained prosecution for 'adult and a boy under age (the protected age to be decided as in the case of girls)'.<sup>1286</sup> Symonds had also promulgated this proposal of Ulrich's.<sup>1287</sup> Warren at no point specifies the age of the 'boy' but his deliberate rejection of 'Pausanian Love' and its interpretation as referring to adult men is significant and speaks directly to this previous work. Ulrich and Symonds had also drawn upon the Pausanian description of Uranian Love and agreed that it referred not to adults but specifically *not* to boys, again not specifying exactly where this divide should be. However, unlike Warren, they had argued that this model was the norm and not the anomaly in Greece, and both had used this as part of a defence of male-male love in modern culture, countering

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<sup>1282</sup> See Funke, 2013: 142.

<sup>1283</sup> Warren, 2009: 130.

<sup>1284</sup> MFA Boston 08.292; RES.08.30d.

<sup>1285</sup> Mader, 2005: 390.

<sup>1286</sup> Quoted in Symonds, 1896: 103.

<sup>1287</sup> Symonds, 1896: 103.

contemporary concerns about the corruption of youth.<sup>1288</sup> While Warren's 'Uranian Ideal' challenged these models being proposed by sexologists and others, he did not debate with, or even directly address his writing to, these wider medical and political debates, or propose any specific legal changes. Symonds, who in many ways other than on the age issue influenced Warren, prolifically communicated and even worked with sexologists and campaigners, as well as directly engaging with their work in his own writing.<sup>1289</sup> As we shall see again, in some ways Warren spoke directly to the ancient world.

Recently there has been a politically motivated attempt to construct the developments in this period as two opposing models of same-sex sexuality. This argument has criticised a monolithic history of the development of same-sex identity, and particularly the use of 'homosexuality' to describe all expressions of homoeroticism at this time.<sup>1290</sup> Michael Kaylor in particular has challenged the perception of major Victorians, such as Wilde and Pater, as important figures in the history of 'homosexuality', understood as an adult-adult relationship.<sup>1291</sup> This line of argument insists that we should see a distinct history of 'pederasty' alongside that of 'homosexuality'. Warren, who is perceived as drawing 'the line of demarcation clearly and accurately between the pederasty of Greco-Roman civilisation and the androphile homosexuality that pervades modern Europe and North America', has become an important figure for this movement.<sup>1292</sup> The first publically available publication of his *Defence* in 2009 was overtly framed as part of an attempt to remove the stigmatisation and criminalisation of pederasty in contemporary Western society: 'now ... the *Defence* will finally have an impact, one so dearly needed in this age of the demonised paederast'.<sup>1293</sup>

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<sup>1288</sup> Symonds, 1901: 33; Matzner, 2010: 80. See Funke, 2013: 142, 145.

<sup>1289</sup> Symonds worked with psychologist Henry Havelock Ellis on his publication *Sexual Inversion* (1897), see Dixon, 2009; Funke, 2013. Symonds's *A Problem in Modern Ethics* (1891) addresses a number of medical and political texts, such as Ulrich's works and Richard von Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886).

<sup>1290</sup> Kaylor, 2006: 21; D'Arch Smith, 1970: Xx; Percy, 1996: 9; Mader, 2005: 378; Eglinton, 1965: 7 (who claims to be the first to make the distinction between 'Greek Love' and 'adult homosexuality'). See Halperin, 2002: 136.

<sup>1291</sup> Kaylor, 2006: 21.

<sup>1292</sup> Percy, 1996: 9.

<sup>1293</sup> Percy, 2009: XV, see also vii. See also Mader, 2005: 378, 411; D'Arch Smith, 1970: xxi.

It is important to recognise Warren's sexual ideal, informed by the uniform motifs on Greek vases, as a pederastic attachment, as distinct from 'homosexuality' although not for the reasons which have motivated these recent political works but in order to identify the particular influence of antiquity on Warren's ideas. The two most recent biographies of Warren, David Sox' *Bachelors of art: Edward Perry Warren & the Lewes House Brotherhood* (1991) and Martin Green's *The Mount Vernon Street Warrens: a Boston story, 1860-1910* (1989) have tended to circumvent this issue. In an attempt to redress an imbalance in contemporary, or near contemporary, accounts of Warren's life which avoid the subject of same-sex sexuality altogether, Sox and Green are keen to point out Warren's 'homosexuality'.<sup>1294</sup> However, they do this without a comprehensive discussion on the difference between what is meant by 'homosexual' and 'pederast', and the (in)appropriateness of the former for Warren.<sup>1295</sup> For Sox, the use of 'Uranian Love' and 'Greek Love' are 'whimsical' and seen as largely a tactic for disguising 'homosexuality', in the way we discussed above.<sup>1296</sup> These works have not sufficiently explored the importance of the Classical model for Warren's sexual ideas. Other qualities taken from Greek precepts will be discussed later but this qualification of age-difference, which Warren found deliberately marked out on the Greek vases he collected, is the fundamental principal on which he based his philosophy. 'Uranian Love', for Warren, contained within it these, and other, values, and should not be taken as simply a code for any type of male-male desire.

This mirrors a related debate around the interpretation of the original ancient material. The social constructionist position in this debate argues that 'homosexual' is an inappropriate label for the normative model of ancient Greek same-sex relations, which should instead properly be described as 'pederastic'.<sup>1297</sup> The essentialist counter

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<sup>1294</sup> Green, 1989: xiii; See Green, 1989: 87, 96; Sox, 1991: 17; Sox, 1987: 22.

<sup>1295</sup> Sox, 1991: 17; Green, 1989: 17, 41-43, 49, 88. Green briefly mentions the distinction between pederasty and 'adult homosexual love' (226, see also 98).

<sup>1296</sup> Sox, 1991: 17. There is some discussion of the importance of Greece for Warren's sexual ideal on pages 17 and 96. See also D'Arch Smith, 1970: 388

<sup>1297</sup> Skinner, 2005: 10; Kaylor, 2006: 34. The social constructionist argument against using 'homosexuality' to refer to antiquity, most frequently centres, not on the age of the *eromenos*, that the notion of a sexual identity embodied in the homo-heterosexual paradigm did not exist in antiquity and was instead only developed in the late nineteenth century, Foucault, 1986: Vol. 2. 187-246; Halperin, 1990; Halperin, Winkler and Zeitlin, 1990. 'Homosexual' was first used to describe *behaviour* rather than identity, as in its first use in English by Symonds, the common term being 'invert' or 'Urning'. Some

to this argues that, not necessarily age-equal, but adult relationships were the norm, with relationships with boys being less institutionalised than previously thought, or even prohibited.<sup>1298</sup> As in the debates emerging in the late nineteenth century, the age of the 'boy' is central to this debate. James Davidson has come under particular criticism for his conjecture that sex was prohibited between men and boys under the age of eighteen, and that relationships between adult males were instead sanctioned.<sup>1299</sup> Critics include apologists for modern pederasty such as Thomas K Hubbard, who's *Greek Love Reconsidered* (2000) was published in conjunction with the North American Man Boy Love Association, the campaign to abolish age of consent laws criminalizing adult sexual involvement with minors. Hubbard suggests Davidson displays the type of 'political correctness' arising from 'contemporary anxieties over child sexual abuse' and concerns for 'equality' in same-sex relationships.<sup>1300</sup> Hubbard, and others, have criticised Davidson's contentious suggestion that vase-paintings of sexual activity between men and boys – in which Warren saw with 'clearness and precision' the relationship he wanted to revive in modern times – were condemnatory illustrations of what *not* to do.<sup>1301</sup> In particular Hubbard takes offence at the label 'sex pest' to describe the older, sexually aroused, man who fondles a young boy on the cup by the Brygos Painter, owned by Edmé Antoine Durand and John Beazley, now in the Ashmolean museum.<sup>1302</sup> As we saw above, this cup was decisive in the development of scholarly understanding of *paederastia* on vases, first by being recognised by Jean de Witte in his catalogue of the Durand Catalogue as depicting an *erastes/eromenos* relationship, which in turn influenced Warren and then Beazley, and again when Beazley's purchased it and began to build his comprehensive catalogue of pederasty on vases.

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scholars defend therefore using 'homosexual' to describe behaviour rather than a person, see Pollini, 1999: 22-25. Other more determined essentialists have defended the use of this label to describe a person, pointing to references to preferences for male-male sex than male-female, and to the label *cinaedi* which referred to a type of man considered 'effeminate', Richlin, 1993, 571. Kaylor, 2006: 36 suggests that a social constructionist position should be taken in regards to 'homosexuality' but that 'pederasty' should be treated ahistorically as this term and concept existed in antiquity.

<sup>1298</sup> See Davidson, 2007; Vickers and Nash Briggs, 2007: 48-50.

<sup>1299</sup> See Davidson, 2007: 69-70. On the criticism see Hubbard, 2009; Verstraete, 2009.

<sup>1300</sup> Hubbard, 2009.

<sup>1301</sup> Hubbard, 2009.

<sup>1302</sup> Hubbard, 2009. Ashmolean Museum: AN 1967.304. See Beazley, 1963: 378, 137; Shapiro, 2000: 31-2. Illustrated in Johns, 1982: 98.

One of the key features of the scene on this cup, which may explain why it has been especially recognisable as a pederastic encounter, and of interest to these scholars, is the very obvious age-disparity of the figures – shown especially by their relative sizes. This has also ensured its continued importance in the scholarship of ancient same-sex relations. Widespread criticism was directed at the Ashmolean's decision to give the cup the display label 'paedophile and victim'. This implies, it was argued, not an institutionalised attachment, but an abusive encounter, in the modern sense of a taboo act which is also culturally conceived to be psychologically damaging to the 'victim'.<sup>1303</sup> Michael Vickers, the museum's Curator of Greek and Roman Antiquities, defended the appropriateness of the label, suggesting that 'the view that 'boy-love', for want of a better term, was prevalent, indeed acceptable, among ancient Greeks though widespread is inaccurate... If the phenomenon existed at all, it was among a small coterie, and was generally frowned upon'.<sup>1304</sup> Vickers disputes the idea that we saw developed at the turn of the twentieth century, namely that 'pictures on pots represented first-hand, quasi-photographic, evidence of the daily life of Athenians, and that images of childhood, even the most abusive, might reflect the daily experience of the average juvenile'.<sup>1305</sup> Since they make up a proportionately small number of extant vase-painting, Vickers argues, this suggests the practice was not in any way as widely accepted as the scholarly consensus allows.<sup>1306</sup> The label was subsequently changed to 'Man and boy making love. The nature of Greek homosexual love is the subject of current academic debate'.

Warren's early twentieth-century promulgation of the type of attachment he found on Greek vases included a common Uranian motif, which David Mader has dubbed the 'valorisation of the asymmetrical'.<sup>1307</sup> The importance of an inbuilt inequality in the

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<sup>1303</sup> An online campaign centred around the H-HISTSEX list-serv in June 2010. See [http://www.williamapercy.com/wiki/index.php?title=Vickers%27 Scandalous Caption and the Library of Congress](http://www.williamapercy.com/wiki/index.php?title=Vickers%27%20Scandalous%20Caption%20and%20the%20Library%20of%20Congress), accessed 7/4/2013.

<sup>1304</sup> Ross Brooks H-HISTSEX correspondence 24 June 2010.

<sup>1305</sup> Vickers and Nash Briggs, 2007: 48.

<sup>1306</sup> Vickers and Nash Briggs, 2007: 48-50, N.27; see also Ross Brooks H-HISTSEX correspondence 24 June 2010. Vickers also points to Antiphon Fr. 66 ap. Plut. Per. 3.2 to show that 'the anxiety was that anyone found guilty of selling their body for sexual favours led at Athens to disqualification from certain civic privileges'; the context of Plato's *Symposium* as a defence of Socrates and the charge of his corrupting the young; and to Xenophon *Memorabilia* 1.2.29-30, in which Socrates criticises lust for boys.

<sup>1307</sup> Mader, 2005: 389.

pederastic relationship was based on the premise that this provided an enriching experience for the younger partner by engaging with someone who had the life experience and knowledge that they are naturally lacking.<sup>1308</sup> For Warren, ‘love distinguished by inequality of age’ ensures that the *eromenos* is subservient to the *erastes* - ‘the worship of the elder has been a wish to be lost himself in submission to the elder’.<sup>1309</sup> This subservience is a positive condition as it allows the older partner to take on a pedagogic and nurturing role as teacher, father-figure and guide to the younger.<sup>1310</sup> Only a relationship with an age division could perform this beneficent function as its pedagogy relied upon asymmetry and the passing of knowledge from experienced to novice. This is one area in which Warren is in agreement with the Platonic model: he paraphrases Phaedrus’ speech from Plato’s *Symposium*: ‘truly no greater good could befall him than a worthy lover, a lover to reassure him... to show him where he is right and wrong, where weak, where wise, a lover to train and tend him ... since there is no education like that which a lover can give’.<sup>1311</sup> This idea, drawn directly from the *Symposium*, had been used increasingly throughout the nineteenth century to counter contemporary legal and moral hostility.<sup>1312</sup> The *Defence* emphasises the moral and spiritual development which the *eromenos* will experience to counter the proposal that a relationship with an older man will ‘demoralise the boy’, speaking directly to, although not referencing, Ulrich and Symonds’s concerns about the association between same-sex love and the corruption of youth.<sup>1313</sup> It is clear that for Warren this age disparity could not be between adult men; it is the young age of the ‘boy’ (again not specified) which is crucial to the influential effect on him.

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<sup>1308</sup> Warren, 2009: 22. See Eglinton, 1965: 8 who describes the younger partner in a Greek-styled asymmetrical relationship model as ‘immature’, ‘pliable’ and ‘changeable’. Mader also notes that asymmetry may be achieved through class differences and Warren suggests ‘the boy’ (already different in age) may also be ‘not of his station’, Warren, 2009: 33. See Blanshard, 2010: 98.

<sup>1309</sup> Warren, 2009: 22.

<sup>1310</sup> Warren, 2009 23, 35

<sup>1311</sup> Warren, 2009: 69. Compare ‘for what could be better for a boy on the edge of manhood than to have a good lover, a man to show him the way...’ Plato, *The Symposium*, trans. Gill 178C.

<sup>1312</sup> See Plato, *The Symposium*, trans. Gill: 185b: ‘heavenly love... is a source of great value to the city and individuals’. On nineteenth century pederastic pedagogy and its appropriation from ancient Greece see Dowling, 1994: 28, 66, 79, 142; Kaylor, 2006: esp. Ch. 4 [on Pater], 5 [on Wilde]. For the Renaissance to the twentieth century see Blanshard, 2010: esp. 124f.

<sup>1313</sup> Warren, 2009: 36.



Warren 'attempted to put his theories into practice', as his friends put it, in the sponsorship and even adoption of younger men and boys, whom he 'inspired with something of his own faith'.<sup>1314</sup> He adopted at least two boys under the age of 10, between 1909 and 1913.<sup>1315</sup> As with his relationship with the young Beazley there is speculation of whether he put into practice the physical side of his Uranian Ideal with these boys, the true answer being quite impossible to know.<sup>1316</sup> Other Hellenically-inspired boy-lovers did the same: Charles de Sousy Ricketts (1866-1931), a contemporary of Warren's and another antiquities collector, also adopted a young man in the 1920s, supporting him financially and fulfilling a 'paternal, or perhaps better, an avuncular role for him'.<sup>1317</sup>

Although the ideal was a relationship between adult and non-adult men, in real life Warren attempted to apply this pedagogic asymmetrical model to relationships between older and younger adult men. We have seen Warren funding and mentoring John Beazley and he did the same for future art historian Bernard Berenson (1865-1959), funding his admission to Harvard and later his first trips to Europe, which launched Berenson's career.<sup>1318</sup> Daniel Orrells has recently also drawn attention to the reciprocity inherent in the study of Plato's ancient pedagogic attachments between older and younger men, within the mentor-pupil dynamic of the Oxford tutorial system, of which Warren himself had experienced.<sup>1319</sup> Warren's mentorship of young men not only acted out the Hellenic pedagogical bond inherent in Greek pederasty, but encouraged the development and dissemination of his Uranian Ideal through sponsoring the same activities which had been central to its formation: the collecting and study of antiquities including those with homoerotic themes.

Another of Warren's attempts to revive the Hellenic pedagogical bond between older and younger men saw him change his will to leave funds to restore the

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<sup>1314</sup> Burdett, 1941: 390.

<sup>1315</sup> Burdett, 1941: 390; Green, 1989: 219-220. See Sox, 1991: 14; Kaylor, 2009: lxxxvii.

<sup>1316</sup> Kaylor, 2009: lxxxvii.

<sup>1317</sup> Cook, 2012: 635.

<sup>1318</sup> Samuels, 1979: 78.

<sup>1319</sup> Orrells, 2011.

