THE PYGMALION STORY
IN BRITISH LITERATURE UNTIL 1900, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

by

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Abstract

This thesis presents an account of the development of the Pygmalion story in British literature up to 1900, giving special attention to its use in the nineteenth century. The first part of the thesis follows the development of the story up to the end of the eighteenth century. The second part concentrates on the story in nineteenth-century Britain, when there was a rise in its popularity: initiated, in part, by an interest in Rousseau's Pygmalion. This study shows that while renarrations of the Pygmalion story in the nineteenth century reflect a trend towards giving expression to ideas on the dominance, oppression and controlling of women, this is not their only concern. Nineteenth-century Pygmalion stories are preoccupied with concepts of artistic creativity, with romantic ideas on dream, and with the issue of how to portray the body and soul in art. An appendix contains lists of references to the Pygmalion story in English literature up to the twentieth century, of major renarrations of the story in Latin, Greek, French and German literature, and of its use in painting, sculpture, and music.

For my mother

Ποî γὰρ ἐμοὶ ζητεῖν, τίνας ἔδραμεν ἥλιος οἶμους,
καὶ τίνος ἦν Πρωτεύς, καὶ τίς ὁ Πυγμαλίων;
Γινώσκοιμ' ὅσα λευκὸν ἔχει στίχον· ἡ δὲ μέλαινα
ἱστορίν τήκοι τοὺς Περικαλλιμάχους.

(Philippos)

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I should like to thank my supervisor Prof. Kelsey Thornton, for his inspiration and support, the Richard Fenwick Scholarship fund, the School of English at Birmingham University and its staff. I would also like to acknowledge the support and untiring faith of my mother and Dr Richard Cross. Dr Tim Jones, Dr Robert Vilain, and my sister Eleoma Joshua helped me in various ways, and to them I am indebted. I owe thanks to the Theatre Museum Library, Birmingham University Library, the Bodleian Library and the British Library.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This thesis presents an account of the development of the Pygmalion story from its origins to the nineteenth century. The first, smaller, part is an introduction to the subject in three sections. The first of these sections is a review of previous work on the Pygmalion story. There follows a discussion of the question of the story's category: whether or not the story can be described as a myth. The last section of part one traces the development of the story up to and including the eighteenth century. In this section I aim to be as brief as possible in my outline of the story up to 1800, intending to provide a context for the nineteenth-century, rather than to explore all the repercussions of these renarrations and references. My purpose is to show the kind of story nineteenth century writers inherited, and, by way of contrast, the sophistication and profusion of nineteenth-century Pygmalion stories in comparison with what went before. Owing to the nature of the transmission of the story into British literature, a certain number of French, Latin and Greek texts have been considered in this section. It has been my intention, in the second part, to restrict the discussion as far as possible to British literature. This thesis does not include discussion of stories which are (or may be) based on the Pygmalion narrative which do not mention Pygmalion (like Oscar Wilde's The Picture of Dorian Gray and Shakespeare's The Winter's Tale).

The second part of the study concentrates on renarrations and references to the Pygmalion story in nineteenth-century British literature, when there was a considerable rise in the story's popularity. In this part of the thesis I identify clusters of Pygmalion texts which are related either by movements in art, by genres, or by recognized periods. This system of grouping seems to be the least constraining way of discussing

the development of the story. The first chapter of this section examines the importance of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's Pygmalion play for romantic renarrations of the story in the early nineteenth century. The second chapter looks at post-romantic renarrations of the story and their relationship to romantic dream models. The third discusses the connections between the Pygmalion stories of the mid-Victorian period and the Fleshly Controversy. The next chapter concentrates on renarrations of the story in play form. The final chapter examines the nature of the Pygmalion story in the 1890s, disproving one critic's suggestion that there is a standard Pygmalion in the nineties.

1. A Review of Previous Work on the Subject of Pygmalion

1.1. A Review of Previous Analyses of the Pygmalion Story in English Literature[1]

Research has been carried out into the origins of the Pygmalion story by Helen H. Law and Meyer Reinhold.[2] These articles concentrate on the origin of the name of Pygmalion's statue. Law concluded that the name 'Galatea' was first given to the statue by Rousseau in 1762. (The name may have been taken from another story in the Metamorphoses, that of the nymph Galatea and Acis, a shepherd.) Reinhold found an earlier instance of the statue being called Galatea. This was in Thémiseul de Sainte Hyacinthe Cordonnier's Pygmalion, a novel written around 1741. Walter Buske's

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[1]Several of the studies included in this section (1.1) examine the Pygmalion story in other literatures, I nevertheless include them since their main concern is the Pygmalion story in English literature.

