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Goltzius and Estius Read Ovid: *Pygmalion and Galatea* (1593)

Abstract

This chapter examines the engraving *Pygmalion and Galatea* (1593) as the product of a collaboration between the engraver and publisher Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617) and the poet Franco Estius (–1594). A close reading of the engraving demonstrates how the medial and spatial separation of text and image allows for the coexistence of two auctorial voices that enter into a productive dialogue about the Ovidian pretext. Poets and artists generate tensions between text and image that serve to emphasize rather than conceal the artificiality of their work. This functions not only as a display of artistic skill contributing to their respective auctorial self-fashioning but also leads towards an implicit theory of art: ultimately, according to Goltzius' and Estius' interpretation of the myth, art requires the animating gaze of the viewer in order to come alive. This vivifying mode of reception not only puts the viewer into a state of quasi-petrified rapture, but it also provides the impetus for new artistic production. By having Pygmalion's love for his artwork merge with narcissistic self-love, the epigram points out the dangers inherent in this process – a warning that is all the more poignant as both text and image create an analogy between the Pygmalion figure and Goltzius himself.

Keywords

Collaboration between Artists and Poets, Early Modern Engravings, Image-Text Relationships, Neo-Latin Epigram, Reception of the Metamorphoses, Verse Inscriptions on Prints

1. Introduction

The engraving considered here, *Pygmalion and Galatea*[1] (1593, NHD Goltzius 157), origi-
nates from a collaboration between the Haarlem engraver and publisher Hendrick Golt-
zius (1558–1617) and the Gorkum humanist Franco Estius (–1594);[2] in the years 1586–
1594 over 130 prints resulted from this collaboration. In what follows, I will pursue,
from a Latinist perspective and in an intermedial close reading, the question of how the
co-authorial relationship between Goltzius and Estius finds expression in the aesthetic
structure of this print as well as how it becomes fruitful for reflection on the artwork.
To this end, I examine the dialogue that both their authorial 'voices' conduct with each
other and with the Ovidian pretext with regard to the respective narrative structures,
the problematization of the materiality, and the mimetic quality of the statue, as well as
the coincidence of artist, viewer, and work in the figure of Pygmalion. The investigation
shows how the engraving adjusts and interprets essential aspects of the Ovidian narra-
tive about the author-figure Pygmalion for 16th-century theoretical discourses on art.
Finally, a short overview of humanistic and art-theoretical interpretations of Pygmalion
from the late 16th century enables a categorization of my findings.

To examine the manifestation and reflection of joint authorship immanent in this
print, I will first clarify the concept of authorship used and link it to the historical con-
ditions of the collaboration between Goltzius and Estius. In my understanding, early
modern authorship is characterized by the conscious formation, mediated by cultural
'mechanisms of control,'[3] of an authorial persona (self-fashioning[4]) through the work.
In his exploration of the poetics of self-fashioning in the occasional verse of the early
17th century, Tom Deneire distinguishes between three types (sociocultural, [meta-]
poetic, and intellectual) and three levels (paratext, text, intertext) of self-fashioning.[5]
This approach and the concept of authorship based on it can also be applied to pictorial
art if we adopt a correspondingly broad definition of text.[6]

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[1]   This is the name commonly used in registers of works and catalogues. The naming of the statue as
       Galatea, however, originates from a shift of the Pygmalion material into the world of the bucolic,
       which took place only in the late 17th century (Reinhold 1971, p. 317 f.), and is thus ahistorical with
       regard to the present engraving.

[2]   For the few reconstructible dates for Estius' life, see Venne 2017, p. 106.

[3]   Clifford Geertz, cited following Greenblatt 1980, p. 3: "control mechanisms – plans, recipes, rules,
       instructions [...] – for the governing of behavior."

[4]   Greenblatt, who popularized the English term, uses "self-fashioning" on the one hand to refer
       to a "cultural system of meanings" that regulates social individuation (Greenblatt 1980, pp. 3 f.),
       and on the other hand to refer to the concrete practice of self-profiling within such a system (e.g.
       Greenblatt 1980, p. 9). I follow the second possible usage here.

[5]   Deneire 2014, pp. 38 f.

[6]   According to theories of art during the 16th and 17th centuries, the visual arts share essential ele-
       ments of their theoretical basis with poetry and rhetoric (see Müller / Pfisterer 2011, pp. 7 f.), espe-

Since early modern engravings are products of a collaborative work process in which, for example, painters, draftsmen, and one or more engravers, including apprentices and specialists such as type engravers,[7] printers, and publishers, were involved,[8] the chosen approach allows us to differentiate between co-authorship and participation in the production process: I will speak of the former only when at least two authorial voices that can be recognizably distinguished from one another can be discerned. These voices may be highlighted by being mentioned by name,[9] but for poets and inventors, they are also already inherent in the discrepancy between the media. The nominal designation enables the shaping of an authorial self that transcends the individual work.

For the self-fashioning of the poet of the epigram, a fundamental difficulty arises in printmaking that, of all the paratextual means that are central to the sociocultural aspect of early modern authorial self-fashioning,[10] only the credited name remains. Even the possibility of dedicating a print (which in any case was only rarely taken up)

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cially with regard to their tense confrontation with tradition (*imitatio / aemulatio*, see Müller / Pfisterer 2011, pp. 6–11). From this follow further parallels in the strategies of self-profiling.

7   On the division of labour, see e.g. Christophe Plantin's (1520–1589) letter to Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617) from the period of 31 May to 8 June 1586: "Premièrement si ledict Goltzius voudroit venir a Anvers pour tailler lesdictes figures luymesmes, les visages et autres parties plus delicates en se faisant aider aux autres choses comme il trouveroit le plus convenable, car on s'en remecteroit a sa discrétion pourveu que la chose fust tellement faicte ou taillee que ledict Goltzius y voulust mectre son nom ou marcque." (Plantin 1918, p. 341; 'First, whether the aforementioned Goltzius would want to come to Antwerp and engrave the aforementioned figures themselves, the faces and the other more delicate parts, while employing help for the other parts as he sees fit, for we would leave it to his discretion as long as it is done or engraved in such a way that the aforementioned Goltzius wants to put his name or mark on it.')

8   See Griffiths 2016, pp. 234–305, on the various participants in the production of engraving; Griffiths 2016, pp. 42f., on typesetters. Goltzius' workshop was characterized by a bundling together in his person of the roles of image-inventor, (leading) engraver, and publisher; see Mensger 2016; Orenstein et al. 1993, pp. 177–183, on work practice in Goltzius' workshop. He possibly also engraved the type on his sheets himself; Namowitz Worthen 1993, pp. 278–282.

9   In particular, the inventor of the image (*invenit*) or copyist (*delineavit*), the executing engraver (*sculpsit*), and the publisher (*excudit*) are commonly mentioned by name. The naming of the epigram poet is rarer; Franco Estius appears to have consistently signed his epigrams published for Goltzius' workshop from 1586 onward; see Ost 2022, also on *Hercules Fighting Geryon* (NHD Goltzius 332) as an early experiment. The substantially better-known Cornelius Schonaeus (1540–1611), who regularly contributed epigrams to Goltzius' engravings as early as 1584 (see Venne 2017, p. 103), marks his poetry with the presumed death of Estius (1594) on the sheets.

For an overview of print attribution practice, see Griffiths 2016, pp. 82–86; an extensive compilation of common attribution formulae can be found in Stijnman 2017.

10   See Deneire 2014, pp. 39–42.

remains reserved for its inventor, engraver, or publisher.[11] If the poet thus lacks the possibility to distinguish himself by exhibiting his contacts within the *res publica litterarum* or his relationships with spiritual and secular authorities,[12] an even greater significance is assigned to the (meta-)poetic and intellectual self-authorization[13] via the qualities of the respective work.[14] Here, along with a finely polished linguistic form (textual level), allusive references to classical authors (intertextuality) serve as proof of the effort (*labor*) and care (*diligentia*) expected of humanist authors.[15] I would like to explore these in the following.