Praelectorship in Greek at Corpus Christi College at Oxford.<sup>1320</sup> This was to be a pastoral role in which the don took especial interest in the development of the undergraduates in his care. Warren also specified that this position should only be filled by a bachelor, without the distraction of a family. According to Hugh Lloyd-Jones, the first academic to take this role, this was meant to ensure the praelector could fully ‘connect with the young men’ and devote his time to their care.<sup>1321</sup> When the Governing Body refused the rule, Warren made an extraordinary stipulation in the will: in the event of employing a married man whose family home was outside the old part of the college where the students live, an ‘underground passage or otherwise’ must be created in order that he be ‘constantly accessible’ by his students, day or night.<sup>1322</sup> The tunnel was never built and the position of Praelectorship, which continues today, was not instated until 1954.

#### 2.4 Masculine-centred society and masculine domesticity

The infamous tunnel episode should be seen as indicative of Warren’s Greek-inspired misogynistic outlook. He revered what he saw as an ancient masculine-centred social organisation, that which had fostered male bonding, and he lamented what he saw as its decline in the Classical period with the increase of feminine influence in daily life.<sup>1323</sup>

In the previous section we saw it was the correlation he observed between the disappearance of a motif of men having sex on Greek vases and the ‘softening’ of sculptured male bodies away from Myron’s hardy nudes (combined with a move from Pindar’s celebration of boy’s athletic bodies to the ‘Praxitelean’, effeminate and chaste Platonic philosophy) that produced Warren’s theory that the ‘pre-eminently paederastic period’ of sexualised pederasty in the late Archaic and early Classical Greece was the product of a more masculine atmosphere. In the contemporary world of the late

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<sup>1320</sup> Edward Perry Warren’s will, Lewes House Warren archive: 17-18. Thomas Case, the president of the college, had persuaded him that Corpus was the best place to do this, being a small college with strong Classical tradition and close relationships with students, Burdett, 1941: 371; Symonds, 1995: 12-14.

<sup>1321</sup> Sox, 1991: 102; Symonds, 1995: 15.

<sup>1322</sup> Edward Perry Warren’s Will: 17-18; Sox, 1991: 102; Symonds, 1995: 15-18; Burdett, 1941: 371. Time magazine reported in 1950 that the reason Warren had wanted the tunnel was to allow students to return to college after curfew without ‘1) paying fines, or 2) climbing walls’. *TIME Magazine*, 20/03/1950.

<sup>1323</sup> Warren, 2009: 44, 130, 137 (‘on the male hung all their hope... it would be a mistake to separate their affection for boys from their desire for sons’). See Johns, 1982: 121 on Victorian men identifying with the misogynist nature of ancient Greece. See Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 301.

nineteenth and early twentieth century, he saw effeminate Christian ‘meekness’ exacerbated by increasing equality of the sexes and feminine presence in cultural life, both the enemy of modern male bonding.<sup>1324</sup> He longed to revive the ‘harder and sterner’ atmosphere of pre-late-Classical Greece, what he called ‘the golden age of boy-love’.<sup>1325</sup> Even Victorian Hellenism had not been masculine enough for Warren:

‘The world in which he grew up, the standard ‘Classical’ view was that established by men like... Pater, and though in his essential humility he admitted their greatness in other spheres, he was yet Greek enough and bold enough to know that their understanding of the Classical was ruined by a sentimental intrusion from their own Romantic age. If there was anything akin to Greek in them, it was to be found – as Pater had unconsciously realised – in the overheated atmosphere and languid softness of Cupid and Psyche.’<sup>1326</sup>

This ‘softness’, which we have seen Warren associated with art and philosophy of the later Classical period, had also been admired by the eighteenth-century Winckelmann in ancient sculptured male bodies.<sup>1327</sup>

Warren’s insistence on the revival of this ‘harder and sterner’ pederasty which he drew from his immersive engagement with antiquities should be seen as part of an ongoing tension in the early twentieth century around gender-identity and same-sex desire. His ideas are part of a reaction against the association of same-sex desire with effeminacy and decadence, and effeminacy and degeneration, particularly as connected with the aestheticism movement in the late nineteenth century and brought to public attention with Wilde’s trial in 1894.<sup>1328</sup> This in turn had been to some extent a rebellion against the Victorian age’s especially robust form of masculinity, embodied in

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<sup>1324</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 301.

<sup>1325</sup> Warren, 2009: 84.

<sup>1326</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 365.

<sup>1327</sup> Of the Apollo Belvedere Winckelmann wrote: ‘The highest conception of ideal beauty is especially expressed in the Apollo, in whom strength of adult years is found united with the soft forms of the most beautiful springtime of youth’, Winckelmann, 2005, trans. Lodge: 325. Potts, 1994: 118 suggests the Apollo Belvedere represented the eighteenth century epitome of manhood, being ‘austerely sublime, sensuously beautiful’, unlike the Farnese Hercules which is muscular, solid and virile. In general Winckelmann disliked the depiction of too ‘strongly developed muscles’ as they detracted from the overall smooth ‘line’ or shape of the statue, Winckelmann, 2005, trans. Lodge: 325, 313, see also 45.

<sup>1328</sup> Dowling, 1994: 152.

a focus on muscular bodies and athleticism and bravery.<sup>1329</sup> In the 1860s as sex came under 'scientific' scrutiny, same-sex desire had been explained in terms of a reversal of gender in the sexed body, as in Ulrichs's 1864 influential work on 'urnings'.<sup>1330</sup>

Challenges to this idea came from men like the British socialist philosopher and champion of the Uranian cause, Edward Carpenter (1844-1929). Though he accepted the notion of the 'feminine soul' and that emotionally the Uranian man had the 'tenderer and more emotional soul-nature of the woman', he had been at pains to insist that Uranians (men and women) were 'fine, healthy specimens of their sex, muscular and well-developed in body, of powerful brain, high standard of conduct, and with nothing abnormal or morbid of any kind'.<sup>1331</sup> Likewise, Symonds, a self identifying 'invert', a commonly used term for a person attracted to their own sex, declared 'I am more masculine than many men I know who adore women'.<sup>1332</sup> He had made no effort to distance effeminacy from degeneration but insisted on the masculinity and athleticism of 'inverts', using as evidence his study of comradely, virile, Greek pederasty, together with other historical and anthropological evidence:

'It is the common belief that all subjects from inverted instinct... are pale, languid, scented, effeminate, painted, timid, oblique in expression ... The majority differ in no detail of their outward appearance, their physique, or their dress from normal men. They are athletic, masculine in habits, frank in manner'.<sup>1333</sup>

His essay on comradely, virile pederasty, *A Problem in Greek Ethics*, appeared as an appendix to the first publication of psychologist Havelock Ellis' *Sexual Inversion*, which also argued for the separation of gender from sexual orientation.

In this climate, Warren first began to develop his ideas of a modern revival of 'harder and sterner' pederasty from Greece. We perceive these anxieties about gender-

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<sup>1329</sup> See Hall, 1994.

<sup>1330</sup> Ulrichs summarized his theory of homosexuality in the formula '*anima muliebris in corpore virili inclusa*' ('a feminine soul contained in a masculine body'), Matzner, 2010: 79; Kennedy, 1997: 3.

<sup>1331</sup> Carpenter, 1999: 32, 2. Austro-Hungarian journalist, Karl-Maria Kertbeny (1824-1882), who is credited with coining the term 'homosexual', observed the homophobic use of Ulrich's research which associated effeminacy with degeneration, and suggested in 1869 that men who desired men were often more masculine and even superior to men who liked women, Halperin, 2002.

<sup>1332</sup> Symonds, 1984: 65.

<sup>1333</sup> Symonds, 1896: 14-15. On the word 'frank' see n. 502 of this chapter.

identity and same-sex desire in the *Defence* when he poses a question he clearly anticipates: 'will Uranian Love necessarily effeminate the boy?'<sup>1334</sup> The answer is 'no' and an important part of the evidence provided by Warren is the imagery on Greek vases which, as we have seen, showed Warren virile but erotic bonds between men and hardy, athletic boys.<sup>1335</sup> Instead, he says, 'the masculine in the beloved is an integral element' of Uranian Love.<sup>1336</sup> As we have seen in reference to Warren's idea of a Roman attraction to feminine-looking boys visualised on Roman acquisitions, as well as in Latin poetry, the promise of masculinity in the lover was the difference 'between vice and boy-love'.<sup>1337</sup> We may compare the boy being penetrated on Side B of the Warren Cup with the boy whose genitals are being fondled in the black-figure *kylix* which Hartwig gave to Warren (figs. 1 and 29).<sup>1338</sup> Both are seemingly around the same age according to their size. On the first the artist has hammered the silver into appearance of a smooth, delicate slender physique. The boy's appearance and perceptible wriggling movement, recalls Plato's definition of beauty in *Lysis* ('a soft, smooth, slippery thing') which Marshall wrote in his notebook with the note 'Plato is not of the good period'.<sup>1339</sup> In the second just a few brush strokes indicate the beginnings of firm pectoral, stomach and thigh muscles.<sup>1340</sup> At least for the appearance of the *eromenos*, the late Archaic vase showed Warren the ideal that he wanted to revive.

In some ways Warren's preference for an especially virile history of Greece was typical of the early twentieth century, as Robert Ogilvie has identified, noting an increase in the reading of heroic, athletic Greece found in Pindar and Homer compared to the Victorian age's preference for Plato and Thucydides.<sup>1341</sup> The First World War, Ogilvie argues, was 'the fulfilment of the Homeric ideal'.<sup>1342</sup> But most significant for men like Warren was the increasing equality of the sexes in Europe and America.<sup>1343</sup> We should see the chronological theory of Greek history which he espoused, in which a

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<sup>1334</sup> Warren, 2009: 36.

<sup>1335</sup> Warren, 2009: 36, 84.

<sup>1336</sup> Warren, 2009: 60.

<sup>1337</sup> Warren, 2009: 39.

<sup>1338</sup> British Museum: 1999,0426.1; MFA Boston: 08.292.

<sup>1339</sup> Edward Perry Warren archives, Sackler Library (2794f).

<sup>1340</sup> MFA Boston: 08.292.

<sup>1341</sup> Ogilvie, 1964: 91-171. See Green, 1989: 99.

<sup>1342</sup> Ogilvie, 1964: 147. See Vandiver, 2010; Green, 1989: 99.

<sup>1343</sup> On Warren's misogyny see Sox, 1991: esp. 16, 17, 257; Potvin, 2011: 81; Green, 1989: 182.

masculine spirit was destroyed by the increased presence of women in daily life, as reflecting the anxieties of Victorian and Edwardian men about women joining the political, and educational, world. By the 1920s Warren declared that the modern world had witnessed female ‘domination’ and male ‘subservience’: ‘the Greeks disregarded women. We have disregarded men’.<sup>1344</sup> Warren’s greatest concern was the even greater destruction of pederastic bonds in a feminised society, as evidenced in the decline of same-sex sex on vases in ancient Greece. In a move which reversed the contemporary association of male-male desire with effeminacy, Warren described the ‘Pandemian’ (taken from the Greek ‘common’ love of women and by which he means the married man) at risk from being ‘effeminated’ by the damaging effects of feminine values, through the domesticity of the female.<sup>1345</sup> Warren particularly drew upon the juxtaposition of Plutarch’s *Eroticus* between the ‘fetid’ insides of women’s quarters and the healthy ‘fresh air and pure sunshine’ of the manly active pursuits.<sup>1346</sup> Warren’s bitter comments about married life should also be seen in the context of his life partner Marshall’s ‘betrayal of their common ideal’ in getting married, after which he exacerbated the wound by writing to Warren extolling the virtues of women and domestic life.<sup>1347</sup> Charles Ricketts, the antiquities collector and Warren’s contemporary, had also painted a bleak picture of married life: ‘as soon as a woman is concerned in a man’s life,’ he declared ‘it becomes unintelligent and trivial from the senseless marriage festivities’ and his ‘days would grow more and more grey and cold’.<sup>1348</sup>

The pederastic-misogynist form of same-sex identity found in Warren and Ricketts was very different from the egalitarian model promoted by Hirschfeld and his circle, which we have seen advocated age-equal relationships, but also supported equal rights of the sexes.<sup>1349</sup> The reformer Edward Carpenter also advocated women’s rights and championed female-female desire<sup>1350</sup> in a way in which Warren and Ricketts would

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<sup>1344</sup> Warren, 2009: 57, 63f. Warren’s list of female faults in the *Defence* self-consciously draws upon the fifth-century Greek poet Semonides’ diatribes against women, a motif Warren tells us is missing from Pindar’s fourth century poetry, because such ‘hostilities’ are unnecessary at a time when ‘the hopes of manhood are unattacked’, Warren, 2009: 64-65, 142-4.

<sup>1345</sup> Warren, 2009: 51, see also 64, 39 n2, 192, 285.

<sup>1346</sup> Warren, 2009: 18. Plutarch *Eroticus* 752B.

<sup>1347</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 240..

<sup>1348</sup> Cook, 2012: 631.

<sup>1349</sup> Cook, 2012: 628. On the misogyny of Victorian Uranians see Kaylor, 2006: 65.

<sup>1350</sup> Carpenter, 1912: 55-72; Carpenter, 1999: 16-29.

never entertain: their Uranianism, like Warren's community at Lewes, was a male-only club.<sup>1351</sup> In addition to the vases Warren collected showing the fruits of a masculine-centred society (the institutionalisation of sexual relations with boys) his substantial collection of phallic antiquities also represented this ancient preoccupation with the masculine. Warren collected over ninety two objects from Greece and Rome featuring an erect phallus on vases, sculpture, lamps, intaglio and amulets and we considered these in Chapter 2 in connection with Marshall's interest in their role as religious symbolism. In this context they were connected with male-female sexuality. However, the ubiquity of the image of male genitals in ancient daily life, such as the 'excellently endowed'<sup>1352</sup> early fifth-century terracotta satyr, could also embody a reverence for the male body, for masculine sexuality, and for masculine-centric society.<sup>1353</sup> Charles Ricketts, with his collecting and life partner Charles Haslewood Shannon (1863-1937), together compiled a substantial Greco-Roman collection which also included phallic imagery, and was left to the Fitzwilliam museum.<sup>1354</sup> However, we should not see these sexual antiquities as necessarily inspiring such misogynistic sentiment: egalitarian reformers of sexual politics such as Hirschfeld were also interested in ancient phallic imagery, as we have seen.

Warren desired to revive the sort of society in which it was possible to create and prominently display such images. He believed that if this could happen anywhere in the modern world it would be in the 'monastic seclusion' of Oxford. Here he was pleased to find a greater reverence for Classical cultures and 'more appreciation of the beauty and charm of youth'.<sup>1355</sup> The effects of sexual equality, he believed, were less pronounced in 'countries with deep culture and dignified institutions, - such as church, crown and secluded and moral universities, - great and well-centred influences which detract from women the attention of men'.<sup>1356</sup> Warren described his move from Harvard to New College as a homecoming<sup>1357</sup> and considered this the best atmosphere for the

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<sup>1351</sup> Cook, 2012: 628.

<sup>1352</sup> Boston MFA: 01.8011. Lewes House Register (2 Pt 3 Pg7 No.1167 photo 9106).

<sup>1353</sup> See Keuls, 1985 Williams, 1999: e.g. 10. Clarke, 1993: 290.

<sup>1354</sup> Darracott, 1979; Rozeik, 2012. See Fitzwilliam: GR.18.1937; GR.17.1937.

<sup>1355</sup> Burdett, 1941: 58.

<sup>1356</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 306.

<sup>1357</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 56.

encouragement of the 'harder and sterner' pederastic-pedagogic ideal, which he had found in sexual antiquities.<sup>1358</sup> As his friends and biographers describe:

'There, if anywhere in the modern world ... Greek masculinity could still find its devotees – with its young men working and thinking under the supervision of older men who stood to them in the relation of friends, with its games and its unsophisticated worship of physical health'.<sup>1359</sup>

Warren hoped to 'foster real personal sympathy and love between older and younger', and in order to achieve this it required 'that women should be kept out'.<sup>1360</sup> Warren's adherence to the theory of the feminisation of fourth-century Athens and the resulting decline of ancient pederastic aesthetics should be seen particularly as a reaction to the increased presence of women at Oxford just as he joined the university. The 1877 reform which ended the rule that dons should not marry took effect in 1884 and 'began the process of weakening the male homosocial college bond'.<sup>1361</sup> This was enhanced by the gradual admission of women to lectures, which Warren resented.<sup>1362</sup> The Praelectorship funds Warren left in his will were an attempt, with Thomas Case, the college's president and fellow opponent to female 'intrusion' at Oxford, to reverse the process.<sup>1363</sup> In addition to the marriage clause, Warren's will also stipulated that 'no woman, at any time will be eligible for the Praelectorship' and that 'instruction' must never be given to women.<sup>1364</sup>

Disheartened by the changes at Oxford, in 1890 Warren decided to create a new sanctuary of male seclusion at Lewes, in which, as we will see, images of male sexuality were treasured in an attempt to create the sort of lifestyle they represented. Built in 1733 Lewes House is an imposing property standing on Lewes High Street in Sussex, with large garden, stables, and, when Warren lived there, a paddock.<sup>1365</sup>

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<sup>1358</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 56.