[2]Helen H. Law, 'The Name Galatea in the Pygmalion Myth', Classical Journal, 27 (1932), 337-342; Meyer Reinhold, 'The Naming of Pygmalion's Animated Statue', Classical Journal, 66 (1979), 316-319.

article of 1915 had, however, already concluded this.[3] These writers agree that Rousseau's Pygmalion was the more popular of the two. From Rousseau onwards, poets and writers on the Pygmalion story (including compilers of handbooks on mythology and translators of Ovid's story) often refer to the statue as 'Galatea'. For some, the name has become part of the story itself. For example, Mary M. Innes, in her Penguin Classics translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, calls the statue Galatea in the title of the story and in the index to the translation, though the name does not appear in Ovid's version.[4]

Gerald K. Gresseth takes a different approach to the study of the story's origins.[5] Gresseth examines the story by looking at it in what he regards as its most important form: Ovid's Metamorphoses. He considers Ovid's version of the tale to be an embellishment of earlier folk tales. Following the lead of the Russian Formalist critic Vladimir Propp, Gresseth reduces Ovid's story to a basic narrative which resembles other narratives within a fairly narrow classification system. He suggests:

> Ancient literature gives us numerous examples of a tale type in which a young man or woman despises the opposite sex and often lives the lonely life of a hunter / huntress in the forest. This type, which I call the Virgin hunter / huntress type, provided a psychological

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[3]Walter Buske 'Pygmaliondichtungen des 18. Jahrhunderts, Germanisch-Romanische Monatschrift, 7 (1915), 345-354.

[4]Ovid, Metamorphoses, trans. by Mary M. Innes (Harmondsworth, 1986), p. 231 and p. 361.

[5]Gerald K. Gresseth, 'The Pygmalion Tale', Journal of the Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages, 2 (1981), 15-19.

characterization for the initial situation of Ovid's version (Gresseth, p.15).

Gresseth strips the tale of its literary expansions to formulate this pattern:

1. There is a young man without a wife
2. He makes a statue of a woman
3. He goes to a temple (or the like) to seek divine aid to bring the statue to life
4. After returning home the statue miraculously comes to life
5. There is a happy ending; they become man and wife (Gresseth, p. 15).

Concluding that the 'Pygmalion tale' was not structurally unique, Gresseth argues that the pattern it exhibits can be seen in many other tales. He compares his slimmed down version of the Pygmalion story to a tale type which had been defined by Vladimir Propp in his system of classification in Morphology of the Folktale.[6] When defined according to Propp's system, the Pygmalion story looks like this:

1. Lack
2. Consent to counter-action
3. Departure
4. Liquidation of lack
5. Return of hero

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[6]Vladimir Propp, Morphology of the Folktale, trans. by Laurence Scott (Austin, Texas and London, 1968). This work was first published in 1928 and translated into English for the first time in 1958.

6. Wedding (Gresseth, p. 18).

This type of classification, which considers the structural relationship between small units within a story, resembles the later critical school of narratology. The systems of classification employed by narratologists can prove to be very useful when considering the relationships between vast numbers of narratives.

Aside from this research into the origins and nature of the Pygmalion story, there are four lengthy studies of the tale. The first of these studies, on the development of the Pygmalion story in English Literature, is an unpublished doctoral thesis written by Bonnie MacDougall Ray in 1981.[7] This thesis concentrates on the period from the third century BC to the early seventeenth century. My study will differ from Ray's in two ways. Firstly, the period on which I have chosen to concentrate is the nineteenth century. Furthermore, although I include an introductory chapter on the Pygmalion story up to the nineteenth century, I have looked at the narrative as a whole, whereas Ray concentrates on the characterization of Pygmalion himself. My aim is to establish what kind of story nineteenth-century writers inherited. In her study of the character of Pygmalion, Ray identifies him as an idolator, a papist, a melancholy outcast, a madman, an artist, a neo-platonic lover, an onanistic loner, a courtier, a sterile and scurrilous lover and a foreigner. Ray's study, though extensive, is not exhaustive.