2. Narrative Structures in Word and Image

In the first step of the intended close reading, I will briefly survey the narrative structure of the Ovidian Pygmalion episode in order to contrast it with its adaptations in the pictorial representation and the epigram of the engraving. According to Alexandra Kailbach-Mehl, Ovid's Pygmalion narrative is structured as an account of two artistic processes of creation and reception – on the one hand during the shaping of the ivory statue (Ov. Met. 10.243–269), on the other in light of its becoming human (Ov. Met. 10.270–297) – which are separated from each other through Pygmalion's participation in the Cypriot festival of Venus (Ov. Met. 10.270–279).[16] The printmaking tradition, significantly influenced by the *Metamorphoses* series of Bernard Salomon and Virgil Solis,[17] seizes on this narrative tripartition in the form of a simultaneous depiction: Pygmalion working on the statue or admiring the work he has just created; Pygmalion praying to the goddess Venus; and Pygmalion in bed with the now animated young woman.

Goltzius' portrayal of Pygmalion (Fig. 1), however, does not follow this representational tradition but is close to a painting that is attributed to Pontormo and / or his pupil

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11 See Griffiths 2016, p. 87. This does not prevent poets from writing themselves into the dedication in individual cases, such as Estius on Goltzius' *Roman Heroes* (1586, NHD Goltzius 163 and 172) and Schonaeus in Goltzius' *The Annunciation* (1594, NHD Goltzius 8/2).

12 See Enenkel 2015, pp. 16–18 and 50–53, on the paratextual exhibition of such relationships.

13 See Enenkel 2015, pp. 13 f., on the need for authorization as "proof of the ability to act as an author."

14 See Deneire 2014, pp. 42–53.

15 Enenkel 2015, pp. 538–553, esp. 541 f.

16 Kailbach-Mehl 2020, pp. 177 f. – Rosati 2016, pp. 63–65, assigns the two main parts of the narrative to the themes of illusion (statue) and reality (young woman).

17 Bernard Salomon (1557), Virgil Solis (1563), Hans Speeckaert (1582), Crispijn de Passe the Elder (1602–1607), Johan Wilhelm Baur (1639). See Henkel 1930, pp. 77–79, 128–131; Melion 2001, p. 155. By contrast, woodcut series in the traditions of Bruges (1484), Venice (1497), and Mainz (1545) know no depiction of Pygmalion (see Blattner 1998; Huber-Rebenich / Lütkemeyer / Walter 2014). On the preceding manuscript tradition, see Blühm 1988, pp. 24–33; Stoichita 2008, pp. 41–88.
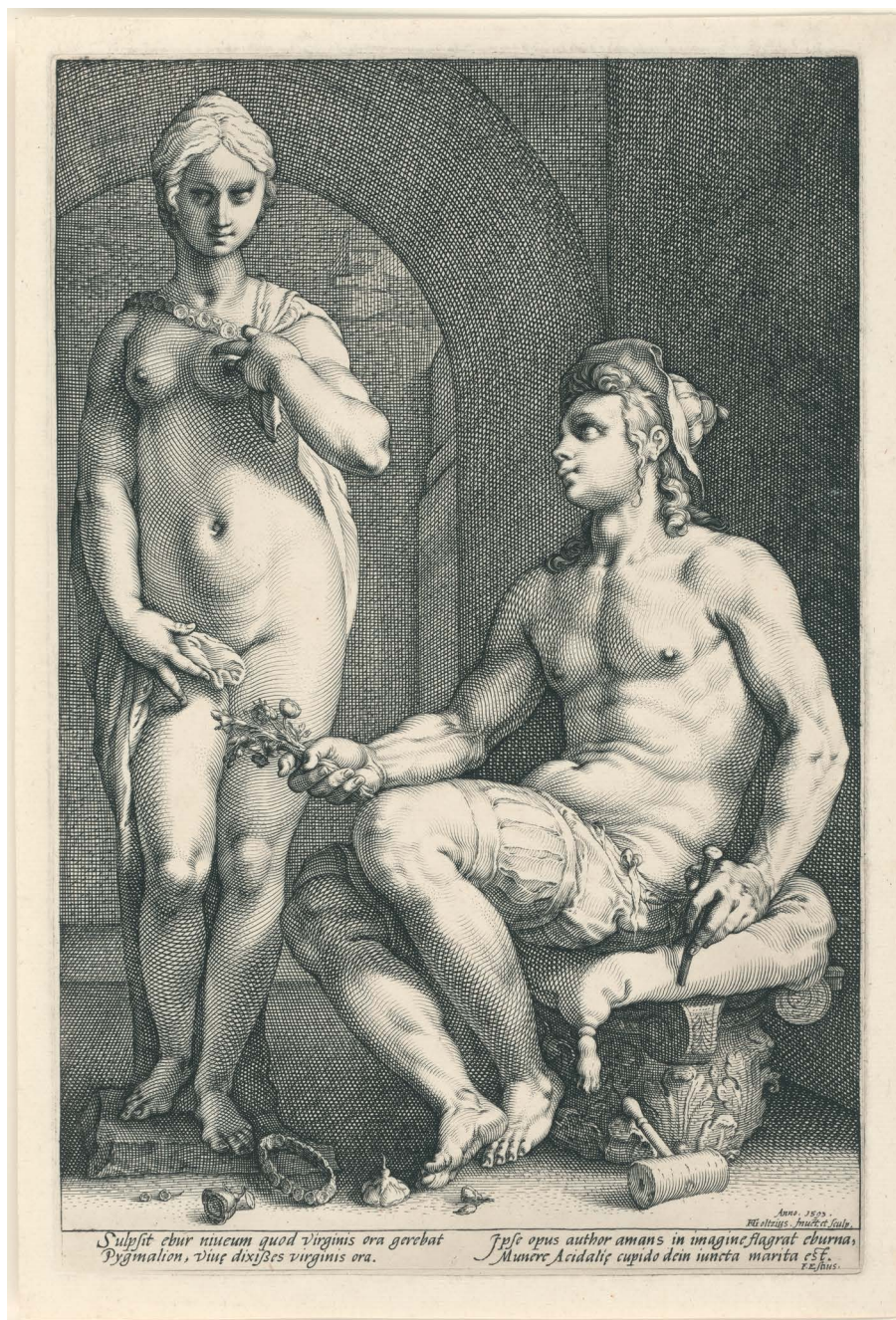
Fig. 1. Hendrick Goltzius: *Pygmalion and Galatea*, 1593, copperplate engraving, 327 mm × 218 mm, first design, Amsterdam: Rijkmuseum, inv. no.: RP-P-OB-10.112.

Bronzino and that reduces the representation to a single scene.[18] In this, an obviously living female figure, who is positioned on a stone pedestal in the left half of the picture in a pose reminiscent of the *Venus pudica* type, gazes directly out of the picture, while a kneeling Pygmalion in the right half of the picture worships her.[19] Both figures are separated by a burning sacrificial altar located somewhat in the background.

Goltzius also refrains from a simultaneous presentation but, in contrast to Bronzino and/or Pontormo, portrays a marble statue.[20] This statue likewise brings to mind classical images of Venus, yet its head is slightly tilted forward and the gaze of its pupilless eyes remains unoriented. While the face of the young man, who sits in the part of the picture on the capital of a column, looks up at the statue, his naked torso – parallel to the statue's body – is orientated toward the viewer of the engraving. With his right hand, he holds a bunch of flowers; the fingers of his left hand hold a chisel. The corresponding wooden hammer lies below the chisel on the ground; some flowers and a piece of jewellery are scattered in front of the statue's pedestal. Paradoxically, the young man, who is undoubtedly to be identified with Pygmalion, seems less dynamic in his posture than the stone statue, which appears to be poised both to cover itself further and to step over its pedestal.[21] The room in which the scene is situated, with its raised light-openings (only implied) and interior arches reminiscent of ancient monumental buildings, offers no hints of regular use as a sculptor's workshop beyond the Corinthian capital on which Pygmalion is seated.[22]

18 *Pygmalion and Galatea*, 1529/1530, oil on wood, 81 x 64 cm, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (inv. no. 1890, 9933). On the attribution, see Deiters 2002, pp. 91–93. On the parallels between the painting and Goltzius' engraving, see Bätschmann 1997, pp. 328–333, as well as Stoichita 2008, pp. 195–201.