<sup>1359</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 374.

<sup>1360</sup> Burdett, 1941: 367.

<sup>1361</sup> Dowling, 1994: 85. Dowling describes, as early as 1887, the marriage of fellows destroying the 'brotherhood' of 'men living a common life' at Oxford.

<sup>1362</sup> Dowling, 1994: 85; Burdett, 1941: 374.

<sup>1363</sup> Thomas Case had persuaded him that Corpus was the best place to do this, being a small college with strong Classical tradition and close relationships with students, Case, 1927: 32-54. See Symonds, 1995: 12-14.

<sup>1364</sup> Edward Perry Warren's will, Lewes House Warren archive: 17-18.

<sup>1365</sup> Now the headquarters of Lewes Council.



Residents and regular visitors, many of whom had homoerotic leanings and interests, include writer and innkeeper John Fothergill (1876-1957), , who as a young man attracted the attention of Oscar Wilde,<sup>1366</sup> and Matthew Stewart Pritchard (1865-1936), who through Warren became secretary of the Boston museum, as well as many from Wilde's circle who came to Lewes as a safe-haven following their friend's conviction in 1895, including fellow Bostonian, philosopher and poet, George Santayana (1863-1952), historian Oscar Browning (1837-1923), and Wilde's ex-lover Robbie Ross (1869-1918).<sup>1367</sup> Also in the Lewes area around the turn of the century were the Bloomsbury Group, another group of artists, art-lovers and writers who were interested in unconventional sexual models. One member of this group, the painter Roger Fry (1866-1934), was a regular visitor to Lewes, and others, such as Ross and sculptor Auguste Rodin (1840-1917), regularly moved between the two.<sup>1368</sup> In this way Warren and his friends were linked with other members of the Bloomsbury Group who we would expect to have had a particular interest in what was happening at Lewes House - men with similar Hellenic-inspired ideas about male-male attachments such as E. M. Forster (1879-1970) and Lytton Strachey (1880-1932), also members of the Cambridge Apostles, a secretive brotherhood of members also interested in a virile, manly love, although there is no evidence of their communicating with Warren and his circle.<sup>1369</sup> The Bloomsbury Group's painter Vanessa Bell (1879-1961), and her sister, the writer Virginia Woolf (1882-1941), were, of course, not welcome in Lewes' all-male community.

Where Symonds worried about young men's transition from Oxford to the real, hostile world, Warren's wealth enabled him to create a solace to protect them from it and importantly from the feminine influences which he believed created this hostility. The ban on women in the house, except for staff members, protected the men from their increasing 'softening' of society outside the house.<sup>1370</sup> 'Comradeship' was bred in communality, with the household sharing personal possessions and bathing

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<sup>1366</sup> Sox, 1991: 24.

<sup>1367</sup> On these various guests see Burdett and Goddard 1941: 131, 144. See also Kaylor, 2009: lii; Green, 1989: 4, 155.

<sup>1368</sup> Burdett and Goddard 1941: 161, 267, 260; Sox, 2006.

<sup>1369</sup> On the Cambridge Apostles see Orrells, 2011: 218.

<sup>1370</sup> For ban on women in the house see Burdett, 1941: 305. For the female staff at the house see Sox, 1991: 47.

together.<sup>1371</sup> The discipline of physical activity which underpinned the virile aesthetics of Warren's 'harder and sterner' sexual ideal was played out, with the guests encouraged to make use of Warren's horses, the nearby river and public swimming pool, in which they apparently shocked residents of Lewes by swimming naked.<sup>1372</sup> Swimming, Warren believed, 'afforded the one opportunity under modern conditions for the display and exercise of naked human body, and something like the atmosphere of the *Palaestra*'.<sup>1373</sup> This ancient space found in ancient imagery, as we have seen, was the place for both the creation and appreciation of disciplined male bodies.<sup>1374</sup>

Warren associated domesticity with the 'unnecessary, the superficial, [and] the artificial', traits of the feminine which the Uranian lover despised.<sup>1375</sup> However, as John Potvin has recently argued, these 'Uranian bachelors' devised their own masculine version of domesticity through the practices of '*askesis*' (self-discipline) in which, as Warren put it, 'all that is unnecessary and frivolous is stripped away'. However, he adds, 'this is not to be confused with 'Christian 'ascetic' mortification. There is no function of the human being which is to be atrophied'.<sup>1376</sup> We shall discuss this further below. At Lewes he created a deliberate alternative to, and protection against, 'heteronormative Victorian domesticity ... clear-cut gendered understanding of the ideal divide between public and private, the latter dominated by the feminine and women, a normalising ethos maintained well into the twentieth century'.<sup>1377</sup> Warren's friends and biographers quote a passage from the *Defence* which they insist can also serve as a description of Lewes House, demonstrating that Warren was in some ways successful in making real his 'ideal':

'Rough and careless he may be in the things about which women are particular; reckless of flummery and fuss; hater of ceremonies and needless courtesies... his home life has a different colour from that

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<sup>1371</sup> Burdett and Goddard 1941: 144; Green, 1989: 115; Potvin, 2011: 77-78, 82. Sox, 1991: 88.

<sup>1372</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 9; Whitehill, 1970: 145; Rose, 2007.

<sup>1373</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 371. In 1926, in an attempt to put this ideal into practise, Warren put in a bid to buy a lot of land opposite Corpus Christi in order to build baths. These swimming baths were explicitly meant to encourage the appreciation of the athletic masculine naked male body in the undergraduates, Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 371.

<sup>1374</sup> Warren, 2009: 17.

<sup>1375</sup> Warren, 2009: 67.

<sup>1376</sup> Quoted in Potvin, 2011: 77.

<sup>1377</sup> Potvin, 2011: 79.

of most homes which women control, but it is, none-the-less, a home-life, and even, in one-respect more intimate'.<sup>1378</sup>

The 'monkish establishment' of Lewes in decor and living standards, as the painter and art critic Sir William Rothenstein (1872-1945) described it, embodied what Potvin calls 'masculine minimalism'.<sup>1379</sup> Despite the ample food and drink, 'hardiness' was also encouraged by the lack of electric light and comfortable seats: they ate their dinner, like a college dining hall (a nod to Oxford) on pew benches around an oak, Tudor table.<sup>1380</sup> Again, Warren expressed this in his Uranian ideal, describing the 'boy-lover' living in a space 'which is furthest removed from the modern woman's ideal of home . . . He would really live only where she would think it impossible to live,—in the bare simplicities. This is *his* contempt of the world'.<sup>1381</sup> Matt Cook has compared this domestic setup at Lewes with that created by fellow collectors Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon, who also drew upon their engagement with visual antiquity in figuring an alternative masculine domesticity.<sup>1382</sup> They set up home together in London in 1886, and later at Chilham Castle in Kent in 1918, and were host to many of the same visitors from the aesthetic and artistic world as at Lewes House, with the addition of other major figures in from Uranian circles: Wilde, Symonds and Uranian poet Charles Kains Jackson (1857-1933).<sup>1383</sup> Ricketts also visited Lewes House at least twice and these two similar communities clearly knew of each other's work. Echoing Rothenstein's comments on Lewes, the painter Edmund Dulac (1882-1953) had also caricatured Shannon and Ricketts as 'monks' and Chilham is described as containing 'Spartan' rooms, furnished with furniture 'as uncomfortable as a waiting room seat at a railway station' and 'almost poverty-stricken puritan in their simplicity'.<sup>1384</sup> These various spaces were created in order to express and explore sexual and gender identities formulated through engaging with ancient objects which depicted the sexual and gender identities of ancient men. As

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<sup>1378</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 305; Warren, 2009: 50-51.

<sup>1379</sup> Potvin, 2011: 83.

<sup>1380</sup> Samuels, 1979: 60-61; Green, 1989 114.

<sup>1381</sup> Warren 1928: I, 169–70.

<sup>1382</sup> Cook, 2012: 628.

<sup>1383</sup> Cook, 2012: 635. Shannon was supposedly the model for Wilde's Basil Hallward, Cook, 2012: 635.

<sup>1384</sup> Cook, 2012: 627.

we will see in Section 3, these same objects would themselves be employed to facilitate the creation of these performance spaces of the Uranian ideal.

## 2.5 A positive model of physical pederasty

Warren's Uranian Ideal did not omit the sexual relations between man and boy which he saw illustrated on Greek vases and revived on Roman silver and pottery vessels. His *Defence* begins with instructions that the modern day Uranian Lover must fulfil:

'...both his bodily and his spiritual nature. If it is true only to the latter, it is unsubstantial; if true only to his fleshly instincts, it is condemned by his self-respect'.<sup>1385</sup>

Here, at the beginning of his apology for same-sex desire, Warren makes clear his opposition to the revival of what he identified as a 'Puritan' or 'Christian ascetic mortification' model in Plato.<sup>1386</sup> Warren reacted strongly against the Puritanism of his upbringing in 1860s and 70s Boston, which explains his fierce opposition to the idea of a 'spiritual and emotional attachment that was, at some ultimate level, innocent or asexual', espoused by some of his fellow Uranians and drawn from the particular reading of Plato inspired by Benjamin Jowett's Oxonian scholarship, as we saw above.<sup>1387</sup> As Linda Dowling has shown, this had been increasingly evoked in the late nineteenth century as part of an attempt to distance male-male attachments from notions of the 'blind urgencies of a merely animal sexuality ... the bestial degradation of sodomy as anal copulation'.<sup>1388</sup> This idea mirrors a theory that Plato's own claims of Socrates' chastity had been designed to dispute accusations of his mentor's corruption of young men.<sup>1389</sup> The complete denial, or substantial playing down, of sex in modern relationships, may have been stressed because, as we have seen, the idea of ancient 'virtue and friendship' had long been seen as merely a disguise for sodomy, and the

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<sup>1385</sup> Warren, 2009: 13.

<sup>1386</sup> Warren, 2009: 130; Quoted in Potvin, 2011: 77. He also demonstrates the influence of his reading of Walt Whitman whom he found he 'agreed most warmly with his acceptance of the flesh', Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 31.

<sup>1387</sup> Dowling, 1994: 115-116.

<sup>1388</sup> Dowling, 1994: 115-116.

<sup>1389</sup> See Hubbard, 2000: 9.

same was true for the modern incarnation of 'Greek Love'.<sup>1390</sup> As I have suggested above, however, we should not assume that the evocation of a chaste relationship was simply a cynical tactic to defend male-male attachments, but may have spoken to, or been influential on, ideals about erotic expression and behaviour.

To an extent this chaste model, developed through a certain reading of ancient philosophy, gained popular credence, demonstrated in the indecision of the jury after Wilde's speech in court to defend himself against the very real charge of sodomy.<sup>1391</sup> As we have seen, he aligned himself with the idea of a 'pure' attachment with reference to Plato (as well as David and Jonathan, again linking this to Christianity as Warren does).<sup>1392</sup> Ultimately, though, Wilde's conviction showed the public that his claims of Platonic Love had been disingenuous. For some, this only strengthened the allegiance to the chaste model, as in that propounded by Lytton Strachey and his fellow Cambridge Apostles, who, at least in their rhetoric, distanced themselves from 'the deplorable practices of Oscar Wilde' for fear that, as he had done in court, they might be seen as using male friendships as a 'cloak' for the 'most unnatural and shocking form of vice'.<sup>1393</sup>

As Uranian Platonic chastity reached its peak in the 1890s, and just a few years before Wilde's trial would both publically discuss and discredit it, Warren began to study and collect Greek vases. His own scholarly realisation about their repeated motif of pederastic fondling, together with his pioneering acquisition of Roman homoerotic images, would clearly inspire him with the idea that a pedagogic, nurturing, physically and mentally improving attachment such as he saw in ancient *paederastia*, could also include sex. Thus, as he crystallised his ideas in the years following, rather than reject physical love, Warren would reject Plato, as unrepresentative of real Greek sentiment and a betrayal of the traditional Hellenic values of healthy homoerotic appreciation of virile, young male bodies. He clearly saw a betrayal also when this model was evoked in the modern world by his fellow Uranians. Thomas Hubbard, with the same conviction, compares Platonic chastity with the twenty-first-century division between

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<sup>1390</sup> Gibbon, 1821: 100, n. h; Blanshard, 2010: esp. 95, 139, 127.

<sup>1391</sup> Dowling, 1994: 2.

<sup>1392</sup> Davidson, 2001: 4. See also Dowling, 1994: 96, 115, 116f, 142; Blanshard, 2010: 95-96.

<sup>1393</sup> Orrells, 2011: 218-9.

pederasty and homosexuality: 'Just as Plato and others sold out the real pederasts ... gay leaders today sell out their brothers (and in many cases their own repressed desires) by creating the public fiction that most gays are involved in long-term monogamous age-and class-equal relationships, and that the only men attracted to teenage boys are a few sickos in NAMBLA'.<sup>1394</sup> As an intellectual descendent of Warren, Hubbard too draws upon Greek vase-painting to reveal the 'real' sexually active nature of ancient pederasty as a justification for modern behaviour, including material which Warren first brought to attention.<sup>1395</sup> Like Warren, E. M. Forster, writing in the early twentieth century in the wake of Wilde's trial, rejected Platonic love as a justification for male-male attachments, a marked departure from the rhetoric of some of his fellow Cambridge Apostles, which we saw above.<sup>1396</sup> His *Maurice*, written in 1913-4, but not published until 1971, has the eponymous hero discover a healthy sex life with his partner Alec, despite his ex-lover Clive warning him that the only defence they have against criticism of their lifestyle is the claim of chastity.<sup>1397</sup>

In the late nineteenth century Symonds, drawing upon his own studies of ancient *paederastia*, had also been a voice of dissent against the denial of modern male-male physical relations by other Uranians. Fully engaged with medical discourses around same-sex desire, *A Problem in Modern Ethics* (1896) also offers a correction to ideas of the degenerative effects of sodomy and other 'indulgence of inverted sexual instincts'.<sup>1398</sup> A moderate amount of such activities, he argues, cannot be harmful or else the 'Dorians and Athenians, including Sophocles, Pindar, Aeschines, Epaminondas, all the Spartan kings and generals, the Theban legion, Pheidias, Plato, would have been one nation of rickety, phthisical, dropsical paralytics'.<sup>1399</sup> Just as he insisted 'Greek Love' had been no 'figure of speech' for Plato, so for modern men it was also a very real 'passion' and a 'present poignant reality'.<sup>1400</sup> Symonds' letters show him questioning other men on whether physical relations were part of their ideals, or experience, of male bonding, although his probing questions were not always

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<sup>1394</sup> Hubbard, 2000: 11.

<sup>1395</sup> Hubbard, 2003.

<sup>1396</sup> Orrells, 2011: 219.

<sup>1397</sup> Forster, 1972. See Orrells, 2011: 222.

<sup>1398</sup> Symonds, 1896: 13.

<sup>1399</sup> Symonds, 1896: 13.

<sup>1400</sup> Symonds, 1984: 100.

answered, as in the case of Charles Ricketts (who would not confirm if he and Charles Shannon were in a sexual relationship) and the American poet Walt Whitman (1819-1882).<sup>1401</sup> Symonds' concern was to decriminalise this inevitable behaviour for those who otherwise would live a life 'embittered by inverted sexuality'.<sup>1402</sup>

Where some had denied it and others like Symonds had justified it, Warren, bolstered by his new body of evidence in ancient visual culture, unapologetically advocated sex between men. He did not try to oppose medical opinion on the dangers of sodomy, or argue for precise legal changes. As we have seen, Symonds was not aware of, or ignored, evidence from antiquities of sexual activity in ancient *paederastia*. Warren's model of physical Uranian Love, drawn from knowledge of ancient sexual imagery which Symonds missed, resulted in a confident polemic which urged twentieth-century pederasts to fulfil their sexual desires for younger men.

As with his home-life, Warren's prescriptions about ideal Uranian sexual life appear to have been corroborative with his own experience. Warren's poetry includes many references to sexual desire and/or activity with younger men, such as a description of a 'night of love' with a boy whom he has got to know 'thoroughly, flesh and mind'.<sup>1403</sup> This recalls the 'fleshy instincts' described in the *Defence*, as well as Whitman's well-known references to 'flesh' which Warren admired.<sup>1404</sup> Warren had already studied and purchased many of the images which inspired his sexual idealism by the time of writing these poems and, in line with the 'organic' model of Classical reception I outlined above, we see the product of this engagement in his poetry. Even if not his own real-life experience, the poems were part of his sexual polemic. His *Defence* sets this out clearly, describing the development of the modern 'boy-lover' and his discovery of a 'sensual' love for an 'older lad' of around nineteen who seems to have 'the beauty of a Greek statue' (the Classical ideal again providing a bench mark for his aesthetic appreciation).<sup>1405</sup> Once an adult he is encouraged to pursue a sexual relationship with a younger boy.

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<sup>1401</sup> Delaney, 1990: 22, 24-5. See Cook, 2012: 618.