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[7]Bonnie MacDougall Ray, 'The Metamorphosis Of Pygmalion: A Study of the Treatment of the Myth from the Third century B.C. to the Early Seventeenth Century' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1981).

The second lengthy study of the Pygmalion story is an unpublished doctoral thesis written by Jane Michèle Keen in 1983.[8] Keen's thesis is concerned primarily with the influence of Ovid's Metamorphoses on the texts chosen. Much space is given over to the discussion of paintings and the development of the Perseus story. This exploration of the Pygmalion story concentrates on the series of Pygmalion paintings by Edward Burne-Jones and William Morris's 'Pygmalion and the Image', which forms part of his long poem The Earthly Paradise.

The rest of the later nineteenth century is dealt with in the last chapter entitled 'Other versions of the Pygmalion legend'. In this chapter, Keen groups the renarrations of the Pygmalion story under three headings: romantic interpretations, religious interpretations, and comic interpretations. This is, however, somewhat restricting. Within each of these categories, Keen provides a copy of the poem (when the poem is not too long). Each poem is followed by an appreciation. The thesis does not address properly the question of continuity or connection between versions of the story (this is partly due to the method of organization), nor is it extensive in its use of versions of the story from the given period. In order to find enough material to support her grouping of these texts, Keen is compelled to look at versions of the story which do not fall into the category of 'the later nineteenth century' at the expense of those that do fall within this domain. This is done without explanation. For example, under the heading 'Romantic Interpretations', we are given Arthur Hallam's poem 'Lines Spoken in the Character of Pygmalion', which was written in 1832. Though it is possible to argue a case for this poem to placed within the 'later nineteenth century'

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[8]Jane Michèle Keen, 'The Perseus and the Pygmalion Legends in Later Nineteenth Century Literature and Art With Special Reference to the Influence of Ovid's Metamorphoses' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Southampton, 1983).

as it was not published until then, Keen does not attempt this, and there is no indication given either of the date when Hallam's poem was written or the date when it was published. Though Hallam died in 1833, we are led to believe that his poem was part of late nineteenth-century romanticism. There are also lengthy discussions of Shaw's Pygmalion (1912) and Back to Methuselah (1922), which, again, cannot be called 'later nineteenth century'.

The third lengthy study of the Pygmalion story, an unpublished doctoral thesis by Stephen Henry Butler, was completed in 1984.[9] Butler's thesis discusses displacements of the Pygmalion story in the modern period; that is, where a text possesses elements of the story but is not overtly a version of the Pygmalion story. This thesis examines six texts: Frenhofer's Belle Noiseuse in Balzac's Chef-d'œuvre inconnu (1831), Théophile Gautier's Mademoiselle de Maupin (1835), La Toison d'or (1839), Oscar Wilde's The Picture of Dorian Gray (1891), Thomas Mann's Death in Venice (1912) and Vladimir Nabokov's Lolita (1955). This study covers part of the period I shall be looking at. My study will differ from this thesis, firstly, by concentrating on British literature. There will be a few exceptions in cases where the influence of a text written in a language other than English is very significant. Rousseau's Pygmalion, for example, had a direct influence on Thomas Lovell Beddoes's version of the story. Secondly, I shall concentrate on primary versions of the Pygmalion story. I regard primary texts as versions which retell the story rather than those which allude to it or resemble its form without actually mentioning it. Butler sees the Pygmalion story as a motif which reflects an artistic struggle or crisis

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[9]Stephen Henry Butler, 'The Pygmalion Motif and the Crisis of the Creative Process in Modern Fiction' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Brandeis University, 1984).

in the modern period (that is, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries). He suggests that the Pygmalion story represents a model or ideal example of the successful creative process.

J. Hillis Miller offers a different perspective in his study Versions of Pygmalion.[10] Hillis Miller sees the Pygmalion story as the 'literalising allegory' of the figure of speech prosopopoeia. Prosopopoeia is defined as the ascription of 'a face, a name, or a voice to the absent, the inanimate, or the dead' (Hillis Miller, p. 4). According to Hillis Miller, Pygmalion's desire to bring the statue to life is akin to the 'fundamental generative linguistic act making a given story possible' (p. 13). The study concentrates on Heinrich von Kleist's Der Findling, Thomas Hardy's Barbara of the House of Grebe and Henry James's The Last of the Valerii.