19 While modern interpretations read the figure of the woman as a superimposition of Pygmalion's statue and the image of Venus, this need not have been equally true for contemporary observers. It is therefore not obvious that Vasari (or, if applicable, the source for his description) does not exclusively see Venus in the female figure and thus reduces the painting to a presentation of the canonical sacrificial scene: "dipinse Bronzino, Pigmalione che fa orazione a Venere, perchè la sua statua, ricevendo lo spirito, s'avviva e divenga (come fece, secondo le favole di poeti) di carne e d'ossa" (Vasari 1878–1885, vol. 6, p. 275; 'Bronzino painted Pygmalion praying to Venus, so that his statua, by receiving the spirit, would awaken to life and (as it happened according to the stories of the poets) become flesh and bone').

20 This difference can doubtless also be interpreted from the respective paragonal context, which, however, I cannot discuss further in this chapter. On the positioning of Goltzius' depiction of Pygmalion "in the double paragone of painting and sculpture and of sculpture and engraving" (Melion 2001, p. 159), s. Melion 2001, passim; on the painting by Bronzino or Pontormo, see Deiters 2002, pp. 89–119; Blühm 1988, pp. 34–42.

21 On the overstepping of the pedestal in 18th-century depictions of Pygmalion, see Stoichita 2008, pp. 173–189.

22 See Blühm 1988, pp. 162 f., on the workshop in portrayals of Pygmalion.

Goltzius' depiction thus merges the entire first part of the Ovidian narrative and the festival of Venus into a single timeless moment,[23] but, unlike Bronzino and / or Pontormo, he does not include the actual animation of the statue in his composition of the image. Underneath the picture is engraved the epigram composed and signed by Franco Estius:

S[c]ulpsit[24] ebur niveum quod virginis ora gerebat
Pygmalion, vivae dixisses virginis ora.
Ipse opus author amans in imagine flagrat eburna,
Munere Acidaliae cupido dein iuncta marita est.

Pygmalion carved the snow-white ivory that bore the likeness of a young woman,
"The likeness of a living young woman," you would have said.
The artist himself loves his work and burns for the ivory statue;
Through a gift of the Acidalian [Venus], it was joined in marriage to the passionate one.

The epigram not only borrows in language and content from the Pygmalion narrative of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*[25] but also adopts its epic meter for the smaller form. In directly borrowing the Ovidian opening line *sculpsit ebur* (Ov. Met. 10.248), Estius exhibits the relatedness of his epigram to the pretext and sensitizes his readers to also recognize and to construct more subtle references in what is to follow.[26] Through the programmatic citation, the poet introduces himself as a reader of Ovid[27] who is able to comment purposefully on elements of the classical model through skilfully selective techniques of reading and referencing. At the same time, the *s[c]ulpsit* in the epigram draws a parallel

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23   The hammer and chisel refer to the creation of the statue, Pygmalion's wistful gaze to his burning with love for the statue, the flowers and jewellery to the gifts he offers up to the statue, the depiction of the statue as a Venus figure to Pygmalion's prayer at the festival of Venus. On the coincidence of the creation and reception of the statue in Goltzius' depiction, see also Blühm 1988, p. 54.

24   The uncorrected misspelling *Sulpsit* in the engraving foregrounds the distance between poet and engraver in the production process. In contrast to letterpress printing, no institutionalized procedures for proofreading seem to have been established in the engraving production of the 16th century; misspellings were fixed only sporadically.

25   See Wolkenhauer / Arbeitsgruppe Estius 2017, p. 113.

26   See Wills 1996, p. 24, on the technique of strong initial marking.

27   Estius meets the ideal of demonstrating the most comprehensive "intertextual competence" possible through a "dense intertextual fabric" made of references to several authors even in the narrowest space (Enenkel 2015, p. 548), e.g. by using the rare epithet *Acidalia*, which here may refer to Mart. 6.13 (otherwise only in Verg. Aen. 1.720 as well as Serv. ad. Verg. Aen. 1.720, Laus Pison. 91 and Mart. 9.12). Martial's epigram describes a statue group that depicts Julia Flavia in the style of an Aphrodite by Phidias (see Plin. NH 36.5) together with Cupid, and creates a shifting image of a statuesque, beautiful woman on the one hand and a living marble statue on the other.

between the two artists Pygmalion and Goltzius by taking up Goltzius' signature on the sheet (*Anno 1593 / Hgoltzius. Inue*[*ni*]*t et sculp*[*sit*]).[28] Pygmalion's chisel thus merges with Goltzius' burin; in Latin, both are designated with *cælum*.

Admittedly, the epigram narrates diachronically like Ovid but simplifies his narrative structure to a tripartite division: creation of the statue (l. 1–2) – love for the statue (l. 3) – marriage with the statue (l. 4). The temple sacrifice, which in Ovid separates the time before the animation of the statue clearly from the life of the awakened woman, is present here at most in a secondary reading.[29] The bringing to life of the statue, which is decisive for Ovid's narrative, finds just as little mention in the epigram as does the fruitfulness of the resulting union. The use of the present tense in the third line, in which Pygmalion's love for his own work (*opus* [...] *amans*) and his desire for the ivory statue (*in imagine flagrat eburna*) coincide in time,[30] in view of the following perfect tense (*dein iuncta* [...] *est*), is to be understood, on the one hand, as the narrative present tense.[31] On the other hand, in the intermedial interplay, this usage identifies the third line with the content of the pictorial representation present for readers in the engraving, while subsequent events are moved once more into the historical distance.

3. Pygmalion's Statue

Like Bronzino and / or Pontormo before him, Goltzius bases his depiction of the statue on classical figures of Venus (especially the *Venus pudica* and *Venus felix* types). Yet he even extends the figurative identification to the Pygmalion figure, whose body posture he approximates to the Cupid of the *Venux felix* group, as observed by Walter Melion.[32] The epigram picks up on this association in its fourth line by referring to Pygmalion as *cupidō* (passionate).[33]

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28   See Melion 2001, p. 154.
29   *Acidaliae* in *Munere Acidaliae* taken as dative ('a sacrifical offering to the Acidalian [Venus]'), see Verg. Aen. 6.637.
30   On the ambiguity of *opus*, see Elsner 1991, p. 160; Sharrock 1991b, p. 169; Melion 2001, p. 153. By contrast, Ovid imagines a two-stage process: *operisque sui concepit amorem* (Ov. Met. 10.249) separated from *haurit / pectore Pygmalion simulati corporis ignes* (Ov. Met. 10.252–253).
31   This use of the narrative present tense follows the temporal narrative structure of Ovid's Pygmalion narrative, which, according to Salzmann-Mitchell, p. 75, prefers the perfect tense for dynamic, narrative sequences and the present tense for contemplative, descriptive sequences. Klug's dissenting analysis (Klug 1999, p. 465) cannot explain why Pygmalion's terse actions (e.g. *sculpsit*, Ov. Met. 10.248; *dixit*, Ov. Met. 10.276) stand in the perfect tense (see Klug 1999, pp. 460 and 462).
32   Melion 2001, p. 157.
33   See Ahl 1985, p. 56, on wordplay in spite of different vowel lengths.