<sup>1402</sup> Symonds, 1896: 4.

<sup>1403</sup> 'The Waning of Love', Warren, 1928: 124. See also 'Courage' and 'Parting' in Warren, 1928: 97-98, 122. See Kaylor, 2009: lxxvi-lxxix.

<sup>1404</sup> Burdett, 1941: 31. See Kaylor, 2009: xxix.

<sup>1405</sup> Warren, 2009: 17, 28.

In the instructions Warren gives to the Uranian Lover we see a clear correlation between Warren's ideal and the imagery he saw on Greek vases. After establishing whether 'feelings are sympathetic and aims congenial' the Uranian lover:

'...may have to take the law into his own hands, to force the counter-sign, and risk an experiment, possibly not merely for his own good, but for that of the boy'.<sup>1406</sup>

These instructions for the modern pederast have a sexually aggressive tone.<sup>1407</sup> 'Alpha' scene-types, of the type studied and collected by Warren, uniformly show an older man making the sexual advance to his *eromenos*, demonstrating sexual assertiveness from the *erastes* – taking 'the law into his own hands'. Such scenes also often show what have been interpreted as signs of resistance by the *eromenos* in which he prevents the *erastes*' hand from touching him. Vases from Warren's collection are now seen as important examples of this motif (see fig. 65) which, it has been argued, illustrates the model of a reticent *eromenos* described in ancient literature.<sup>1408</sup> These scenes therefore show an encounter in which, according to Warren's instructions, the *erastes* would have to 'force the counter-sign'.<sup>1409</sup> The idea of a forced 'counter-sign' is depicted especially on the three red-figure *kylixes* by Douris which show Eros lifting a boy into the air while apparently performing intercrural sex, of which Warren collected two (see fig. 25).<sup>1410</sup> One of these, the fragment, is described by the current Boston catalogue as 'Eros raping a boy', and Alan Shapiro's description of the 'aggressively erotic' *erastai* in this scene conforms to Warren's description of an ideal encounter between man and boy.<sup>1411</sup>

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<sup>1406</sup> Warren, 2009: 29.

<sup>1407</sup> See Miner's editorial comments in Warren, 2009: 29.

<sup>1408</sup> Shapiro, 2000: 23-24. See MFA Boston: RES.08.31i.

<sup>1409</sup> Warren and his circle have provided two red-figure Alpha scene-type vases which are used to dispute the idea of the reticent *eromenos*. A *kylix* which Hartwig gave Warren shows a rare image of a boy seemingly reciprocating a man's advances, jumping up to put his arms around the other's neck (MFA Boston: 08.292) In addition, the cup by the Brygos-Painter which Beazley owned shows a very young boy putting his arm around a man's neck, Ashmolean: AN G. 276. 45 2.3.

<sup>1410</sup> MFA Boston: 13.94, 95.31; Hartwig described the similar Berlin example as showing a boy 'struggling but still looking longingly at Eros', Hartwig, 1893: 659 quoted in Licht, 1971, trans. Freese: 441.

<sup>1411</sup> MFA Boston online catalogue, entry 13.94, <http://www.mfa.org>, accessed 25/3/13; Shapiro, 1981: 410. One issue with this reading is that these scenes seem to show males of about the same age, the visual indicators of age-delineation which we saw above are missing. In the *kylix* scene both males have very similar physiques and height and are both clean-shaven. The other scene is too damaged to judge.



However, despite this forceful tone, Warren makes clear that this is not simply a case of the *erastes* fulfilling sexual needs - this sexual encounter is also beneficial, in fact necessary, for the younger partner's development. In this, Warren references what he calls a 'golden passage' from the *Symposium*, in which it is suggested it is ethical for the *eromenos* to 'grant any favour in any circumstances for the sake of becoming a better person'.<sup>1412</sup> In the 1970s, Dover, an intellectual descendent of Warren's as I have shown, also used vase-painting to 'translate' this Platonic passage 'from euphemism into plain English' to show that the 'acceptance of the teacher's thrusting penis between his thighs or in his anus is the fee which the pupil pays for good teaching'.<sup>1413</sup> Warren's interpretation was similar, but he saw the result more positively than Dover, and arguably Plato, who present the boy essentially prostituting himself for lessons. For Warren the sexual relationship is not only justified by the love and care for the boy that the man feels, but is a key part of their intense bond.<sup>1414</sup>

The particular connection between sex and the beneficial effect of pederasty on a boy was also especially embodied, as we have seen, in the Roman material Warren collected. For the modern world these objects could reveal a particularly positive image of physical pederasty which countered modern notions of degeneracy and purely bestial lust which we have seen had perhaps encouraged other Uranians to deny sex altogether. These led to a strengthening of Warren's celebration of physical pederasty, but did not encourage him to justify it in quite the same way as we have seen Symonds had done. We have seen that Warren's Arretine ware, and especially the Warren Cup, depicted, with even more clarity than many of the crudely painted ambiguous Greek vases, images of virile, pederastic sex. And they also suggest the pedagogical, romantic, dignified setting of the Greek *symposium*. In the Arretine ware we see the partners gaze at each other and even kiss, reflecting a loving, caring environment in which sex benefits both partners.<sup>1415</sup>

Most significantly these pictures show a positive, even romantic, image of anal sex. This sexual act, as we have seen, haunted modern notions of male-male

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<sup>1412</sup> Plato *Symposium*, 185b, trans. Dover, 1989: 91.

<sup>1413</sup> Dover, 1989: 91.

<sup>1414</sup> Warren, 2009: 29.

<sup>1415</sup> MFA Boston: 13.109, 08.33.

attachments. Other modern versions of Greek Love had long tried to disassociate itself in particular from the 'bestial degradation of sodomy as anal copulation' for which many men were convicted.<sup>1416</sup> It is now thought that in Greek ethics anal sex was prohibited in order to protect their youths from a degrading act, accounting for the lack of this type of sex depicted on Greek vases.<sup>1417</sup> As John Clarke has shown, these Roman images, and especially the Warren Cup, instead manage to maintain the dignity of the penetrated partner, and show anal sex in a heroic and distinguished manner.<sup>1418</sup> These healthy specimens are a perfect accompaniment to Symonds' picture of the healthy sodomites – they show no signs of being 'rickety, phthisical, dropsical paralytics'.<sup>1419</sup>

The importance of the cup in Warren's sexual ideal is evidenced by his name for it - the 'Holy Grail', which was given, according to Percy, because 'he had so long sought for it, and found it in the Holy Land', a reference to its alleged find spot in Jerusalem.<sup>1420</sup> Kaylor suggests 'nowhere is Warren's commingling of collecting and paederastic love more evident' than on the Warren Cup.<sup>1421</sup> It appears to have been his searched for object, providing him, and the modern world, with a rare and beautiful window onto the truth of ancient love between men. It therefore satisfied all aspects of Warren: as a connoisseur looking for important antiquities, as an archaeologist trying to reconstruct life in antiquity through its art, but, most importantly, as a man sexually attracted to young men who found solace in its robustly masculine sexual imagery. Some have claimed that the Warren Cup, together with some of the Arretine ware, is a modern forgery.<sup>1422</sup> If this is true, Vickers' contention that the modern artists saw 'Warren coming and made something to his taste' is very apt.<sup>1423</sup>

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<sup>1416</sup> Dowling, 1994: 115; Blanshard, 2010 esp. 95.

<sup>1417</sup> Shapiro, 2000: 15-19. See Clarke, 1993: 284.

<sup>1418</sup> Clarke, 1993: 286-7.

<sup>1419</sup> Symonds, 1896: 13.

<sup>1420</sup> Williams, 2006; Percy, 2010.

<sup>1421</sup> Kaylor, 2009: lx.

<sup>1422</sup> Giuliani, 2013 argues that it was created specifically for Warren but has recently conceded the possibility of its authenticity due to issues of silver corrosion at a debate in which he faced Dyfri Williams, lately of the British Museum. Moevs, 2008 suggests the Warren Cup is the product of the '*shrewd milieu of the Italian antiquities market, likely at the end of the nineteenth century, to satisfy the demand of a particular foreign clientele*'. See also Sox, 1991: 253. For research on its genuineness see Pollini, 1999: 44, n. 8-9. For Warren's Arretine ware as forgeries see Clarke, 1998: 73 in which he suggests at least some are 'indisputably authentic'. Sox, 1991: 252 suggests many of Warren's Arretine moulds, especially sexually-themed examples, are fakes.

<sup>1423</sup> Michael Vickers, H-HISTSEX correspondence 24 June 2010. See Percy, 2010.

The Phallic imagery which Warren acquired could also bolster ideals about the sexualised appreciation of the male body, in addition to a masculine-centred society, as I have argued above. These emblems of masculine sexuality showed a desire which in ancient times could surely not have been sublimated in its passion for boys, no matter what Plato had said. Davis has stressed the homoerotics of collecting and studying ancient phallic emblems, briefly considering Warren's collection.<sup>1424</sup> The case of another prolific early twentieth-century collector of Egyptian and Roman phallic antiquities, Major Gayer-Anderson, whom we met in the previous chapter, supports Davis' theory. His poetry and autobiography of life in Egypt in the early twentieth century reveals a personal interest in sexual pursuits with young men and, in a painting he had done of himself, he chose to hold a figurine of Antinous, the figure-head of modern homoerotic reception of the ancient world.<sup>1425</sup> We recall Magnus Hirschfeld's display of a plaque of Antinous in the 1930s, very likely to denote his and his institute's especial interest in homoeroticism, together with his fascination for phallic objects around the world. However, as we have seen in the previous chapter, much modern interest, including by Hirschfeld and Gayer-Anderson's client Henry Wellcome, centred on these objects' role in religious fertility rites – as symbols of procreation and heteronormative male-female sex. We have already witnessed a cross-over in these interests in sexual antiquities in Marshall's interest in 'Phallic Worship' (as well as the collection of homoerotic images by the pioneers of phallic theories, Sir William Hamilton and George Witt).<sup>1426</sup>

In the early twentieth century we find a humorous commingling of these interconnected interpretations of phallic imagery. An anonymous<sup>1427</sup> novel entitled *Teleny, or the Reverse of the Medal* published in 1893, demonstrates a reaction

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<sup>1424</sup> Davis, 2001: esp. 248, 259-260; Davis, 2010: esp. Ch. 2.

<sup>1425</sup> Foxcroft, Forthcoming. I am grateful to Louise Foxcroft for sharing parts of her forthcoming biography of Gayer-Anderson before publication.

<sup>1426</sup> On the cross-over between interest in phallic cults and homoeroticism see Davis, 2001: esp. 260; Davis, 2010: esp. Ch. 2.

<sup>1427</sup> The current prevailing theory suggests it was written round-robin style by Oscar Wilde's literary circle including possibly Wilde himself, see Hyde, 1975: 239; Lutz, 2011: 177. In 1906 the erotic publisher, Charles Carrington, advertised a pirated copy of *Teleny* with a note that the author is 'stated on good authority to be no other than Oscar Wilde. This becomes the more convincing when we compare the style of his famous 'Dorian Gray' with the present brilliant but AWFULLY LEWD book', see *Album 7*, British Library, quoted in Colligan and Linley, 2011: 216.

against nineteenth-century spiritual celibacy with graphic descriptions of male-male sexual activity, mirroring the physicality which was being discovered depicted on ancient Roman vessels at this time. In this novel, which is set in contemporary Paris, the ceremonies of the 'worship of Priapus' are used as a metaphor for fellatio ('he first knelt down to say his prayers to Priapus ... and having bathed tickled the little god with his tongue, he got a straddle over me').<sup>1428</sup> The god Priapus was associated with male-male sexual activity, albeit violent and non-consensual, in the ancient world, as found in the *Priapeia*, the Latin poems delivered in the voice of the god in his herm-form.<sup>1429</sup> In *Teleny* the author does not merely use 'priapus' as another word for penis, as we have seen elsewhere, but the meaning is moored to its supposed original religious context, making reference to the ceremonies and temples associated with the ancient god.

Ancient phallic artefacts themselves make an appearance in an allusion to the homoerotic power of the phallic symbol, even in antiquity. The size of the lover's penis is described as 'an organ which might have served as a model for the huge idol in the temple of Priapus or over the doors of the Pompeian brothels, only that at the sight of this wingless god most men would have – as many did – discarded women for the love of their fellow-men'.<sup>1430</sup> We see that these objects, which celebrate the wonders of the male body, were seen as embodying an ancient homoeroticism which could be transposed, almost literally in the case of the man with a Pompeian phallus for a penis, for the enjoyment of turn-of-the-twentieth-century men. In particular, in this last passage we find the sentiments of Warren and his fellow ardent Uranians in their proselytising rejection of the female in favour of everything masculine. In the next section we see that, as in *Teleny*, ancient artefacts made their own appearance in the proselytising activities which promoted the ancient ideals they embodied.

### Section 3: 'Paederastic evangel': collecting antiquities as sexual reform.

We have considered the relationship between modern same-sex desire and the collection and study of ancient sexual imagery in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Particularly, we have seen that knowledge drawn from visual evidence

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<sup>1428</sup> Anonymous, 2006: 84.

<sup>1429</sup> *Priapeia*, 6, 13, 22, 23.

<sup>1430</sup> Anonymous, 2006: 77.

informed the formation of models of male-male attachments, expressed in writing and in lifestyle choices. In this final section, sexual antiquities themselves are shown to be vehicles for the promulgation of such ideals, particularly through their display and dissemination. We consider the display of these objects in private homes, intended to introduce or foster specific same-sex sexual ideals to a privileged few through their function as décor and as private exhibition and research resources. We also examine their donation to museums specifically Warren's creation of the Classical departments at Boston which was designed to reach a much wider, but less receptive, audience and present them with an alternative to heteronormative contemporary society

So far we have examined the comprehensive building of knowledge through the careful study of material culture which then informed, or was translated into, socio-politics. In this section, we consider a more direct and immediate communication from object to uninitiated viewer without widespread prior knowledge of their original context. This is the theory which still underpins much museum visitor theory, and we see it here in an idea that Classical objects could influence the sexual and political attitudes of early twentieth-century Westerners. For Warren, objects were explicitly tools of dissent. Towards the end of his life he wrote to a friend, reflecting on his achievements: 'I like to think of my life as a fight for friendship, against modern ideas ... my protests are the collection of Greek antiquities and my writings'.<sup>1431</sup> Here we see that ancient artefacts not only informed the ideals expressed in his writing, but that he believed drawing together these powerful ancient images could itself express these ideals, and in doing so he could direct his 'protests' where he felt they would be welcomed and where he thought them most desperately needed.

### 3.1 Uranian displays at home

While still an undergraduate at Oxford in the 1880s Warren attempted to create an opportunity for ancient visual culture to affect fellow students in the way they had him. His plan was to build a new postgraduate college for the study of Greek art which was intended to 'correct the 'Platonising' bias of Greek literature and to give a franker idea

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<sup>1431</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 279. Percy, 2009: xii suggests the collecting part of the campaign was more successful than the writing part.

of what Greek culture [and Greek male bonding] had been like — how virile it had been'.<sup>1432</sup> As his contemporary HAL Fisher (1865-1940) later described, it was to 'provide an Hellenic education which depended upon the relation between the young pupil and an older, wiser man who drew out virtue of the younger, encouraging hardness, courage and above all the love of wisdom'.<sup>1433</sup> For this to flourish the young men had to be exposed to the same visual stimuli which had engendered this ideal in Warren. However, Oxford refused Warren's offer and so his benevolence was directed elsewhere, largely to the creation of his community at Lewes House in 1890.

At Lewes, Warren was able to create his research college of Greek art. It was here that, as Warren and Marshall's collecting took off in force in 1892, an immense number of acquisitions began to be brought, or sent by dealers, to be processed, sent on around the world or else kept on in the house.<sup>1434</sup> This included the material we have considered in this thesis, most of which was kept at Lewes until 1908 when it went to Boston. As Ann Elliot describes:

'Warren and Marshall turned Lewes House into a professional collecting enterprise, processing vast quantities of antiquities in their search for the fine, the rare and the ancient. They brought together both objects and people, and the house became the hub of a network linking many major institutions and museums, dealers and collectors, artists, artisans and classicists'.<sup>1435</sup>

Likewise, Charles Shannon and Charles Ricketts, who were living a remarkably similar existence to Warren and Marshall around the same time, used their homes to accumulate their collection of antiquities, including sexual imagery, and share them with the numerous and varied guests who frequented the house.

At Lewes, Warren could create what he had wanted for Oxford: an environment structured to encourage Hellenic-inspired masculine bonding, enhanced with the study of visual representations of these bonds, including their erotic potential. The acquisitions, like the male visitors, were gathered into the 'monastic seclusion' of the

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<sup>1432</sup> Green, 1989: 92. Warren believed 'the Hellenic idea was unintelligible without art', Green, 1989:112. On the college plan see Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 366, 373; Whitehill, 1970: Vol. 1, 169.