Recent short articles include Jane M. Miller's, 'Some Versions of Pygmalion' (1988), which records several of the principal interpretations of the Pygmalion story from Ovid to Bernard Shaw, concentrating on Bernard Shaw's Pygmalion.[11] Catherine Maxwell's article 'Browning's Pygmalion and the Revenge of Galatea' (1993) suggests that Robert Browning's writing was informed by the Pygmalion story:

> His poems show how male subjects, threatened by woman's independent spirit, replace her with statues, pictures, prostheses,

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[10]J. Hillis Miller, Versions of Pygmalion (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1990).

[11]Jane M. Miller, 'Some Versions of Pygmalion', in Ovid Renewed: Ovidian Influences on Literature and Art from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century, ed. by Charles Martindale (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 205-214.

> corpses, which seem to them more acceptable substitutes for the real thing'.[12]

Maxwell's thesis is weakened by the fact that Browning made no reference to the Pygmalion story in his work, and by the fact that her account ignores all of the Victorian renarrations of the Pygmalion story, claiming that Browning's work was informed by Ovid (no evidence is given to support this). Martin A. Danahay's 'Mirrors of Masculine Desire: Narcissus and Pygmalion in Victorian Representation' (1994) gives an account of the Victorian Pygmalion story as a narcissistic creative act which is doomed to failure.[13] Danahay argues that 'Nineteenth-century retellings of the Pygmalion myth have an unhappy ending, as Galatea refuses to meet the expectations of her male creator' (p. 49). My thesis will show that this generalization is unsatisfactory as a description of the Victorian conception of the Pygmalion story. While an element of narcissism can be found in the Pygmalion stories of the romantics (and Danahay notably turns to Hazlitt, Wordsworth and Shelley to support his thesis), narcissism does not inform Victorian interpretations of the story. Though the article is (in part) concerned with representations of the Pygmalion story in art and literature, the majority of Victorian renarrations and paintings on the subject are not discussed.[14]

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[12]Catherine Maxwell, 'Browning's Pygmalion and the Revenge of Galatea', English Literary History, 60 (1993), 989-1013 (p. 990).

[13]Martin A. Danahay, 'Mirrors of Masculine Desire: Narcissus and Pygmalion in Victorian Representation', Victorian Poetry, 32 (1994), 35-53.

[14]For example, the following paintings are not taken into account: George Frederick Watts, 'The Wife of Pygmalion: A Translation from the Greek' (1868), John William Waterhouse, 'Pygmalion and the Statue' (1873), George Howard, 'Pygmalion Novissimus' (c. 1875), John Tenniel, 'Pygmalion and the Statue' (1878), Ernest Normand, 'Pygmalion and Galatea' (1886), John Léon Gérôme, 'Pygmalion and

Danahay bases his thesis on only one Victorian interpretation on canvas (Burne-Jones's Pygmalion series), and a short reference to the story in A. J. Munby's Susan.[15]

Gail S. Marshall's doctoral thesis, 'Artful Galateas: Gender and the Arts of Writing and Acting in Novels, 1876-1900', and her article 'Actresses, Statues and Speculation in Daniel Deronda' explores similarities between Ovid's statue-woman and the depiction of actresses in novels of the mid-to-late nineteenth century.[16] Marshall claims that both 'usually function as the objects and products of their spectator's desire' (Marshall, 1994, p. 118). In her thesis, Marshall offers an objection to Hillis Miller's work:

> Pygmalion's desire to 'animate' his statue, which has only subsequently come to be known as Galatea, falls short of what Hillis Miller defines as the full narrativizing implications of prosopopoeia, that is, the ascription to entities that are not really alive first of a name, then of a face, and finally, in a return to language, of a voice (Hillis Miller, p. 5). Galatea's name appears not to have been coined until 1770, and in the Ovidian legend she lacks her own voice (Marshall, 1992, p. 2).

Galatea' (1890) and William Henry Margetson, 'Pygmalion' (1891).

[15]Arthur Joseph Munby, Susan (London, 1893), p. 44. The authors and artists who are mentioned are Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Christina Rossetti, William Hazlitt, William Wordsworth, Percy Bysshe Shelley, A. J. Munby, Edward Burne-Jones, George Bernard Shaw, Goethe and Thomas Carlyle. Of these only Burne-Jones recounts the story of Pygmalion. Munby's reference amounts to merely six lines.