On the one hand, the identification of the statue with a likeness of the goddess Venus invokes the pre-Ovidian tradition of the Pygmalion material for an early modern audience: according to a secondarily transmitted version by Philostephanos (3rd century BCE), Pygmalion is supposed to have been a Cypriot king who fell in love with a cult statue of Aphrodite, brought it to his bed, and attempted sexual intercourse with it.[34] A story with a related motif emerged around the Aphrodite of Knidos, regarded as the archetype of the *Venus pudica* type, by the Greek sculptor Praxiteles (c. 390–320 BCE): a young man is said to have fallen in love with the marble statue of the goddess and at first to have gazed upon it ceaselessly in the temple; he then secretly allowed himself to be locked in the sanctuary overnight and, after satisfying his desire, left behind a lasting stain on the thigh of the sculpture.[35] As Thomas Farnabius' commentary on the *Metamorphoses*, probably written for use in schools, attests (first edition: 1636), these narratives were also read by a non-specialist readership in close connection with the Pygmalion material of the *Metamorphoses*.[36]

On the other hand, the Venus of the engraving problematizes the ambiguous identity of the ivory statue in Ovid's narrative: in contrast to the older tradition, the engraving does not claim that the statue represents the goddess. The contrast produced in the engraving between a figurative representation as a statue of Venus and an epigram that asserts that the statue bears the likeness of a young (human) woman (*vivae* [...] *virginis ora*)[37] draws attention to those elements of Ovid's text that confer the features of the goddess on the ivory statue: her nakedness,[38] her unsurpassable beauty, her quality of not having been born (*formam* [...] *qua femina nasci / nulla potest*, Ov. Met. 10.248–249),[39] Pygmalion's cult-like handling of the statue (dressing it, adorning it, laying it on a bed), and the gifts he offers up to her.[40]

If, for Ovid, there may have resonated in this ambiguity a commentary on the poetic construction of the elegiac *puella* as an image of Venus,[41] its problematization across media in the engraving draws attention to the divinity of the artwork. I would like to

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34 Clem. Al. Protr. 4.57.3; Arn. Adv. nat. 6.22. See Dinter 1979, pp. 13–16, on the pre-Ovidian history of the Pygmalion material.

35 Ps.-Lucian Amores 15–16; Plin. NH 36.21; Clemens of Alexandria also mentions this narrative in direct connection with Philostephanos' variant narrative of Pygmalion and emphasizes especially the different material of the two statues (Clem. Al. Protr. 4.57.3).

36 Farnabius (Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon, p. 240) narrates the versions of Arnobius and Ps.-Lucian. See Tholen 2019, pp. 96 f. and 196–198.

37 Based on Ov. Met. 10.250 (*virginis est verae facies*).

38 See Hardie 2002, p. 190, and O'Reilly 2003, p. 106, on Clemens' statement: "And if anyone sees a naked woman depicted, they know that she is golden Aphrodite" (Clem. Al. Protr. 4.57.2–3).

39 See Miller 1988, p. 206; Sharrock 1991b, p. 171. Aphrodite is supposed to have risen from the sea foam (Gr. ὁ ἀφρός [*ho aphrós*]).

40 See Sharrock 1991b, p. 171; Schönbeck 1999, pp. 307 f.

41 See Sharrock 1991a; O'Reilly 2003, pp. 128–131.

counter Oskar Bätschmann's interpretation that Goltzius was "the first to [forego] the appearance and invocation of the goddess,"[42] insofar as Goltzius' pictorial invention consistently realizes the superimposition of Pygmalion's ivory statue onto the golden statue of Venus, through which the goddess, according to Ovid, is present at the temple sacrifice.[43] The gifts that Pygmalion offers to his statue as favours of love thus at the same time function as sacrificial offerings to the goddess Venus. Pygmalion's admiration of the artwork merges with the theophany and worship of the deity.[44]

3.1. The Materiality of the Statue

While the first line of the epigram refers to Pygmalion's statue as 'ivory' (*S[c]ulpsit ebur niveum*), Goltzius adopts the pictorial tradition that imagines the work as a marble statue.[45] This tension between image and text, emphasized through the repetition *ebur – eburna* (ll. 1 and 3), evokes the question of the semantic significance of both materials: ivory, as Jaś Elsner has elaborated, is closely connected to the motif of deception and illusion in Greco-Latin literature via the Homeric pun ἐλέφας (*eléphas*, 'ivory') – ἐλεφαίρομαι (*elephaíromai*, 'to deceive'); for instance, in Virgil's *Aeneid*, false dreams leave the underworld through an ivory portal.[46] As Elsner continues, ivory is thus especially suitable as a condensation point for metapoetic reflection on truth and fiction in poetry.[47] Parian marble,[48] by contrast, is not only excellently suited for painting because of its translucent whiteness but in classical literature also functions as an ideal image of pale skin that human bodies can match only in exceptional cases.[49] In a reversal of the mimetic quality of Hellenistic marble sculptures, it is notable how frequently marble appears in the narrative world of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as the target material of trans-

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42   Bätschmann 1997, p. 333.

43   Ov. Met. 10.277: *ipsa suis aderat Venus aurea festis.* 'Golden' is indeed a common epithet of the goddess (see, for example, Hom. Hym. 5.1), but here a gilded statue may also be concretely intended; see Hardie 2002, p. 190.

44   See note 29 on *Munere Acidaliae* in the epigram and also Ov. Met. 10.273. See Melion 2001, p. 158.

45   See Deiters 2002, p. 96; Wolkenhauer/Arbeitsgruppe Estius 2017, p. 113. Melion 2001, p. 160, insists on ivory as the material of the depicted statue; this, however, seems implausible due to the fractures of the pedestal.

46   Hom. Od. 19.564–565; Verg. Aen. 6.895–896. See Ahl 1985, p. 261; Elsner 1991, pp. 162 f. On ivory as erotically charged material in the context of the Ovidian narrative, see Sharrock 1991a, p. 40; and Salzman-Mitchell 2008, pp. 308 f. (unlike O'Reilly 2003, pp. 123 f., who connects ivory to chastity).

47   Elsner 1991, pp. 163 f.; see Nagy 1986, p. 83.

48   Statues were predominantly made from this type of marble (see Plin. NH 36.14).

49   See Ov. Met. 3.419 and 481 (Narcissus), Ov. Met. 4.675 (Andromeda), Ov. Met. 13.746 (Scylla), Ciris 256, 450, and 503 (all Ciris), Verg. Georg. 4.523 (Orpheus), Mart. 8.55.16 (Alexis), disturbingly broken in Ov. Am. 1.7.51–52 (Corinna).

formations.[50] The figurative representation as a marble statue therefore introduces into the engraving a moment that runs counter to its being brought to life, which situates Pygmalion's artificial *puella* in a field of tension between 'not yet animated' (ivory as the starting material of the transformation) and 'already rigidified' (marble as the typical target material of transformations).