<sup>1433</sup> Fisher and Fisher, 1940: 140; Whitehill, 1970: 169; Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 366.

<sup>1434</sup> On Warren's collection in Lewes House see 211 of this chapter. See Green, 1989: 117.

<sup>1435</sup> Elliot, 1999. See also Whitehill, 1970: 145.

house, away from female influences, in which was provided opportunities for masculine pursuits in frugal living and hardy, vigorous, comradely activities, as well as intellectual studies. Into this atmosphere were brought the artefacts we have considered in this thesis, as they were handled, studied, repaired, displayed or carefully packaged for exposure to the outside world. Warren hoped that his 'brotherhood' at the house would see a 'Greek Mirror' in the images surrounding them, a metaphor which David Mader has employed for the reception of Greek literature by Uranians in this period.<sup>1436</sup> The Greek vases and Roman vessels depicted in detail the life of virile men engaged in manly pursuits, most importantly the erotic-pedagogic courtship of the younger generation. Phallic imagery too, as well as male nudes, embodied the sentiment of these ancient lives and appeared at Lewes House.<sup>1437</sup> The success of this aim is demonstrated in a description of Lewes by John Beazley: 'Within, calm, work, a mine of treasures, a shrine of friendship, a spirit of tranquil beauty'.<sup>1438</sup>

The Warren Cup arrived at Lewes in 1911 and stayed there until near the time of Warren's death in 1928 when he loaned it to fellow collector, Paul Hartwig. It was seen by many of his friends and acquaintances, including Beazley when he made his copy, and Vorberg, who had it photographed for publication.<sup>1439</sup> In its original ancient context the cup is thought by some scholars to have been designed to function as a mirror for the desires of men at Roman dinner parties where it would have been used, and as a catalyst to discourse on the theme of idealised Greek-style pederasty by channelling the atmosphere of the Greek symposium.<sup>1440</sup> We may imagine Warren producing the cup at special communal dinners at Lewes with the intention of encouraging the same stimulating influence. John Pollini's idea of the ancient viewer of the Warren Cup could also be a description of its modern reception amongst the Uranians, Classical scholars, aesthetes, artists and connoisseurs whom Warren invited to dine at Lewes:

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<sup>1436</sup> Mader, 2005.

<sup>1437</sup> Potvin, 2011: 80 suggests the display of 'Greek vases and bowls on the mantle and desk, statues of nude young Classical Greek men, and... a print of a portrait of a young Greek man' reinforced the 'ascetic training and inspiration implied in the domestic all-male *askesis* Warren attempted to construct'. Davis, 2001: 248 speculates on the sort of 'phallic and homosexual' artefacts which passed through or were displayed in the house. See Green, 1989: 117.

<sup>1438</sup> Quoted in Williams, 2006: 26.

<sup>1439</sup> Williams, 2006: 26; Davis, 2001: 248.

<sup>1440</sup> Pollini, 1999: 37. See Kaylor, 2006: 42.

'A hypothetical ancient symposiast, taking visual clues from the scenes on the Warren Cup, might have directed his conversation, drawing analogies, making allusions, punning, or employing a host of other literary tropes, while peppering his discourse with quotes from past and/or contemporary authors on the nature of love and its pleasures... the possibilities would have been limited only by a symposiast's knowledge of the subject and, most likely, his own personal experiences and preferences'.<sup>1441</sup>

The variety of visitors that arrived and stayed at Lewes House, and the 'happy confusion of interests' that resulted, were, in many different ways, centred on the comprehension of the collection of antiquities, including the sexually themed ones. Many of the regular guests, such as the writer John Fothergill, took on the registration of the material as it came in, studying and describing each object as it was carefully unpacked. In the large leather-bound registers he, and Warren's other 'protégés', made note of Greek *alabastrons* showing men 'in erotic discourse with a beardless youth' and Arretine bowl moulds with the image of 'two youths reclining on couch, the one enjoying the other *in vas indebitum*' ('up the bum').<sup>1442</sup> The language used, we note, celebrates rather than condemns these homoerotic scenes. Matthew Pritchard took on the task of restoring these objects and was taught the art of cleaning and repairing vases under the guidance of W. T. Ready,<sup>1443</sup> dealer and advisor to Warren, who, as we saw in Chapter 1, was arranging the purchase of many of these sexually themed items. We have already seen the young Beazley studying homoerotic Greek vases together with Warren's notes and sketches in the rooms at Lewes. He may even have been allowed up into Warren's own study above the stables, pointedly named 'Thebes' after the city associated with the most famous example of Greek comradesly eroticism, the army of lovers, known as the Theban Band.

The sculptor Auguste Rodin also began to visit and study the collection at Lewes.<sup>1444</sup> He and Warren's shared interest in eroticism and art culminated in Warren's commission of a copy of 'The Kiss', a marble sculpture of a nude man and woman

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<sup>1441</sup> Pollini, 1999: 37. See Kaylor, 2006: 42.

<sup>1442</sup> Lewes House Register (1 Pt 1 Pg 37 No. 112, 3 Pg41 No.1745 photo 9125).

<sup>1443</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 140-1. See also Beazley, 1941: 337.

<sup>1444</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 267, 260; Elliot, 1999. See Green, 1989: 174.



embracing and kissing, which cost Warren £1,000 and arrived in Lewes in 1904.<sup>1445</sup> Warren managed to transpose the Uranian Ideal onto this modern work too, telling Rodin that, 'being a pagan and lover of antiquities', on his copy the 'genitals of the man must be complete' according to the Classical Greek tradition, rather than subtlety hidden as they had been on Rodin's original piece, according to modern conventions.<sup>1446</sup> Here we see a reversal of the 'emasculatation' of genitals which appears much more commonly in accounts of the modern reception of the Classical nude.<sup>1447</sup> Rodin's time spent at Lewes, surrounded by Warren's antiquities which embodied the Uranian spirit Warren adhered to, had a profound effect on the artist. A letter he wrote to Warren in 1911, the year the Warren Cup arrived at Lewes, gives us the clearest example of the success of Warren's intentions at Lewes:

'The admiration that I felt for your way of living, for your very enlightenment taste for works of art ... have all increasingly aroused in me the desire to also live in the Greek manner of thinking. This religion is ours'.<sup>1448</sup>

Lewes acted as a private museum for Warren's Uranian artefacts, spread as they were throughout the house.<sup>1449</sup> We saw in Chapter 2 that both Townley and Witt had a private 'museum' that was available to their friends and acquaintances for privileged and sustained study and engagement before being moved to the British Museum. At Lewes the integration of material, as opposed to being housed in one special room, suggests their function was partly decorative, and this would have encouraged a process in which the 'Greek spirit' exuding from these objects was consumed constantly by those in the house, while they performed other tasks. Here we are

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<sup>1445</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: XIII; Green, 1989: 179.

<sup>1446</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 259, my translation. They quote the entire conditions of contract between Rodin and Warren (in French). Larger than life-size, Warren's commission was installed in the coach house until 1914 when it moved to Lewes Town Hall. The town council sent it back after five years stating lack of space, although Burdett and Goddard suggest 'it became an embarrassment to the town', Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 263. See also Williams, 2006: 28; Kaylor, 2006: 38; Green, 1989: 179; Sox, 1991: 94; Williams, 2006: 28.

<sup>1447</sup> Frost, 2007: 65.

<sup>1448</sup> Rodin to Warren, 24/12/1911, quoted in translation in May, 1997. Full letter quoted in French in Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 260.

<sup>1449</sup> On Warren's collection displayed in the house see Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 134, 369; Potvin, 2011; Murley, 2012: 92-3, 98, figs. 5, 17, 19, 20, 21; Sox, 1991: figs. 6-9.

reminded of ideas that suggest eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century aristocratic houses in which displays of Classicism were organised and arranged primarily for aesthetic reasons or 'taste', rather than scholarly motives.<sup>1450</sup> At Lewes, however, this model ensured maximum impact of these Uranian specimens. The model was different at Shannon and Ricketts' homes, in which a special 'museum' room was set aside for the collection of Classical and Egyptian antiquities together with 'drawers full of antique beads and Chinese hair ornaments ... Adam sofas and chairs, Italian side-tables'.<sup>1451</sup> The room was opened only to 'friends who cared to see, and would understand its rarity'.<sup>1452</sup> This suggests only the already initiated would have benefited from exposure to these objects. Warren's approach, in contrast, was explicitly evangelical, as we shall explore further below. At Lewes, many of the objects were on display in the various studies of the house and their location here, as well as in the many storerooms which housed the material brought out for special viewing, suggests less the general viewership of a guest in a neo-Classical mansion, and more the concentrated erudition of the research institution and the archaeological museum, in which many objects may be compared to identify artistic conventions and to consider what this might say about the lives (and loves) of those who created them.<sup>1453</sup> This must have been the approach of Beazley as he examined material at Lewes, developing his keen interest and eye for vase-painting and being inspired by Warren to notice their repeated motifs, including sexual ones. In a reverberation of Johann Zoffany's 1782 painting of the Baron d'Hancarville sat at a desk in Charles Townley's library surrounded by antiquities, we might imagine the figure of Beazley inserted into a photograph of a table of Greek vases in a Lewes House study.<sup>1454</sup> However, the very sparse selection of objects spread throughout the home (in line with the ethos of *askesis*) also has the air of the art gallery in which privileged pieces are given space to be appreciated and which may have encouraged an aesthetic engagement.<sup>1455</sup> As Cook has suggested, the domestic

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<sup>1450</sup> On eighteenth century domestic display of Classical and neo-Classical art as decoration see Scott, 2003, esp. 170-1; Haskell and Penny, 1981. For a more nuanced study of neo-Classicism see Coltman, 2006.

<sup>1451</sup> Cook, 2012: 625.

<sup>1452</sup> Cook, 2012: 625.

<sup>1453</sup> On Warren storerooms of material see Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 128-130; Sox, 1987: 24.

<sup>1454</sup> This photograph is reproduced in Potvin, 2011.

<sup>1455</sup> See Potvin, 2011.

displays of these Hellenic bachelors, like the aristocratic private house collections, signalled 'exquisite taste' together with 'culture and also substantial knowledge, restraint, refinement'.<sup>1456</sup>

### 3.2 The 'labour of love': Warren and the Boston museum

Despite the proprietorial notions which these domestic displays suggest, these collectors were also keen to disseminate their material, and by extension their message, across major public museums. In Chapter 1 we saw Warren and Marshall building the Classical collections at Boston, as they later would for the Metropolitan Museum of Arts, New York, as well as acting as donor to many other institutions in Europe and America. Shannon and Ricketts also bequeathed their collection to the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. In doing so they shared their antiquities with a wider audience but also positioned their material, and what it stood for, within the highly respectable context of a national museum.<sup>1457</sup> For Warren, this was a carefully conceived part of his campaign to articulate the Uranian Ideal. Reflections he made in old age describe his most treasured achievement as his work for Boston. 'The Museum', he wrote, 'truly was a paederastic evangel. It must be counted a result of love'.<sup>1458</sup> This evangelism was meant to deliver, to as wide an audience as possible, the idea encapsulated in these antiquities: erotic-pedagogical, virile bonding within a masculine social organisation.

While Warren made gifts of Classical material to many European and American museums, most notably the Museum in Leipzig and the Ashmolean in Oxford<sup>1459</sup> his campaign was directed at America and especially his home town of Boston because he saw this as the epicentre of the modern values he despised: Christian Puritanism, equality of the sexes and feminine domesticity. 'It was hate of Boston that made me work for Boston' he wrote 'The collection was my plea against that in Boston which contradicted my (pagan) love'. In the New World, and Boston especially, he found all that was hostile to his Uranian Love. 'Clearly', Burdett says, 'a man with such ideas and

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<sup>1456</sup> Cook, 2012: 265-6. See Cohen, 2006: 156.

<sup>1457</sup> See Cook, 2012: 626.

<sup>1458</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 400. See Edsall, 2003: 189.

<sup>1459</sup> On Warren's provision outside Boston see Murley, 2012.

with such a soul would be a misfit in every way imaginable in New England'.<sup>1460</sup> Warren had escaped to Europe and been enriched by the antiquities of European museums. America did not have major Classical collections at that time and Warren wanted to provide them, convinced that 'America had a special need of Greek art'.<sup>1461</sup> He hoped Greek art would revive the Hellenic spirit, as it had done in the Old World. His friends explain that 'When asked whether he gave Greek antiquities to American museums for the sake of the hundredth person who might appreciate them, or whether the ideas for which these antiquities stood were a fundamental challenge to American conceptions, he replied: 'For both reasons: but especially for the latter.'<sup>1462</sup> On a vacation home to Boston from Oxford Warren wrote: 'Here with cold winds and snow, the traditions of Puritanism, the ugliness of the men and the absence of aesthetic sympathy, all Greece is frozen out'.<sup>1463</sup>

As previous scholarship on American Classicism has identified, the latter half of the nineteenth century saw a wider appeal to this enriching power of Classicism.<sup>1464</sup> Warren was not alone in feeling dissatisfied with a new 'ugliness' or philistinism in which the 'cultured and beautiful' aspects of American life were seen as diminishing. Like Warren, some Americans turned to aestheticism and notions of an idealised Classical past as a remedy.<sup>1465</sup> Many of these, including Warren, left to live in Europe where, as they saw it, Classical culture was more deeply embedded.<sup>1466</sup> However, there also remained a conviction, as Warren's story shows, that the New World might still be elevated by exposure to the 'remains of a past glory'.<sup>1467</sup> Warren's story demonstrates the importance of the establishment of Classical collections in national museums for this newly animated appeal to the Classical past in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America. Scholarship on Classicism in the United States has

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<sup>1460</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 67.

<sup>1461</sup> Beazley, 1941: 333. Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 152 See L. Curtis 'In Memoriam Edward Perry Warren and John Marshall' quoted in Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 412-3. See Green, 1989: 92. On Warren bringing Classical antiquities to America see Murley, 2012.

<sup>1462</sup> Quoted in Whitehill, 1970: 142. 'Warren believed that through contact with antiquity, puritanical Boston society could develop a reverence for Greek culture and arts', Kondoleon, 2012.

<sup>1463</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 111.

<sup>1464</sup> Winterer, 2002: 160-4; Malamud, 2009: 194; Dyson, 2006: 29. See also Winterer, 2006: 54.

<sup>1465</sup> Dyson, 2006: 29.

<sup>1466</sup> Dyson, 2006: 29.

<sup>1467</sup> Dyson, 2006: 29; Winterer, 2002: 157-8, 164.

not fully discussed this aspect, and has not acknowledged Warren's central role in American's relationship with Classical antiquity.<sup>1468</sup> This chapter expands on work which has drawn attention to the importance of Warren's work for extending the study of Greek and Roman culture in America beyond the boundaries of Classical literature.<sup>1469</sup> Warren was a product of the recent addition of Art History into Classical education in America, where it had previously been practically non-existent.<sup>1470</sup> Warren, like his friend the art historian Bernard Berenson, was taught at Harvard University by the father of American Classical Archaeology and Art History, Charles Eliot Norton (1827-1908).<sup>1471</sup> Although he had been tempted to join those who made their home in the Old World, Norton remained in the United States and founded the Archaeological Institute of America.<sup>1472</sup> His extremely popular classes indoctrinated a generation with art appreciation and a belief that the physical remains of Greece and Rome engendered a 'fuller acquaintance with the genius of these commanding races'.<sup>1473</sup> These ideas were clearly influential on Warren and underpin his life's work as he brought Norton's creed to fruition in the establishment of world class Classical museum collections in America. Warren thought he should provide a remedy to fill, as he put it, the 'terrible gap that exists on this continent, the absence of that which delights the eye and rests the soul'.<sup>1474</sup> Norton certainly believed that Warren had achieved this, and more. In 1900 he declared that 'there is not and never has been in America or in Europe a man with such capacities, will, and circumstances for collecting, and the Museum [of Fine Arts, Boston] must be entirely dependent upon him'.<sup>1475</sup>

Correspondence between Warren and the Boston museum shows how Warren gradually developed this dependence upon him, which Norton would later recommend, by asserting himself, first as a collector and then as official buyer for the Greek and Roman departments.<sup>1476</sup> Between 1895 and 1902 the museum purchased over five

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<sup>1468</sup> Winterer, 2002: esp. 125; Malamud, 2009; Meckler, 2006.

<sup>1469</sup> Murley, 2012: 339; Dyson, 2006.

<sup>1470</sup> Winterer, 2002: 125; Murley, 2012: 63.

<sup>1471</sup> Dyson, 2006: 33; Green, 1989: 74, 75, 136, 173.

<sup>1472</sup> Dyson, 2006: 36.

<sup>1473</sup> Dyson, 2006: 36.

<sup>1474</sup> Warren quoted in Whitehill, 1970: 154.

<sup>1475</sup> See also Green, 1989: 173.