The contradictory messages imparted by the engraving about the statue's material emphasize all the more clearly as the material with which Ovid's Pygmalion works appears to bear features of both marble and ivory. Despite the Ovidian narrator's ceaseless repetition that the material being used is ivory,[51] even attentive readers may thus have the impression that Pygmalion succeeds in "converting marble into the living flesh of a woman."[52] The clearest difference to the real-world properties of the material is probably that Pygmalion's statue seems to be formed from a single piece,[53] whereas an actual life-size ivory statue would have to consist of several elements supported by a wooden framework.[54] The material of the fictive statue is also soft and warm like ivory on the one hand,[55] but, on the other hand, it shows veins[56] and (potentially) contusions[57] – qualities that are thus strongly reminiscent of marble.[58] A real marble statue, however, could neither be easily moved,[59] nor would it be possible to dress it or tilt its neck without further complication.[60] The Ovidian 'ivory' is therefore a material possible

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50 For example, Phineus and his companions (Ov. Met. 5.178–235), Niobe (Ov. Met. 6.301–312), Lailaps and the Teumessian fox (Ov. Met. 7.759–795), and Peleus' wolf (Ov. Met. 11.346–409). In the immediate run-up to the Pygmalion narrative, the Propoetides are turned to stone by their punishment imposed by Venus (Ov. Met. 10.242). See Isager 1991, p. 177, as well as Barolsky 2005, pp. 150–153, more generally on the motif of petrification in the *Metamorphoses.*

51 Ov. Met. 10.243, 255 and 275–276.

52 Solodow 1988, p. 2. On pp. 215 f., Solodow again speaks of a statue made from ivory.

53 The ideal of a statue *ex uno lapide* (Plin. NH 36.41) is associated in a particular way with marble; see, for example, Pliny's anecdote of the marble block that broke loose and released a statue of Silen (Plin. NH 36.14). On the reception of the motif in the early modern period, see Lavin 1998. In *gerebat* (instead of a consecutive *gereret*), Estius' epigram seizes on this idea.

54 Salzman-Mitchell 2008, p. 296.

55 Pygmalion imagines that his fingers sink into the material (Ov. Met. 10.257); see Salzman-Mitchell 2008, p. 294.

56 Ov. Met. 10.289. For the applicability of *venae* to the veining of marble, see, for example, Plin. NH 26.163; Stat. Achil. 1.3.36.

57 Ov. Met. 10.258. See Plin. NH 36.44 on the *maculae* of marble.

58 The mention of hymetic beeswax (Ov. Met. 10.284–285) also suggests the idea of hymetic marble (see Plin. NH 36.7; Hor. Carm. 2.18.3). It is worth mentioning that the Parian marble preferred for statues is characterized by its homogenous colour.

59 Pygmalion, however, lays the statue on a bed (Ov. Met. 10.267); see Salzman-Mitchell 2008, p. 298.

60 Ov. Met. 10.263 and 267–269. Such mobility would require joints, such as those known from classical ivory dolls; see Stoichita 2008, pp. 24–29; Hersey 2009, pp. 32 f.; Manson 1982, pp. 134 f.

only within the fictional world, one that combines the properties of marble and real-world ivory.

The contradictory messages in the engraving about the statue's materiality pinpoint Ovid's handling of 'ivory' as fictional material into an explicit dichotomy. On the one hand, their discrepancy exposes the difference in media within the engraving and the presence of two distinct authorial 'voices' made possible through this. On the other hand, it functions as an figure of aesthetic reflection,[61] which, in problematizing the material depicted, brings to light the material used for the depiction and thus the artistic facture of the engraving: on this level, the statue of the engraving consists neither of marble nor of ivory; rather, it is recognizable as an illusion artfully created in text and image on the basis of ink and paper.

3.2. Deceptive Authenticity?

Through her missing pupils and the merging of her mantle with the statue's base, the female figure in Goltzius' depiction is unambiguously marked as a classical sculpture,[62] with her face, in particular, seeming to be almost set off from the rest of her body. By contrast, Estius interrupts his narrative in the second line of his epigram in order to emphasize the living appearance of Pygmalion's ivory statue in a parenthesis (*vivae dixisses virginis ora*). As an amplifying *correctio*, this interjection repeats the *virginis ora* of the preceding line (*quod virginis ora gerebat*) – a decision that deserves special attention in view of the narrowly limited space afforded to the poet. The phrase taken up, 'bearing the face of a young woman' (*virginis ora gerere*), is used only twice by Ovid, from whose linguistic usage it derives: namely, for the Sirens, whose bodies merge human and birdlike elements, and for Scylla, a hybrid being with the torso of a young woman and an abdomen of wild hounds.[63] Its application to chimaeras corresponds to the performative aspect of the phrase, which is configured in accordance with patterns such as 'to play someone's role' (*alicuius personam gerere*), 'to bear a facial expression' (*vultum gerere*), or 'to wear an item of clothing' (*vestem gerere*). What the first line therefore states in the objective-indicative mode of discourse about the artificiality of the woman's face (*quod virginis ora gerebat*) is evidently opposed to the likeness of the same as asserted in

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61 On the concept of the figure of aesthetic reflection, see Gerok-Reiter / Robert 2019, pp. 19–23.

62 See Melion 2001, p. 157. Before the 2nd/3rd century CE, the pupils of Greek and Roman marble statues were generally only painted on (Abbe 2015, pp. 177 f.); the loss of the painting resulted in the characteristic 'empty' eyes.

63 Ov. Met. 5.552–553 (Sirenen) and Ov. Met. 13.731–734 (Scylla). Without the connection with *gerere*, *virginis ora* is applicable in various ways (in Virgil, Valerius Flaccus, Silius, and Statius of Diana, Media, human women, the disguised Achilles, and a monster). Notable is the use in Val. Flacc. 2.463 for a woman held captive by a sea-monster, whom the poet compares to an ivory or marble statue; see Ov. Met. 4.675.

the second line in subjective-conjunctive colouring (*vivae dixisses virginis ora*).[64] Here, Estius employs the so-called 'generalizing' second-person singular (*dixisses*),[65] which Ovid uses in his *Metamorphoses* in a specific way: if this subjunctive usage is generally to be understood less as a concrete address to the reader (but rather corresponds to 'one could say'),[66] it mostly serves Ovid, as Wheeler has shown, to put the audience into the perspective of a specific character.[67] For example, his *quam vivere credas* (Ov. Met. 10.250; '[a statue] that one would probably think was alive') thus presents readers of the Pygmalion narrative with the choice of either accepting or rejecting the artist's self-deceptive view.[68] In contrast to Ovid, Estius uses the pluperfect tense (*dixisses*, 'you would have said'). He thus transgresses the grammatical limits of a stylistic device actually restricted in Latin to the subjunctive present tense and imperfect tense and emphasizes the temporal distance between the moment of reading the epigram and the moment of deciding for or against Pygmalion's perspective. Admittedly, the voice of the epigram asserts to bridge that distance by claiming to know what 'one' would have said if 'one' had been present in the situation, but this gives rise to the question of the sources of knowledge and the poet's reliability. The temporal distance displayed in the pluperfect *dixisses* therefore introduces an additional reflexive moment into the reception process, which complicates a spontaneous acceptance or rejection of Pygmalion's point of view. Another appealing complication arises through the possibility of reading the entire second line of the epigram 'against the grain' and in the sense of a strict demarcation as an apostrophe: '"The likeness of a living young woman," you would have said, Pygmalion' (*Pygmalion, vivae dixisses virginis ora*). Even the presence communicated figuratively cannot resolve the distance between the moment of reading and the narrated moment: the lifeless face of the statue obviously does not correspond to what Pygmalion appears to see. Thus, the epigram indeed informs us about a possible view of the statue as lifelike or animated, but whether to adopt this perspective as one's own, if applicable, is left up to the decision of the observer.

In his poem, Estius accordingly also refrains from narrating an explicit animation of the statue:[69] while a transition from image (*simulacrum*) to woman (*virgo*) is com-

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64 On the emphasis on lifelikeness as evidence of artificiality, see Kailbach-Mehl 2020, p. 183; Schönbeck 1999, p. 303. On this form of parenthetical repetition from objective and subjective perspectives in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, see Albrecht 1963, pp. 92–96.

65 The phenomenon can be found as potentialis in Kühner / Stegmann 1976, § 46.2–3. Gilmartin 1975 coined the term 'imaginary second person'; Wheeler 1999, p. 211, prefers "generalizing second person."

66 Albrecht 1963, p. 206; Wheeler 1999, pp. 101–103.

67 Wheeler 1999, pp. 150 f.

68 See Wheeler 1999, pp. 155 f.; Hardie 2002, p. 174.

69 Unlike, for example, Posthius: *Dixit, & alma Venus vivere iussit ebur* (Posthius: Tetrasticha in Ovidii Metamor., fol. 124; see Horn 1995, pp. 216 f.).

prehensible in Ovid,[70] the ivory image is the grammatical subject of the marriage in the epigram.[71] Both artists of the engraving therefore seem to deny the vivification narrated by Ovid in the sense of an actual metamorphosis, and instead read this part of the narrative (Ov. Met. 10.280–297) as an immersion in artistic illusion following the perspective of Pygmalion.[72] As a result, the engraving does not narrate the bringing to life of a statue, but rather the possibility of imagining a statue as animated.

4. Pygmalion: Artist and Observer

In the duality of bouquet and chisel, Goltzius' composition of his image adopts from the Ovidian model the peculiarity that Pygmalion is portrayed as both artist and recipient of art.[73] Here, the artist can stand as a metaphor for the imaginative-creative observer, just as the observer can function as a metaphor for the creative *phantasia* of the artist.[74]

4.1. Love of the Work as Self-love

The third line of the epigram suggests that a tendency toward self-love may be inherent in this doubling. First of all, Estius reverses the syntax of the Ovidian *auctor opus laudat* (Ov. Pont. 3.9.9) to *opus author amans* and thus creates a phrase whose ambiguity increases with repeated reading, until at last almost any syntactic allocation of the words seems possible[75] – the boundaries between loving and being loved, between Pygmalion and his statue, become blurred. For the second part of the line, with *in imagine flagrat eburna*, the poet employs a construction not documented in antiquity for the verb *flagare* ('to burn,' 'to blaze'), but which is presumably borrowed from the semanti-

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70 Ov. Met. 10.253 (*simulatum corpus*), 280 (*simulacra*), 289 (*corpus*), 292 (*virgo*).

71 The implicit feminine subject of *iuncta marita est* is most closely to be found in the ivory image mentioned in the previous line (*in imagine* [...] *eburna*).

72 See Kailbach-Mehl 2020, pp. 184 f.

73 The chisel functions as a tool of the artist (see *sculpsit*, Ov. Met. 10.248), the bouquet of flowers as an expression of love for the artwork (see *conceipt amorem*, Ov. Met. 10.249), which presupposes its reception (see *miratur et haurit*, Ov. Met. 10.252). On this double role in Ovid's narrative, see Elsner 1991, p. 159; Kailbach-Mehl 2020, p. 165; in the engraving, Melion 2001, p. 157.

74 See Elsner 1991, p. 159; Salzman-Mitchell 2005, p. 69.

75 The variants *Ipse opus author amans* ('The artist himself loves the work'), *Ipsum opus authorem amans* ('The work itself loves the artist' / 'The work loves the artist himself'), and *Ipsum opus author amans* ('The work itself loves as an artist') are all read equally as *Ips' opus author(') amans*. I thank Prof. Dr. Anja Wolkenhauer for the suggestion that Estius' variably relatable *amans* is reminiscent of an Ovidian pun (*et carmen demens carmine laeso amo*, Ov. Tr. 4.1.30), which works in a way quite comparable with the oscillating relation of author and work.

cally similar *ardere* ('to burn,' 'to be engulfed in flames').[76] Through this irregularity, in addition to the primary level of meaning, that Pygmalion burns for the ivory figure,[77] an alienating second level comes into play in which the statue appears, as it were, as a body part of its creator, warmed and animated by his love: it is 'in the ivory likeness' (*in imagine* [...] *eburna*) that Pygmalion's love burns.[78]

In this thematization of the narcissistic aspect inherent in Pygmalion's love for his statue, the engraving elaborates on an aspect of the narrative already laid out by Ovid: not only does the classical author use conspicuously equivocal formulations that allow for the boundary between artist and work to become blurred,[79] his description of Pygmalion's love for the "self-reflecting image"[80] also displays manifold intratextual parallels to the narrative of the self-regarding Narcissus (Ov. Met. 3.402–510).[81] This latter figure freezes in astonishment before his own reflection (*adstupet*), and thus becomes the very statue "apparently formed of Parian marble" that he admiringly beholds in the water of the spring.[82] In the doubling of this freezing in astonishment *before* the statue and the astonished freezing *into* a statue, a classical figure of thought is expressed that is of particular interest for the interpretation of the present engraving.

4.2. Pygmalion's Stupefaction

If the colourlessness and homogenous engraving technique of Goltzius' Pygmalion appear to be formed from the same material as his statue, this approximation is further

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76   That this construction also demonstrates a high reflexive potential with *ardere* is evidenced by Ovid's *ardetque in virgine virgo* (Ov. Met. 9.725) as a description of the love between Iphis and Ianthe.

77   Canonically expressed with *flagrare* and directional accusative: *in imaginem flagrat.*

78   See the constructions of art in [...] *pectore flagrat amor* (Ov. Her. 16.126).

79   Thus Pygmalion's love for his own work (*operisque sui concept amorem*, Ov. Met. 10.249) contains an element of self-love (*sui* [...] *amorem*), the self-movement of the statue and its being moved by Pygmalion are merged (*velle moveri*, Ov. Met. 10.251), and the 'burning desire for the imitated body' (*simulati corporis ignes*, Ov. Met. 10.252–253) can also be read as the genitive of the subject ('the burning desire of the imitated body').

80   Leach 1974, p. 125; see Rosati 2016, p. 67.

81   These links exist on a structural level (Spencer 1997, p. 40, and Hardie 2002, p. 189, see an opposition of the two narratives, Salzman-Mitchell 2005, p. 93, a duality of contrast and correspondence), with regard to the thematized love of the illusionistic image (Rosati 2016, p. 66), but also in details such as the emphasized colour contrast of white and red (Salzman-Mitchell 2005, pp. 94–95, on Ov. Met. 3.422–423 and 480–484, as well as Ov. Met. 10.291–294; see Sharrock 1991a, p. 36) or the materials invoked in both narratives (marble: Ov. Met. 3.419 and 481 and see section 3.1; ivory: Ov. Met. 3.422 and Ov. Met. 10.248, 255, and 275; melting wax: Ov. Met. 3.488 and 10.285; see Sharrock 1991a, p. 36).

82   Ov. Met. 3.418–419: *adstupet ipse sibi vultuque inmotus eodem / haeret, ut e Pario formatum marmore signum*; see Hardie 2002, pp. 146 f.

strengthened by the figure itself in its posture being modelled on classical statues (most crucially the *Belvedere Torso*, in addition to the aforementioned *Venus felix* group).[83]

On the textual level, Pygmalion's persistence in the timeless-contemplative present tense of the *flagrat* (see above, section 2) conveys a comparably statuesque impression. Indeed, though the further course of the narrative is briefly sketched out in the fourth line (*Munere Acidaliae cupido dein iuncta marita est*), Pygmalion is only passively present in it; while a wedding is typically understood in Latin as the action of the bridegroom 'leading [the bride] into marriage' (*in matrimonium ducere*), here Venus (as the actual agent) and the ivory statue (as the grammatical subject) effect the marriage around the artist (*cupido*), who is frozen, as it were, in longing contemplation. This motif is already familiar from the aforementioned textual traditions. While Ovid's Pygmalion seems to lapse into a cognitive impassivity, which does not exclude, however, his groping reception of the statue to assure himself of it,[84] the young man in love in Pseudo-Lucian's narrative lapses before the Aphrodite of Knidos[85] into a physical rigidity, yet which leaves room for verbal expression:

> All day long would he sit facing the goddess with his eyes fixed uninterruptedly upon her, whispering indistinctly and carrying on a lover's complaints in secret conversation.[86]

By having Pygmalion become more extensively rigidified – his hands rest in a lowered position, his mouth is closed, and even the epigram does not give voice to his statuesque body – the depiction of the engraving surpasses these variants of partial immobility and exemplifies an attitude of reception that I would like briefly to situate in the artistic theory of the time. If the astonished freezing (ἔκπληξις, *ékplixis*) of the recipient was still theorized by Pseudo-Longinus (1st century CE) as peculiar to the poetic, in contrast to the rhetorical image,[87] it is developed by the artistic theory of the early modern period into a specific identification with the visual arts. Thus, the Dutch theorist of art Francis-

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83   Limouze 1992, p. 445. Melion 2001, p. 157, and Kirves 2017, p. 79, observe further statuesque elements of the Pygmalion figure.