<sup>1476</sup> Warren to MFA Boston, Archives of American Art. See also Whitehill, 1970: 148; Beazley, 1941: 331-363.

hundred pieces of sculpture, vases, bronzes, terra-cottas, coins and gems and Warren also donated many more.<sup>1477</sup> Later Marshall would make a similar arrangement with the Metropolitan.<sup>1478</sup> Warren was not merely a dealer for the museum: he was not taking commission in the early days and later he was putting up half of the money for acquisitions.<sup>1479</sup> Edward Robinson, curator of Classical antiquities, declared: 'here is a man who is doing everything he can to help the museum'.<sup>1480</sup> In 1895, Warren wrote to the museum's director, Martin Brimmer, about his future vision of the Classical collection:

'My object is that the museum should in time possess one of the fine Greek collections in the world, and so make the study of Greek art possible in Boston. Every acquisition should be a step to that end. This collection, to be intelligible, should contain, not sculpture only but also gems, vases, coins and good examples of all the minor arts'.<sup>1481</sup>

As Burdett describes, this was a 'labour of love, intended to convey the true Classical message to any American capable of hearing it. Each piece, whether coin, vase, terracotta or sculpture, was carefully chosen, not because it was *archaologische wichtig* [archaeologically important] but because it displayed to a renegade world something of what Greece meant'.<sup>1482</sup> We see Warren's aim in this context fixed, not on scholarship, as in his private study of this material, but on the wider impact these objects could make when presented to his lay countrymen in subverting what he saw as their heteronormative 'Puritanism'.

### 3.3 Subverting Bostonian 'Puritanism'

As discussed in the previous chapter, there is a long history of Paganism contained within Classical antiquities being seen as an antidote to perceived repressive, Christian attitudes to sex and the body. For Warren, the target was not eighteenth-century Catholicism as for William Hamilton, but turn-of-the-century New England

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<sup>1477</sup> Whitehill, 1970: 142-171.

<sup>1478</sup> Whitehill, 1970: 167.

<sup>1479</sup> Whitehill, 1970: 145, 149.

<sup>1480</sup> Whitehill, 1970: 148-9.

<sup>1481</sup> Warren to Brimmer, 4/9/1895, Archives of American Art. See Whitehill, 1970: 150.

<sup>1482</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 366.

Puritanism.<sup>1483</sup> It is no coincidence that the majority of objects with sexual imagery Warren collected went to Boston. Beazley tells us 'The sense of decorum... was a good deal more strongly developed in trustees and the public than it had been in antiquity, and was in Warren'.<sup>1484</sup> Warren was able to utilise this ethical disparity to subvert Bostonian prudishness. On a basic level this could mean the provision of *any* image of sex or nudity which could shock Boston's 'extreme sensitivities'. But clearly Warren believed they would engender feelings not only of disgust (as then might have been simply dismissed), but also of interest and intrigue. Furthermore, these were not just *any* explicit image: they conveyed the attitudes of a real historical culture which had not only survived with very different attitudes to the human body, sexual expression and sexual fulfilment, but had actively thrived on it. They were considered the forebears of civilisation itself - something which even these (as Warren saw it) uncultured Americans might admit. Warren worded this idea carefully in a letter to the museum in explanation of the challenging material he was sending:

'Art springs directly from life of man as it is that I have always had my doubts whether it was consistent with the moral aspirations which we of New England inherit. All of systems of morals which ignore the possible richness of man's life are fragile and indeed lead to their contraries. Unhealthy Puritanism leads to immorality. The Greeks who were not from the modern point of view particularly moral, reached at times a balance of spiritual and bodily powers which was at least healthy and beautiful because it was healthy. From this point of view their character and their art which helps us to understand it is specially interesting. To me it is a pleasure to store up objects in the museum which may lead to a reconsideration of very intricate problems now currently regarded as settled'.<sup>1485</sup>

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<sup>1483</sup> See Comstock and Vermeule, 1976; Sox, 1991: 253; Kaylor, 2009: xiii; 204; Davis, 2001: 247-277; Frost, 2007: 63-72. Potvin, 2011: 74, suggests Warren's 'acquisitions and substantial donation of Greek antiquities to the Boston museum were an oblique and subversive way for him to challenge what he perceived to be the conservative and moribund uppercrust Bostonian ethos that dominated that city's cultural life'. Percy, 2009: xii has suggested 'there was more than connoisseurship behind these acquisitions: Warren used these purchases as part of a dual strategy for undermining the American Puritanism that he so detested'. Green, 1989: 127 suggests Warren was 'not at all ambivalent about another immoralist intent put into effect through this work: the subversion of sexual 'normality' in America. His collection of erotica, for instance, was intended to break down puritan inhibitions and hypocrisy'. On Boston Puritanism see Whitehill, 1970: 674; Santayana, 1935; Sox, 1991: 252.

<sup>1484</sup> Beazley, 1941: 354.

<sup>1485</sup> Warren to Brimmer, 8/12/1894, Archives of American Art. See also Green, 1989: 128.

One example of the trustee's pronounced 'sense of decorum' was their refusal of a Greek archaic grave *stele* featuring a nude athlete which Warren offered.<sup>1486</sup> Beazley, writing in the 1930s, insisted it 'does not now appear to contain anything alarming'.<sup>1487</sup> The museum committee told Warren, 'the lower fragment could not be displayed publically' unless it could be 'treated' but they could not 'see how this could be done without mutilation'.<sup>1488</sup> It must have been the particularly well-defined nature of the figure's genitals, as compared with other nudes that were accepted by the museum, which caused concern for the committee. They are well pronounced against their background and protruding quite far from the body, in the manner of the copy of 'The Kiss' which Rodin made for Warren. In Chapter 1 I argued that Warren's involvement with Boston exemplifies the many different forces which could be influential in an institution, including Boston, so that it is difficult to define a singular approach to material by 'the museum' in terms of its attitude to sexual imagery and censorship. Warren was able to use his influence to shape the collection. Despite the trustees' refusal to buy the material, he was able to infiltrate into the collection many challenging items, like the *stele*, as gifts. Walter Whitehill, in a history of the museum, tells us that the *stele* was not displayed until the 1950s, however in a letter I have found from the then curator of Greece and Rome at Boston, Lacey Davis Caskey (1880-1944) to Beazley, explains that he did display the object for a few months before being ordered to take it down due to the opening of a new building.<sup>1489</sup> In Caskey, and others within the museum, Warren found people more like-minded, whose 'sensitivities' were not offended by the material. However, Warren's 'campaign', as Beazley tells us, was directed at the trustees and especially the Bostonian public.<sup>1490</sup>

As well as the institutionalisation of nudity in art in antiquity, the ubiquitous use of sexual imagery as a motif, across a range of media and mix of subject matters also proved 'a problem to the prudish'.<sup>1491</sup> The current museum handbook tells us that 'Warren took a certain pleasure in submitting to the Museum Greek vases whose

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<sup>1486</sup> Another example is that at the opening of the museum in 1876 the genitals of nude Classical casts were also covered with fig leaves, Whitehill, 1970: 31.

<sup>1487</sup> Beazley, 1941: 354.

<sup>1488</sup> Whitehill, 1970: 674.

<sup>1489</sup> Caskey to Beazley 20/10/1941, Beazley Archive, Oxford.

<sup>1490</sup> Beazley, 1941: 354.

<sup>1491</sup> Whitehill, 1970: 674.



decoration was frankly erotic ... The Museum responded by editing compromising areas with strategically placed daubs of paint (removed in recent years).<sup>1492</sup> Many of the satyrs featured on Greek vases, as we saw in Chapter 1, had their large phalluses removed by over-painting. Red-figure Greek vases which featured ithyphallic satyrs sideways on, so that much of their phallus was painted against the black field, could be easily doctored so that the phallus was practically removed (see fig. 24). Over-painting was also attempted where the phallus was not painted against a black field, but less successfully (see fig. 27). As Whitehill points out, Greek vases caused difficulty for the trustees because they portrayed many different types of imagery.<sup>1493</sup> On a well-known bell *krater* by the Pan painter we find the 'moralistic death' of Aktaion by Artemis next to a 'very ill-behaved Pan'.<sup>1494</sup> Pan's large phallus was painted over in black when the museum received the object from Warren.<sup>1495</sup> It is clear that this high-quality painting of motifs from Greek mythology was of aesthetic and historical value to the museum trustees but that the sexual imagery was a barrier to their interest in it. For Warren, it was precisely the sexual imagery which was central to his appreciation of these vases and to the role he thought they could play in a campaign of dissent through collecting. The trustees' reaction to this material shows that Warren correctly anticipated that this type of imagery would offend their 'Puritan' sensibilities. As in Warren's addition of genitals for Rodin's 'The Kiss', we see an apt reversal of this censorship of vase-painting, in a story told by the Fitzwilliam Museum of Shannon and Ricketts painting the genitals of a satyr, missing from the original scene, onto a vase which they later donated to the museum. As with Warren's specifications for his commission of Rodin's sculpture, and the grave *stele*, the prominent depiction of genitals was an important part of the separation of 'pagan' and Christian approaches to displaying the male body. And, as with the Munich re-painted *kylix*, these modern fabrications are meant to express, indeed to draw attention to rather than to suppress, sexuality.

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<sup>1492</sup> Quoted in Temin, 2001. See Whitehill, 1970: 674. Both Whitehill and the museum handbook suggest that the over-painting was removed from the satyr-vases in the nineteen sixties. However, a search on the museum website reveals a number of photographs of vases with satyrs still displaying this 'prudish' over-painting (fig. 24, 27), See Boston MFA 95.34; 00.343; 01.8085; 03.788; 91.226a-b; 01.8023.

<sup>1493</sup> See Whitehill, 1970: 674-6.

<sup>1494</sup> See Whitehill, 1970: 674-6. This is Boston MFA: 10.185.

<sup>1495</sup> See Whitehill, 1970: 674-6.

Warren's most overt challenge to the 'Puritanism' he identified, came in 1908, in the provision of what the museum labelled his 'Erotic Collection', as well as sporadic donations of similar material over the next ten years.<sup>1496</sup> As I have argued, this was a challenge to the trustees and Boston more widely. The 'erotic' collection was clearly not challenging to everyone in the museum, as I showed in Chapter 1, seeing as it was likely accepted by one of Warren's closer acquaintances from within the institution.<sup>1497</sup> Again, we have seen that many items were accessed, studied and published in scholarship of the 1920s and 1930s, despite the suggestion that the material was kept out of bounds in 'dark storage' for half a century after its accession.<sup>1498</sup> Thus I problematised ideas of blanket repression in the museum. However, for Warren, as we have seen elsewhere, it was important to invest in this idea of 'Puritanism' in Boston museum and the city because he saw himself and ancient Greece as its antithesis. Although he later got exposure for his objects in privately printed scholarly publications, Warren's aim in the donations to Boston was to reach the American public and he no doubt knew his 'Erotic Collection' would not in all likelihood be put on general display. Therefore, his donation of this material demonstrates his determination to leave a permanent mark on Bostonian society. For Warren, even to be able to 'store up' these images in this museum was an important part of subverting the 'unhealthy Puritanism' of the city, and encouraging the 'reconsideration of very intricate problems now currently regarded as settled'.<sup>1499</sup> Warren always looked to the future in building the Classical collection and was sure that it would be of more use to future generations.<sup>1500</sup> Many items from the 'Erotic Collection' have been on display since the 1960s.<sup>1501</sup>

Warren's attempt to show Boston a 'healthy' attitude to sex and the body can explain the inclusion of thirty images of men and women having sex on Greek vase-painting and also Roman Arretine ware, lamps and marble reliefs in his 'Erotic

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<sup>1496</sup> On the 1908 'erotic collection' donation see Whitehill, 1970: 676; Comstock and Vermeule, 1976: xi; Kaylor, 2009: xciv.

<sup>1497</sup> Comstock and Vermeule, 1976: xi. Green, 1989: 204.

<sup>1498</sup> Whitehill, 1970: 676.

<sup>1499</sup> Warren to Brimmer, 8/12/1894, Archives of American Art. See also Green, 1989: 128; Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 279.

<sup>1500</sup> Warren to Brimmer, 4/9/1895, Archives of American Art.

<sup>1501</sup> Whitehill, 1970: 676 tells us that they 'caused no commotion when restored to their proper places in the collection in 1964.'

Collection'. This includes the Boston Mirror we examined in Chapter 1, a unique and detailed Hellenistic bronze object depicting male-female sex in two acrobatic poses (fig. 28). Given the misogyny we have identified in Warren's sexual-social ideals, it is surprising to find such material in his collection, particularly as part of the vehicle which was meant to promote his Uranian creed. It would seem strange if Warren should want to promote the 'Pandemic' relationship and the 'homogeneous love' that he so despised.<sup>1502</sup> However, throughout his life, Warren had been taken with the difference between Christian and Pagan attitudes, even regarding relations between men and women. His autobiography and early parts of the *Defence* (both written from the perspective of a young man) show a youthful innocence in questions about why sex and lust should necessarily be seen as 'immoral', clearly the norm he experienced in his upbringing.<sup>1503</sup> Burdett tells us that people found Warren unusually 'frank' about sexual matters.<sup>1504</sup> His notebooks show an interest in Classical evidence which illuminates attitudes to sexual life in general across philosophy, poetry, literature and art. As we have seen in the last chapter, ancient images of sex articulated a 'frankness' about sexuality, sexual imagery and nudity which acted as an antidote to modern prudery and Puritanism. It is clear that Warren found this attitude refreshing compared to the 'purity' he experienced in Boston especially, and to an extent the modern Western world at large. As we saw in his letter to the museum he was impressed with ancient Greek 'balance of spiritual and bodily powers which was at least healthy'.<sup>1505</sup> Material featuring any sexual acts, and other imagery such as ithyphallic satyrs, could shock initially, but also ultimately show an alternative 'healthy' attitude from another culture. The donation of male-female sexual images shows how fundamental the combating of 'purity' in Boston was to Warren's campaign to promote the Uranian Ideal. He was prepared to promote images of the type of sexual experience he detested in order to clear the way for more radical views, something he had not had to do in the more receptive circles at Oxford and his 'brotherhood' at Lewes House. Thus,

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<sup>1502</sup> Warren, 2009: 59.

<sup>1503</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 17.

<sup>1504</sup> Burdett and Goddard, 1941: 383. Green, 1989: 128 describes Warren as wanting to present a 'franker' idea of what Greek culture had been like. See Mader, 2005: 402 on the association between 'frankness' and homoeroticism in this period.

<sup>1505</sup> Warren to Brimmer, 8/12/1894, Archives of American Art. See also Green, 1989: 128.

seemingly paradoxically, images of men and women having sex ultimately were meant to improve public attitudes to sex between men.

### 3.4 A Uranian message for Americans

These more radical views were Warren's 'Uranian Ideal' and he saw these embodied in other objects within the 'Erotic Collection'. As Martin Green suggests, Warren's provision of sculptured and painted nude figures was intended to 'make male art lovers look at their own and their friends' bodies with a new appreciation'.<sup>1506</sup> But, again, these were not just any images of naked men. They spoke of a particular type of masculine, virile male-male desire, and from a particular culture which, as we have seen, was in other aspects much revered in modern life. The thirty objects featuring phallic imagery, in addition to subverting puritan sensibilities by their immediate sexual appearance, and revealing a 'healthy' attitude to the human body, invoked for Warren a masculine-centered society and preoccupation with virility and male sexuality. All of these could counter the perils of Christian 'Meekness', the growing influence of the equality of the sexes and the domestication of men, which were especially pronounced, as Warren saw it, in Boston. However, the most powerful and important pieces of the 'Erotic Collection' were the seven Greek vases showing masculine men in sexual encounters with their beloved boys, and the four of the pieces of Arretine ware showing a man 'enjoying' another '*in vas debitum*'. We have seen that Roman objects in some ways expressed more powerfully Warren's 'Uranian Ideal' and it is therefore no accident that today Boston owns the largest collection of extant Roman images of male-male sex. These newly collected objects, together with the newly decoded sexuality of Greek vases, were central to Warren's new model of sexualised, pedagogical pederasty which he proposed as an alternative to Platonic chastity. The donation of these same objects was meant to correct the Platonising bias of modern neo-Classical and Uranian thought. But most importantly, these explicit images of homoeroticism were Warren's attempt, in the clearest terms, to encourage the revival of such relationships and their

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<sup>1506</sup> Green, 1989: 127.

normalisation in the wider modern world: the most evident part of his 'paederastic evangel'.<sup>1507</sup>

It has been assumed that Warren never attempted to pass the Warren Cup to Boston or anywhere else in his lifetime.<sup>1508</sup> However, letters between Warren and Boston show that he did try to send a silver cup matching its description in 1921.<sup>1509</sup> It never arrived - the reason is not known. Vorberg's publication of photographs of the cup in 1932 also lists it as being in the Boston museum.<sup>1510</sup> This may simply be a straightforward error based on the fact that other Warren material published in the volume was then at Boston. Vorberg's previous publication of 1921 lists the cup as being in a private collection.<sup>1511</sup> However, it may be that Warren or the museum stated prematurely that the cup was on its way to America, information which at some point Vorberg noted, and did not check before publication in 1932. This new information about the history of Warren and the cup greatly increases the importance of the provision of material for Boston as a 'paederastic evangel'. It suggests that he saw his role as sexual reformer taking precedence over the more private relationship he had with antiquity as connoisseur, scholar and philhellene. Although he and his like-minded friends at Lewes had appreciated and enjoyed its powerful Uranian imagery, as he came to the end of his life he wanted America to inherit his 'holy grail', the jewel of his pederastic acquisitions, as they had most need of it.