84   Ov. *Met*. 10.287–288: *dum stupet* [...] *rursus amans rursusque manu sua vota retractat*; see Salzman-Mitchell 2005, pp. 74f.

85   On its connection to the Pygmalion narrative in the early modern period, see section 3.

86   Ps.-Lucian Amores 15 (trans. MacLeod): τήν θ' ὅλην ἡμέραν ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς θεοῦ καθεζόμενος ὀρθὰς ἐπ' αὐτὴν διηνεκῶς τὰς τῶν ὀμμάτων βολὰς ἀπήρειδεν. ἄσημοι δ' αὐτῷ ψιθυρισμοὶ καὶ κλεπτομένης λαλιᾶς ἐρωτικαὶ διεπεραίνοντο μέμψεις.

87   Ps.-Longinus Subl. 15.2: τῆς μὲν ἐν ποιήσει [φαντασίας, K.O.] τέλος ἐστὶν ἔκπληξις, τῆς δ' ἐν λόγοις ἐνάργεια; see Matuschek 1991, p. 41–44. In contrast to rhetoric, according to Pseudo-Longinus, the poetic image may for this purpose also entirely exaggerate in the manner of a saga and in every way exceed the limits of the credible (μυθικωτέραν ἔχει τὴν ὑπερέκπτωσιν [...] καὶ πάντη τὸ πιστὸν ὑπεραίρουσαν, Ps.-Longinus Subl. 15.8). On the understanding of *ékplexis* in the early modern period, see Refini 2012, pp. 46f.

cus Junius the Younger (1591–1677), via his reflection on the *ars* [...] *latet arte sua* of the Pygmalion narrative (Ov. Met. 10.252), arrives at the model of an attitude of reception in which "the viewer, moved [by the dexterity of the art], admires those techniques of the learned [artist's] hands as if touched by thunder."[88] In his description of Goltzius' journey to Rome, Goltzius' friend and biographer Karel van Mander (1548–1606) had him embody just such an ideal of reception himself: "He almost forgot himself because his spirit and mind were, as it were, abducted and taken away from his body through looking at the excellent works of art."[89] According to van Mander, this petrifying experience, however, subsequently moves Goltzius into an even greater activity of drawing,[90] the consequences of which probably also include the Pygmalion engraving.[91] The narrative of artistic creativity sketched out in this way can be reconstructed as a sequence of stupefied admiration (with spiritual transcendence), fervent copying, and subsequent appropriation of what has been seen for one's own pictorial innovations. Yet also in Goltzius' work, the close relationship between the presentation of Pygmalion in the engraving considered here and the figure drawing in his depiction of the *Apollo of Belvedere* (NHD Goltzius 380)[92] produces a close connection between the reception of art and its (re-)production.

The Pygmalion of the engraving can thus be read as Goltzius' self-image, both in his capacity as an observer of classical art and as an artist.[93] As van Mander's account suggests, both these dimensions are mutually dependent: the intensive reception of art forms the prerequisite for artistic creation, which in turn makes possible subsequent experiences of reception.[94] At the same time, the erotic charge of the relationships of

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88   Junius: De pictura veterum libri tres, p. 203 (= 3.6.5): [*artis facilitate*] *permotus spectator veluti attonitus miratur illa doctorum manuum σοφίσματα.* As a prototypical example for this attitude of reception, he uses the late antique philosopher Damaskios, who, in view of a statue of Aphrodite, froze in place sweating for the sake of his admiration (ἵδρωσα μὲν ὑπὸ θάμβους τὲ [sic] καὶ ἐκπλήξεως / *sudavi prae stupore et admiratione*, following Photius Bibl. 242.87). On Junius' reception of Ps.-Longinus, see Eck 2016.

89   Van Mander: Het Schilder-Boeck, fol. 283ʳ; trans. Miedema 1994, p. 390.

90   Van Mander: Het Schilder-Boeck, fol. 283ʳ, trans. Miedema 1994, p. 390: "and while new things after which he yearned daily renewed his enthusiasm, he dedicated himself, as ordinary students do, steadily and diligently to drawing after the best and most important antiques."

91   See Melion's discussion of Goltzius' chalk drawings of the *Belvedere Torso*, as well as of the *Venus pudica*, the *Venus felix*, and the *Venus ex balneo* from the year 1591, i.e. precisely those classical statues that significantly influence the figures of the Pygmalion sheet (Melion 2001, pp. 157–159).

92   See Goltzius 1983, p. 92.

93   See section 2 on the double *sculpsit*.

94   See Salzman-Mitchell 2005, pp. 69–73, who enquires after the "previous viewings and readings" that influence the *phantasia* of Ovid's Pygmalion, and thus enable his artistic activity: "On the basis of previous readings and phantastic viewings of the figure of Lucretia, the statue of Knidian Aphrodite and perhaps the image of Diana in her bath, Pygmalion forges a perfect maiden"; Salzman-Mitchell 2005, p. 73.

viewing and reception should not be entirely disregarded: in Goltzius now in turn exhibiting the contemplating Pygmalion himself as an object of contemplation – statuesquely paralleled with the sculpture of the woman – the engraving presents a comprehensively erotically open visual offering.[95]

5. Pygmalion in the Early Modern Period

Before I summarize the lines of interpretation developed in the previous sections, I would like to look into the question of how the Ovidian Pygmalion narrative was read in the late 16th century. A thorough investigation with a claim to completeness cannot be undertaken here, but the following sketch may convey a sufficient impression to contextualize the proposed interpretation of the engraving.

The editions of the *Metamorphoses* in the early modern period typically prefix the individual narratives of transformation with the summaries ascribed to Lactantius Placidus (4th/5th century), the late antique commentator on Statius.[96] On the one hand, these emphasize the insane character of Pygmalion's love (*in vecordem incidit amorem*) and relocate the fulfilment of his marriage wish to his perception (*conperit voto se esse damnatum coniugii*); on the other hand, they also stress the creative power of the artist (*itaque laetatus artis suae Paphum filium genuit*).[97]

The Latin commentaries on the *Metamorphoses* distributed in the Netherlands in the late 16th and early 17th centuries are different: far from any artistic-reflexive interpretation, they seem to be primarily concerned with negotiating the erotic aspects of the narrative. Victor Giselinus' scholia, which were used in Plantin's editions of the *Metamorphoses* (1561–1588), thus comment on the *reverentia* of the statue (Ov. Met. 10.251) with "well-bred young women hardly dare to move in the presence of men for shame."[98] Somewhat later in Jacobus Pontanus' edition (1618), the only thing remaining of the Pygmalion narrative is his initial decision to live a celibate life (Ov. Met. 10.243–246), after which

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95 The engraving thus corresponds in its sum to the effect of the *Aphrodite of Knidos*, which transcends sexual preferences (Ps.-Lucian Amores 13–14). The male-contoured gaze of the viewer in Ovid (Salzman-Mitchell 2005, p. 69) is universalized in the statue-group of the engraving to various permutations of gender and desire.

96 Some uncertainty exists about the composition of its original version: Cameron, p. 311, arrives at a dating in the period from 150 to 250 CE. Earlier research assumed a composition not before the 5th/6th century BCE; see Cameron 2004, p. 5, notes 13–17. The attribution to Lactantius Placidus is in any case erroneous; see Cameron 2004, pp. 313–316.