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<sup>1507</sup> Kaylor suggests that pederasty is a 'love that proper society preferred to expurgate from its conversations, its texts, and its art collections. Warren was attempting to force his contemporary Bostonians to countenance that, at least in regard to the antiquities left behind, 'what the Greeks called paederastia, or boy love, was a phenomenon of one of the most brilliant periods of human culture'. *That Boston was not prepared to admit*, Kaylor, 2009: LXIV.

<sup>1508</sup> Williams, 2006: 26. Frost, 2007: 34 suggests 'the cup could never have been purchased by a museum at this time'.

<sup>1509</sup> Warren to MFA Boston 30/2/1921, Archives of American Art.

<sup>1510</sup> Vorberg, 1965: 355, 456-7.

<sup>1511</sup> Vorberg, 1921: 1-3.

## Conclusions

This final story of Warren's dealings with the Boston museum ends with an appropriately nuanced account of the reception and collection of sexual antiquities in Britain and America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Warren, a self-styled radical, fought against, but at the same time worked alongside, the authoritative institution of America's premier art museum. He challenged contemporary society but was not outside of it, being a guiding force in mainstream scholarly understanding of ancient material culture. He embraced the traditional pursuit of Classical collecting and engagement with the Classical past which was part of the fabric of Western identity. However, he used this same established act of gathering material antiquity as a vehicle of dissent, by presenting the ancient past as an antithesis to these same traditional values. The Boston museum in turn censored many images of sexuality but also facilitated the means for challenging material to enter its institution. This exemplifies the complexity which has characterised the encounters with sexually themed material from the ancient past that we have met throughout this thesis. In these encounters we have seen rebelliousness meeting establishment; mainstream discourses supported by counter-cultural theories; the ancient past as a mirror to modern life and as its antithesis; and 'repressive' and 'liberal' thinking co-existing in responses to a wide range of material. To elucidate the complexities of the modern world's response to sexual antiquities was my key aim in writing this thesis. This project asked whether there was more to the recent history of the reception of objects from antiquity featuring explicit sexual imagery, than reactionary responses and repressive censorship which have been the focus of scholarly and popular attention. If we did find this to be the case, what motivations lay behind such an interest in this material? What role did such objects play in intellectual, political and personal discourses? In particular, what role did they play in the modern negotiation of ideas about sexuality and the role of sex in society?

In examining the reception of sexual antiquities I have shown that, throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, there was sustained and deliberate engagement with such material in a variety of contexts including private collections, national museums, scholarship and political discourse. Where Museological treatment of such material in this era has been characterised by the anxious secretion of such

material into specially restricted, 'secret' collections, I have shown through close analysis of the records of British and American institutions that new acquisitions were consistently made of this supposedly problematic material in an attempt to deliberately build up collections of it. Furthermore, my findings have undermined an assumption that the Museological model of the 'secret cabinet' - in which all objects regardless of culture, function or material are locked away because of their explicit appearance - was applied as a blanket 'solution' to the 'problem' of sexually themed objects across museums until at least the mid-twentieth century. In the case of the British Museum, practically identical sexual objects were respectively put into the museum's 'Secretum' and also stored together with non-sexual material from the same culture. The pharmaceutical giant, Sir Henry Wellcome, whose treatment of sexual antiquities has never before been comprehensively considered, saw 'secret' collections at other museums, not as a solution to a problem, but as a feature to emulate in putting together a world class collection of sexual antiquities for his Historical Medical Museum. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, accepted as its main buyer the 'Uranian' and Classical scholar, Edward Perry Warren - a collector whose tastes were dominated by the theme of sexuality. Where private collectors who took an interest in such material have been characterised as seedy, clandestine 'pornophiles' who were interested, not in ancient cultures or their art and artefacts, but really in satisfying their own lascivious desires, I have shown that the networks of buyers and collectors dealing in this material was vast, stretching across Europe and America and including many prominent and respected figures in the collecting world. Such collectors and institutions acquired, distributed and displayed ancient objects featuring sexual imagery as a way of building knowledge about the ancient world. Scholars and writers across disciplines routinely accessed such material, both in supposedly restricted museum cabinets and private collections, to methodically examine and analyse its imagery for what it could reveal about antiquity and its visual culture.

In answering the question of the motivation behind such sustained interest in sexual antiquities, I have shown that this material was employed in a range of prominent debates throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Where there has previously been an assumption that reactionary responses to such material during this

period stifled proper scholarly engagement, I have revealed a wide spread conscious attempt to explore a range of possible interpretations of sexual imagery in its original contexts. An understanding of ancient sexual, and especially phallic, imagery, not as 'pornographic' but relating directly to religious ritual, which is often supposed to have been only fully comprehended in last forty years, is shown to have been a key concern for modern interpreters for many centuries. In addition, images of two males having sex on Greek vases and Roman vessels have been systematically analysed and catalogued as evidence of real and ideal relationships between men since at least the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Addressing the role such objects played in intellectual, political and personal life in this era, I have illustrated that they impinged upon the developing scholarly fields of Archaeology, Anthropology, Ethnography, Comparative religion studies, Museology, Psychology and Sexology, as well as being instrumental in the negotiation of political and personal convictions about the role of sex, sexualities and gender in society. They were an important reference point for significant contemporary debates about the intersection of religion and sex in culture. In particular, ancient phallica played a central role in anthropological theories about the universality of fertility cults, or 'phallic worship', across world cultures. The ubiquitous presence of sexuality in ancient daily life which these studies revealed, also supported a critique of repressive Christian and contemporary attitudes towards sexuality and the body, and this was connected to radical sexual politics and an interest in esoteric religions as part of the increasingly popular occultist and spiritualist movements of the late nineteenth century. More widely, ancient 'phallicism', which revealed that the supposedly advanced Classical cultures had also been preoccupied with the concerns of modern 'undeveloped' peoples (notably around appeasing supernatural forces to ensure fertility and protection against evil forces), informed debates about the development of civilisation itself, particularly as Britain struggled with its definitions of 'primitive' and 'civilised' cultures. An interest in sexually themed ancient imagery also drove the scholarly analysis of Greek vase-painting, especially in identifying the iconography of sexual activity between men and boys. This enhanced existing scholarship on ancient literary references to paederastia by displaying a sexually active, but also especially masculine, attachment. These new



identifications of homoerotic Greek imagery, and images on newly collected Roman vessels such as the famous Warren Cup, were evidence in key political and personal negotiations around the legal and moral emancipation of same-sex relationships in this period. In particular this evidence challenged some of the characteristics associated with male-male attachments at this time, notably effeminacy and celibacy which campaigners like Edward Perry Warren saw as inspired by Plato's dialogues on ancient pederasty.

These findings make a contribution to knowledge across a range of scholarly areas. They contribute to an area of study at the intersection of the History of Sexuality and Classical Reception. I have shown that the history of the reception and collection of sexual antiquities adds weight to Michel Foucault's challenge set out in his History of Sexuality in 1981 to the 'repressive model' regarding attitudes to sexuality in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. For the first time this theory has been comprehensively supported with evidence relating to Classical antiquities. It is hoped that the conclusions found in this thesis will be incorporated into the future conceptions about the reception of material culture which deals with sex, so that the starting point for considering our history with these objects is not necessarily an assumption about prudery and censorship. In agreement with Foucault's suggestions, I have shown that 'enlightened' responses to sex (in this case in response to ancient sexual imagery) were to some extent found in deliberate opposition to mainstream morality, but also as part of establishment thinking, such as in the example of Warren and his dealings with the Boston museum which we saw above. I have shown that the supposedly more open, frank and uninhibited debates about visual evidence of ancient sexuality in the post 1960s era in fact existed in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the period in which repressive and anachronistic interpretations are often seen as originating. Where the impact of Classical literature on modern ideas about sex, sexuality, identity and gender has already been carefully examined, my research has contributed significantly to the emerging understanding of the role of a wide range of archaeological evidence (beyond the Classical nude) for newly expedited historical, anthropological, medical, political and personal discussions about sex in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. For the history of same-sex sexualities in particular, the place of collecting and

of archaeological scholarship in the formation and expression of ideology is significantly illuminated in this thesis. I have highlighted how the modern study of Greek vase-painting was largely born out of the homoerotically-focused interests of many of the scholars first making sustained studies of them at the turn of the twentieth century. Because this scholarship on Greek vases was connected with Oxford University and was linked to the construction of modern models of same-sex desire, I suggest we should see this as a later, archaeologically-focused version of 'Oxford Hellenism', which had been a guiding force for ideas about ancient and modern homoeroticism through its scholarship on Plato in the nineteenth century. The role of Edward Perry Warren at the intersection of these movements is newly emphasised in this thesis. The history of scholarship on Greek vase-painting is also enhanced by my discovery of the early identification and cataloguing of Greek 'male courting' scenes by Warren, and the direct influence this had on his friend John Beazley's early twentieth-century seminal research. For the area of collecting, material culture and museum studies, my findings add to the less frequently explored history of Classical collecting in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (as distinct from the more frequently discussed earlier age of the 'Grand Tour') and how anthropological and archaeological theories about world cultures, rather than simply aesthetic taste alone, drove this. My extensive primary and archival work has extended the understanding of the role of material culture and its appreciation, collecting, study, dissemination and display, in the formation and articulation of knowledge, feelings, thoughts, ideals and ideas and the complex relationships between dealers, collectors, museums and their objects.

An area which could be more fully explored in relation to the material addressed in this thesis is the fabrication of antiquity, through the restoration of ancient objects and the modern reproduction or imitation of ancient material. A comprehensive study could be made of the implications of this mode of reception for our knowledge of antiquity and its role in negotiating modern sexuality. This should fully address how important the issue of authenticity has been for those seeking to use the Classical past as a reference point for modern claims about human sexuality. Future work might also more fully imbed the findings in this thesis into the wider politics of sexuality in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, especially the ramifications of the Obscene Publications Act in 1857

and the very uncertain and changing definitions of 'pornography' in reference to a range of media. In addition, while I have considered the role of contemporary debates about religion, especially the critique of Christian attitudes to sexuality, in interpreting ancient material, a more detailed exploration could be made of how this was responding to wider and fervid discussions about the nature of Christianity, particularly in the 1860s. In interrogating the complex history of the treatment of sexual antiquities in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, I have argued that we should not see a complete departure from previous attitudes, policies and debates around this material because many of these were inherited from previous generations. A sustained study of earlier treatments, especially in the mid-nineteenth century which is seen as the high point of Victorian prudery towards sexuality and representations of sex, would extend the nuanced understanding of the reception of ancient sexually themed imagery. Likewise, throughout this work we have been introduced, however briefly, to a plenitude of individuals, institutions and groups who engaged meaningfully with this material, especially in non-English speaking countries. Many of them, their collections and their ideas suggest they may have stories to tell which I have not fully addressed and may indicate fruitful areas of future study that could further elucidate the way in which sexual antiquities have been understood in even wider contexts.

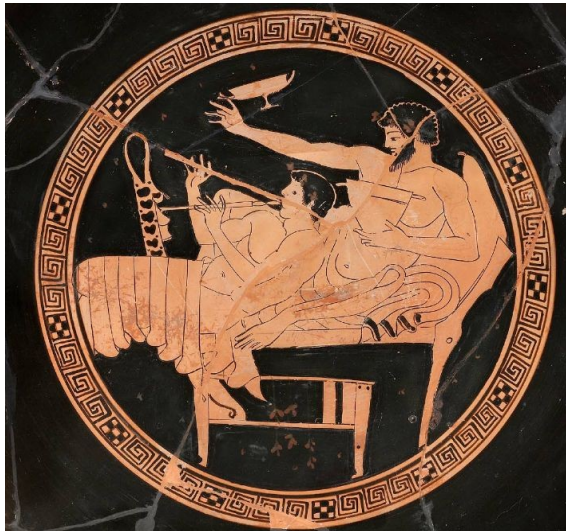
## Illustrations



**Fig. 1 Sides A and B, Silver *skyphos* ('Warren Cup') showing men having sex (Side A and B), Roman - AD 5–15, from Bittir (ancient Bethther), near Jerusalem, British Museum: 1999,0426.1, British Museum Images**



**Top left: Fig. 2.** Bronze *tintinnabulum*, winged phallus-animal with bells, Roman c. 1st century. British Museum: 1856,1226.1086. British Museum Images.



**Bottom left: Fig. 3.** Red-figure *kylix* showing game of *kottabos* between two men at a symposium, Greek Late Archaic or Early Classical Period (c. 480 BC). MFA Boston: 01.8034, MFA Images.

**Top right: Fig. 4.** Terracotta lamp of gnome-like man with head and phallus, Roman, Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A79587. Wellcome Images



**Top left: Fig. 5.** Pottery lamp of a woman and a horse on a bed, Roman (AD251-310), Made in Athens by Preimos, British Museum 1971,0426.39/Q3271, British Museum Images.

**Bottom left: Fig. 6.** Terracotta figure of phallic Harpocrates, Late Period Egyptian or Ptolemaic (5thC BC - 3rdC BC), probably from Naukratis, excavated 1884-1885, British Museum: 1973,0501.47, British Museum Images

**Bottom right: Fig. 7.** Limestone figure of phallic Harpocrates, Late Period Egyptian (600BC-332BC), probably from Naukratis, British Museum: GR2011,5010.7, British Museum Images





**Top left: fig. 8.** Pottery vase showing man and woman on a bed, inscribed FELICIS, Roman (AD150-200) British Museum: 1912,1125.23, British Museum Images

**Top right: Fig. 9.** Terracotta model of male genitalia, Etruscan or Roman, (200BC-AD200), Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A636856, 2730/1936, Image: author's own

**Bottom right, Fig 10.** Selection of bronze amulets, Roman, Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A665705-7, A665713-4, A665715, Image: author's own



**Top left: Fig. 11.** Ivory Phallic Amulet, Roman, Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A129122, Image: author's own

**Bottom left: Fig 12.** Alabaster and bronze pendant phallus with wings, Roman, (100BC-AD100), found in Pompeii, 1927 Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A67895, Wellcome Images

**Right: Fig. 13.** Bronze phallic *tintinnabulum*, Roman (100BC-AD400), Wellcome Collection: A154056, Wellcome Images





**Top left: Fig. 14.** Bronze phallic *tintinnabulum* with woman rider, Roman, Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A97578, Wellcome Images.

**Bottom left: Fig. 15.** Terracotta lamp showing man and women having sex, Roman, c. AD 1<sup>st</sup> century, Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A665703, Image: author's own.

**Top right: Fig. 16.** Replica bronze figure of phallic dwarf, Modern copy from original in Naples National Archaeological Museum, Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A129185, Image: author's own

**Top left: Fig. 17.** Plaster copy of phallic *tintinnabulum* with woman rider, 19<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> century cast of Roman (c. 100BC-AD100) in Naples museum, Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A129192, Wellcome Images.



**Bottom left: Fig. 18.** Replica bronze *tintinnabulum* of gladiator attacking his panther-phallus, original Roman (100BC-AD100) in Naples museum, Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A129185, Image: Author's own

**Bottom right: Fig. 19.** Replica bronze tripod of ithyphallic satyrs, original Roman in Naples museum, Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A155233, Image: Author's own

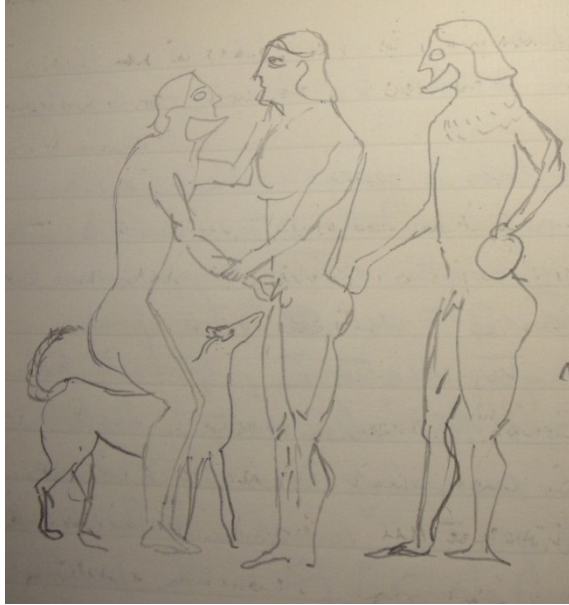




**Top: Fig. 20.** Limestone figure of Harpocrates, Late Period Egyptian (600-332BC), probably from Naukratis, Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A87303, Image: Author's own.

**Middle: Fig. 21.** Terracotta Lamp showing woman and horse having sex, Roman, c. AD 1<sup>st</sup> century, Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A87264, Image: author's own.

**Bottom Fig 22.** Red-figure *kantharos* showing men and women in group sex, Archaic Greek, c. 545-510, by Nikosthenes, from Vulci, Lucien Bonaparte estate. MFA Boston: 95.61, MFA Images



**Top left: Fig. 23.** Sketch by J Marshall of decoration from black-figure *amphora*, 1892, Original in Gregorian Etruscan Museum, Vatican (17829/352), Warren archives, Sackler library, Oxford, Image: author's own.



**Left: Fig. 24** Red-figure *kylix* showing ithyphallic satyr with traces of modern over-painting, Archaic Greek, 510–500 BC, found in Italy, MFA Boston: 95.61, MFA Images.

**Top right: Fig. 25.** Red-figure *kylix* showing Eros and youth in intercrural intercourse, Greek, Late Archaic Period, c.490–485 BC, signed by Douris.



**Top left: Fig. 26.** Black-figure knob of lid showing man fondling boy, Archaic Greek , (c. 530BC), MFA Boston: RES.08.30d, MFA Images

**Top right: Fig. 28.** Inside of bronze mirror cover showing man and woman having sex, Hellenistic (c. 340–320 BC), MFA Boston RES.08.32c, MFA Images

**Bottom: Fig. 27,** Red-figure *kylix* showing *ithyphallic satyrs and maenad* with modern over-painting, Classical Greek, c.470 BC, by Douris, MFA Boston: 00.343, MFA Images



**Fig. 29.** Black figure cup showing man fondling boy, boy embracing man, Late Archaic Greek, c. 520 BC. MFA Boston: 08.292. MFA Images.



**Above: Fig. 30** Marble relief showing Herakles and Omphale, Roman, Imperial Period, Mid-late 1st century AD, MFA Boston RES.08.34d, MFA Images.

**Bottom left: Fig. 31** Marble statue of Priapus, Imperial Roman - AD170–240, from Baracco, MFA Boston: RES.08.34, MFA Images.

**Bottom right: Fig. 32.** Bronze figurine of Priapus with babies, Greek, Hellenistic Period, 2nd century B.C, MFA Boston RES.08.32p, MFA Images.



**Top left: Fig. 33.** Arretine bowl showing two men having sex and kissing, Early Imperial Roman, late 1st century BC, MFA Boston: 08.33f.

**Top right: Fig. 34.** Arretine bowl showing man and woman and two men having sex divided by statue of Eros. Early Imperial Roman, late 1st century BC, MFA Boston: 13.109, MFA Images.

**Bottom left: Fig. 35.** Terracotta satyr on horseback, Greek, Archaic Period, early 5th century BC, Made in Boiotia, MFA Boston: 01.8011, MFA Images.

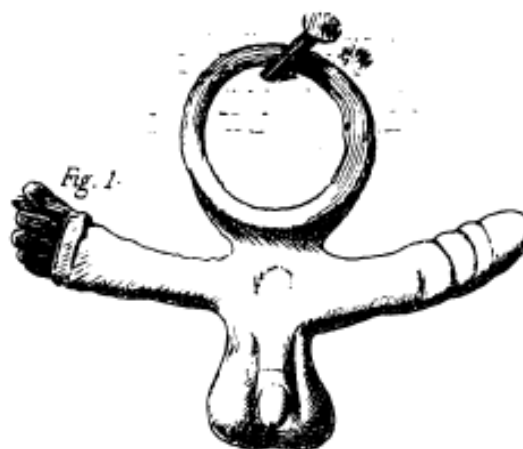


**Top right: Fig. 36.** Illustration of Roman figure of Priapus, Knight and Hamilton, *Worship of Priapus*, (1786) Pl. V, Original in Townley Collection.

**Bottom left: Fig. 37.** Bronze amulet, phallus and *mano fica* fist, Roman,

Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A97592, Image: author's own.

**Bottom right: Fig. 38.** Illustration of amulet, phallus and *mano fica* fist, Knight and Hamilton, *Worship of Priapus*, (1786) Pl. II. Original in the British Museum, probably from Sir William Hamilton's collection



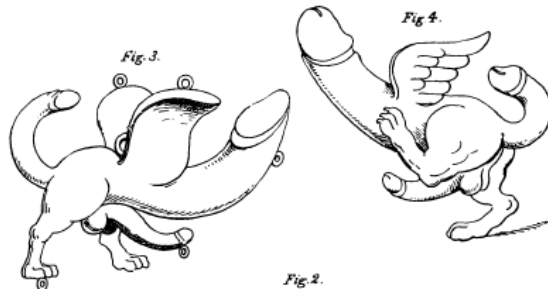
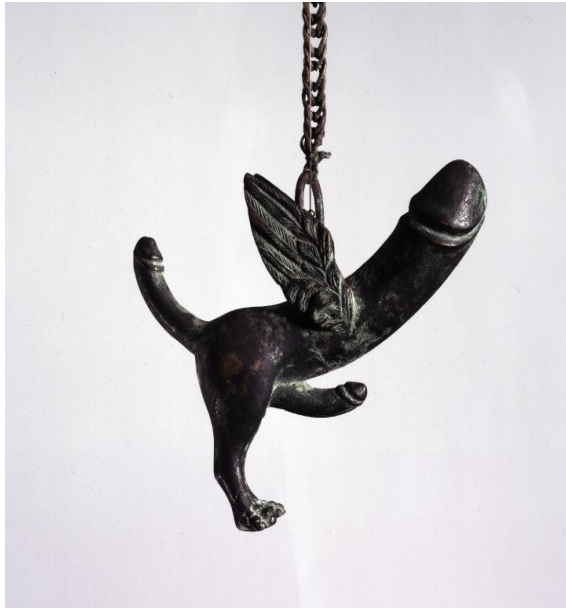


**Top left: Fig. 39.** Bronze amulet, bull and phallus, Roman. Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: 95402, Image: author's own

**Top right: Fig. 40.** Illustration of Roman amulet, bull and phallus, Knight and Hamilton *Worship of Priapus* (1786) Pl. III, Original in Townley Collection

**Bottom left: Fig 41.** Bronze amulet, phallus with wings, Roman. Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A69346, Image: author's own.

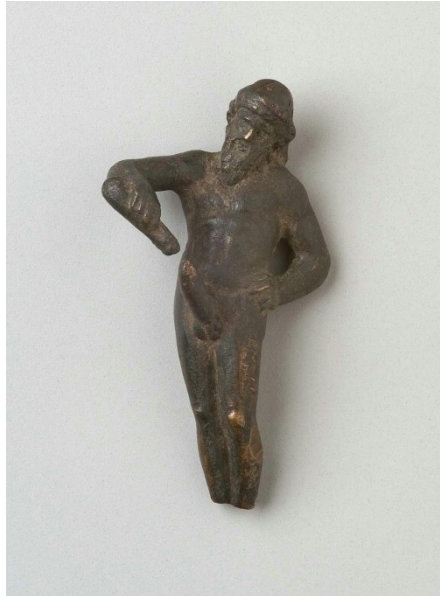
**Bottom right : Fig 42.** Illustration of Roman phallus with wings, Knight and Hamilton *Worship of Priapus* (1786) Pl. II, fig. 2. Original in British Museum.



**Top left: Fig. 43.** Bronze hanging phallus with wings, Roman, British Museum 1865,1118.208, British Museum Images

**Top right: Fig. 44** Illustration of Roman phalluses with wings, Republication of Knight and Hamilton, *Worship of Priapus* (1865) Pl. XXVII, Figs. 3 and 4. Original in British Museum.

**Bottom: Fig. 45:** Terracotta figure of two phalluses attacking an eye, Roman, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, Made in Tarsus, British Museum: 1865,1118.78, British Museum Images.



**Top left: Fig. 46.** Terracotta herm of Priapus? Greek, Archaic period, from Athens. MFA Boston: 13.108

**Top right: Fig. 47.** Bronze figurine of Priapus, Greek, Late Hellenistic or Early Imperial Period (150 BC–AD 10), MFA Boston: RES.08.32m, MFA Images.

**Bottom left: Fig. 48.** Illustration of Roman figure of Priapus, Knight and Hamilton *Worship of Priapus* (1786) Pl. V, Original in Naples National Archaeological Museum.

**Bottom right: Fig. 49.** Bronze figure of phallic dwarf, Roman, Early Imperial Period, 1st century BC–1st century AD, MFA Boston: RES.08.32d, MFA Images.



**Top: Fig. 50.** Hall of Statuary, Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, 1913, Wellcome Library archives (WA/PHO/Hmm/1).

**Bottom left: Fig. 51.** Bronze lingam, Indian, 19<sup>th</sup> century AD, found Deccan, British Museum: 1880.1630/W.378, British Museum Images.

**Bottom right: Fig. 52.** Ivory netsuke of woman embracing phallus, British Museum: W.423. British Museum Images.

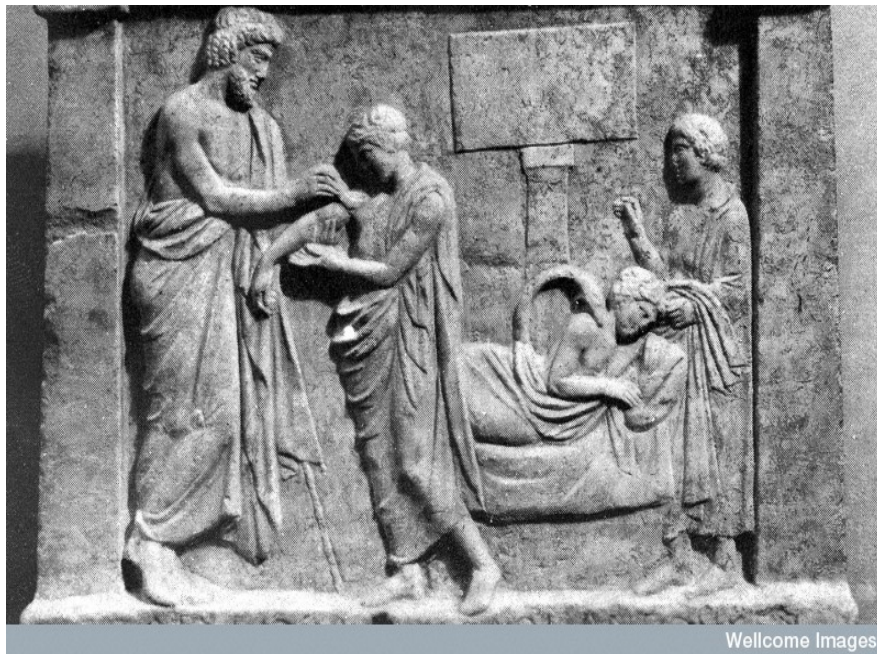


**Top left: Fig. 53.** Porcelain model fruits containing couples having sex, Chinese, c.1900, Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A641133, A641134, A641135, Wellcome Images.

**Bottom left: Fig. 54.** Pottery jugs of skeletal figures with phallus, Moche, ancient Peruvian (100-800AD), found Trujillo, Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: 153142 and 97721, Image: authors own.

**Bottom right: Fig 55.** Pottery flask of oral sex between man and woman, Moche, ancient Peruvian(100-800AD). Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A113239, Image: author's own.

**Top right: Fig. 56.** Wooden post of man with phallus, Te Arawa tribes, New Zealand, c. 1880s, British Museum: Oc1954,06.308.



**Top: Fig. 57.** Corel and silver amulet of *mano fica* fist, Italian 1850-1930, from Verona, Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: A665906, Wellcome Images.

**Bottom: Fig. 58.** Marble plaque showing shrine, Inscription: offering of Archinos to Amphiaraos, Greek, 4th century BC, Found at Amphiareion of Oropos, Science Museum/Wellcome Collection: 3369, Wellcome Images.

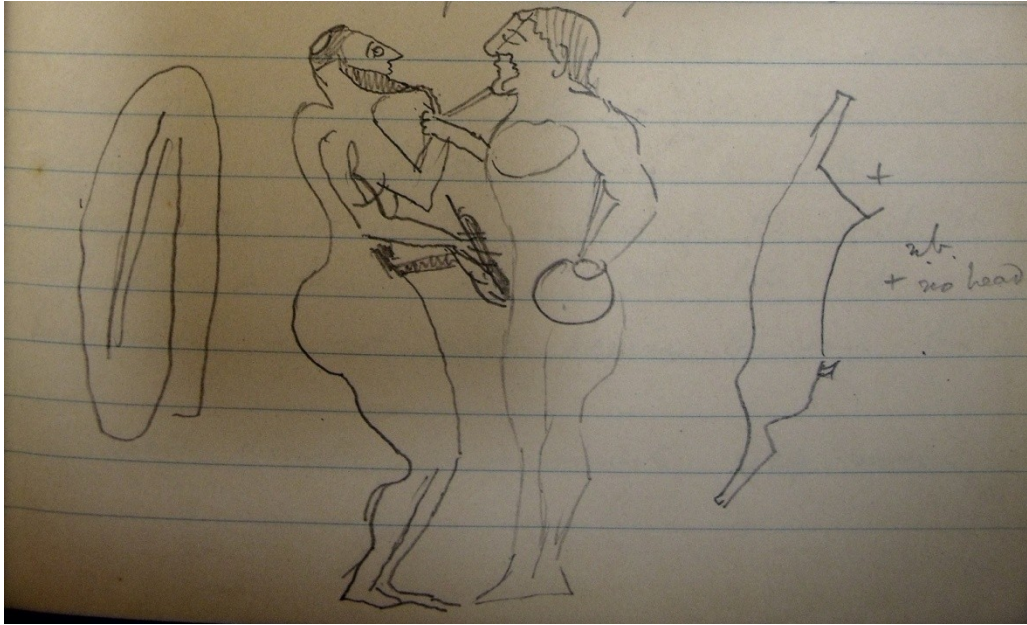


**Top left: Fig. 59.** Black figure *alabastron* showing man fondling youth, Archaic Greek (550–535 BC), MFA Boston RES.08.30c, MFA Images.

**Bottom Fig. 60.** Sketch by EP Warren of decoration from black-figure *amphora* by Painter of Cambridge, 1894, Original Munich *Antikensammlungen*: J1336, Warren archives, Sackler library, Oxford, Image: author's own.

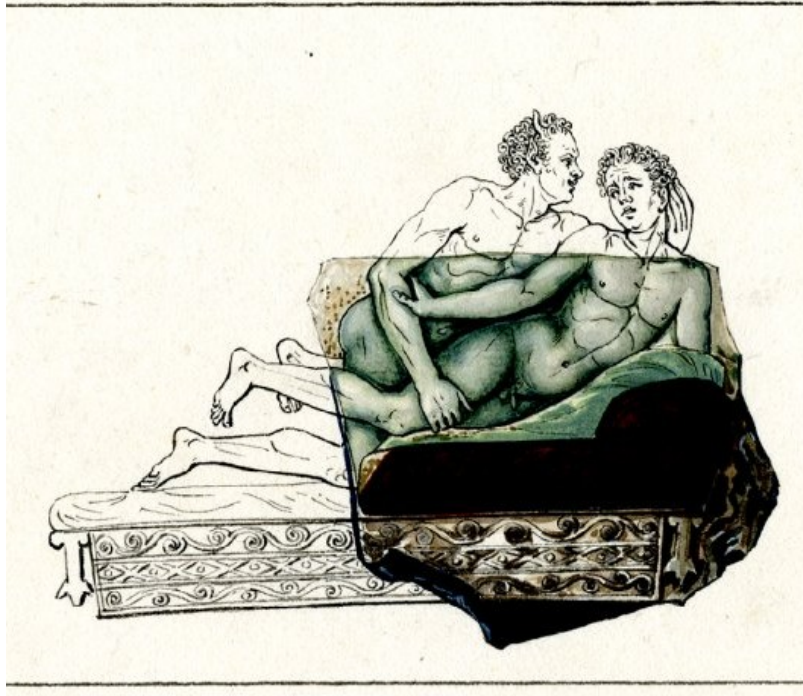
**Top right: Fig. 61.** Red-figure *kylix* showing genital fondling, Archaic Greek, 5th century BC, by Makron. MFA Boston: RES.08.31e, MFA Images.





**Top: Fig. 62.** Sketch by EP Warren, of decoration from black-figure *amphora*, 1894, Original in Munich, *Antikensammlungen* (2133), Warren Archives, Sackler Library, Oxford, Image: author's own.

**Bottom: Fig. 63.** Black-figure *amphora* showing man and youth in intercrural intercourse, Archaic Greek (c.540 BC), by Painter of Berlin, found Vulci. British Museum: 1865,1118.39, British Museum Images.



**Top: Fig. 64.** Pen and ink with watercolour of cameo glass fragment, original in British Museum (1956.3-1.5), British Museum: 2010,5006.570, British Museum Images.  
**Bottom: Fig. 65.** Fragment of a *thurible* showing man and youth, Archaic Greek, MFA Boston: RES.08.31i, MFA Images.

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