97 Ps.-Lact. Plac. Fab. 10.8, quoted after Raenerius: Pub Ovidii Metamorphoseῶn, fol. 137r.

98 Naugerius/Giselinus: P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon, p. 275: *Virgines bene educatae prae pudore in conspectu virorum vix se audent movere.* See Tholen 2019, pp. 120–123, on the further development of this line of interpretation in Farnabius: P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon and Rabus/Minellius: Publii Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseῶn.

the text leaps directly to the myth of Atalanta and Hippomenes (Ov. Met. 10.560).[99] The line of interpretation pursued by Dinter for the German-speaking world, which reads the Pygmalion narrative from the angle of a happy marriage instituted by God,[100] is not evidenced in Dutch publications.

The understanding of the Pygmalion narrative as a myth about artists thus seems to have been reserved for specific writings on theories of art. In these, the figure undergoes both positive and negative interpretations. The Italian theorist of art Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) parallels Pygmalion, for one thing, with the biblical *deus artifex*, who forms man from clay and blows his breath into him;[101] however, he elsewhere vehemently rejects the exploitation of the Pygmalion myth as proof of the nobility of art, as he sees above all in the Cypriot artist an example of unbridled lust and spiritual derangement.[102] Goltzius' friend and biographer Karel van Mander conversely interprets Pygmalion from the point of view of love for one's own work; in his commentary on the *Metamorphoses*, this is concretized allegorically as an infatuation with one's own good works that distracts from the "true Venus," meaning love for God and one's neighbour.[103] According to his life of Goltzius, the latter is distinguished positively by the fact that he is not "[like] some Pygmalions who fall blindly in love with their own creations,"[104] but constantly retains a critical view of them. Finally, one reading based on the line *ars* [...] *latet arte sua* (Ov. Met. 10.252, 'Art conceals itself through its own artifice'), which stages Pygmalion positively as an artistic figure without reservation, is found in Franciscus Junius the Younger (1637). For him, Pygmalion demonstrates the potential of art not merely to imitate nature but even to surpass it. It signifies an artist who, through *gratia* ('grace') and *facilitas* ('ease'), has reached the pinnacle of artistry (*caput artis*): namely, to create art that is no longer recognizable as artificial.[105]

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99   Pontanus: Ex P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseōn, p. 400–404. Pontanus thus omits the narratives of Pygmalion, Myrrha, and Adonis from his text and commentary of Ovid. On this practice of censoring editions and commentaries, see Tholen 2019, pp. 110–116. In his collection of truisms *Ethicorum Ovidianorum Libri Quatuor*, Pontanus likewise does not consider the Pygmalion narrative.

100 In commentaries on the *Metamorphoses* in Sabinus: Fabularum Ovidii Interpretatio, fol. M3ʳ, M3ᵛ; Spreng: P. Ovidii Nasonis, fol. 247ʳ–248ᵛ, and Holtzwart: Emblematum Tyrocinia, fol. F2ʳ–F2ᵛ. In the emblem, see Reusner: Aureolorum emblematum, fol. D2r. See Dinter 1979, pp. 49–51.

101 Vasari 1878–1885, vol. 1, pp. 218f., with reference to Genesis 2:7, see Barolsky 2003.

102 Vasari 1878–1885, vol. 1, pp. 97f.

103 Van Mander: Wtlegginghe en singhevende verclaringhe, fol. 87ᵛ. See Blühm 1988, pp. 54f.; Limouze 1992, p. 445. Also similar is the Spanish emblem book by Covarrubias (Covarrubias y Orozco: Emblemas morales, fol. 224).

104 Van Mander: Het Schilder-Boeck, fol. 286ᵛ; trans. Miedema 1994, p. 405: "gelijck wel ander Pigmalions [...] die op hun eyghen dinghen blindlijck verlieven."

105 Junius: De pictura veterum libri tres, pp. 3f. (=1.1.3) and 202f. (=3.6.4). On these passages, see Dundas 2007, p. 104. On *gratia* as an artistic ideal, see also Plin. NH 35.79.

6. Conclusion

The exchange thus traced between image and text in *Pygmalion and Galatea* demonstrates the particular strength of engraving as a genre in which, through the medial and spatial separation of epigram and pictorial representation, two authorial voices can exist in parallel as co-authors, without there being any compulsion for them to harmonize or any danger of their overwriting each other.

Hendrick Goltzius and Franco Estius use this media structure to develop differentiated readings of Ovid that are precisely not taken up in the Ovidian motif of art, which becomes invisible in the completeness of the illusion created by it (*ars* [...] *latet arte sua*, Ov. Met. 10.252). In the interplay of word and image, engravers and poets purposefully generate tensions through which they exhibit the artificiality of their work: for example, in the epigram putting up for discussion the vividness of an obviously inanimate visage, or in that contradictory messages about the material used by Pygmalion (marble in the pictorial representation, ivory in the text) problematize the fictionality of the artist's narrative. The transparent appropriation of classical models also contributes to this effect; the *Venus felix* group and the *Belvedere Torso* are cited in the image, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the epigram. Since the artificiality of the engraving thus exhibited at the same time functions as a display of the artistic skill of its creators, it not only contains a high potential for artistic reflexivity, but it also forms an essential element of the authorial self-construction (self-fashioning) of Goltzius and Estius.

For the classical Pygmalion narrative, the bringing to life of the statue is of central importance, but this is neither explicitly presented nor specifically narrated by Goltzius and Estius. By situating the animation primarily in the imagination of Pygmalion, who is depicted as an observer, they present the viewers of their engraving with the choice of either following his animating gaze in a "decision of free will"[106] or rejecting it as deluded. The contrast between a statue of Venus designed according to classical models and the figure of Pygmalion, clothed in the style of the 16th century, makes it possible to relate this choice more generally to imaginative-animating (as well as worshipful) modes of classical reception. The attitude of reception modelled on the Pygmalion of the engraving connects the possibility of animating perception with the reverse effect of the artwork on the viewer, who is, as it were, stupefied in admiration. According to Karel van Mander's life of Goltzius, the impulse for his own artistic creation emerged out of precisely this intensive phase of reception. In the engraving, the portrayal of Pygmalion as a completed and animated adaptation of the *Belvedere Torso* illustrates one such creative appropriation of visual, as well as imaginative, impressions.

The opposition of stupefaction and animation creates the imagery of a mirror between the mythical artist and his statue, to which the multiple readings of *Ipse opus*

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106   Wolf 1993, p. 44 ("freien Willensentschluss," picking up on a formulation by Manfred Smuda).

author amans correspond on the textual level. In the little space available, Estius characterizes Pygmalion as an artist who invests himself into his work in such a way that it even becomes the site of his emotional feeling (*in imagine flagrat*): the love for the work created cannot be separated from self-infatuation. Goltzius and Estius radicalize this reflexive motif by presenting Goltzius as parallel with Pygmalion on both medial levels of the engraving.[107] The immense artistic claim raised by this parallel – standing in the tradition of ambiguous interpretations of Pygmalion – goes hand in hand with the fact that Goltzius himself can be criticized by the figure of Pygmalion: messages about the narcissistic relationship between author and work may reflect on him as a recipient of antiquity.[108]

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107 On the textual level, the *sculp*[*sit*] of the signature corresponds with the *S*[*c*]*ulpsit* of the epigram (see section 2); in the pictorial depiction, the chisel functions as an analogue of the burin; and Pygmalion's clothing is reminiscent of the figure of the drawing observer in Goltzius' *Apollo of Belvedere* (see section 4.2).

108 Van Mander's attempt to distinguish Goltzius from Pygmalion (see section 4.2) illustrates this very point. In Thomas Greene's terminology, this dynamic corresponds to the mode of "dialectical imitation" (Greene 1982, pp. 45 f.).

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