[16]Gail S. Marshall, 'Artful Galateas: Gender and the Arts of Writing and Acting in Novels, 1876-1900' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1992). Gail Marshall, 'Actresses, Statues and Speculation in Daniel Deronda', Essays in Criticism, 44 (1994), 117-139.

My thesis will differ from Marshall's in its focus away from secondary Pygmalion stories. When dealing with the Pygmalion story directly (or in its primary form), Marshall concentrates on 'anxieties about gender-relations' (Marshall, 1992, p. 5).

1.2. A Review of Previous Analyses of the Pygmalion Story in Other European Literature

Research into the Pygmalion story in Europe has been carried out by several scholars writing in languages other than English. Most notable of these are Walter Buske, 'Pygmaliondichtungen des 18. Jahrhunderts' (1919), Elisabeth Frenzel, Stoffe der Weltliteratur (1963), Herman Schlüter, Das Pygmalion-Symbol bei Rousseau Hamman, Schiller. Drei Studien zur Geistesgeschichte der Goethezeit (1968), Heinrich Dörrie, Pygmalion. Ein Impuls Ovids und seine Wirkungen bis in die Gegenwart, Hans Sckommodau, 'Pygmalion bei den Franzosen und Deutschen im 18 Jahrhundert' (1970), Annegret Dinter, Der Pygmalion-Stoff in der Europäischen Literatur. Rezeptionsgeschichte einer Ovid-Fabel (1979). [17]

Articles, written in English, on the Pygmalion story in German and Swiss literature include Edward P. Harris's article on the Swiss poet Frank Wedekind: 'The

[17]Walter Buske 'Pygmaliondichtungen des 18. Jahrhunderts, Germanisch-Romanische Monatschrift, 7 (1915), 345-354; Elisabeth Frenzel, Stoffe der Weltliteratur (Stuttgart, 1963), pp. 529-531; Herman Schlüter, Das Pygmalion-Symbol bei Rousseau, Hamman, Schiller. Drei Studien zur Geistesgeschichte der Goethezeit (Zürich, 1968); Hans Sckommodau, 'Pygmalion Bei Franzosen und Deutschen im 18 Jahrhundert' in Sitzungsdberichte Der Wissenschaflichen Geselleschaft An Der Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität Frankfurt Am Main, 8 (1969) (Weisbaden, 1970); Heinrich Dörrie, Pygmalion. Ein Impuls Ovids und seine Wirkungen bis in die Gegenwart (Opladen, 1974); Annegret Dinter's Der Pygmalion-Stoff in der Europäischen Literatur. Rezeptionsgeschichte einer Ovid-Fabel (Heidelberg, 1979).

Liberation of Flesh from Stone: Pygmalion in Frank Wedekind's Erdgeist', and J. Wolff's 'Romantic Variations of Pygmalion Motifs By Hoffmann, Eichendorff and Edgar Allan Poe'.[18] Harris suggests that 'the story of Pygmalion and his ivory virgin provides a scaffolding for Wedekind's complex fable of the war between the sexes' (Harris, p. 55). Harris's article points to similarities between Erdgeist and Shaw's Pygmalion. He affirms, like Buske, that Shaw was influenced by a Pygmalion episode in Tobias Smollett's The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle.[19] On a minor point, Harris claims, incorrectly, that André François Boureau-Deslandes was the first to call the statue 'Galathée': rather than Saint-Hyacinthe (Harris, p. 45), as Walter Buske had thought (Buske, p. 347). Boureau-Deslandes's statue had no name.

J. Wolff links the German romantic's interest 'in his art on the one hand and to his beloved on the other' to an interest in the Pygmalion story which contains both of these themes (p. 53). Wolff concludes that, with regard to German literature:

> It is Romantic to refer briefly to the Pygmalion story and then to make a painter rather than a sculptor the hero of a rather similar story. The

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[18]Edward P. Harris, 'The Liberation of Flesh from Stone: Pygmalion in Frank Wedekind's Erdgeist', The Germanic Review, 52 (1977), 44-56; J. Wolff, 'Romantic Variations of Pygmalion Motifs by Hoffmann, Eichendorff and Edgar Allan Poe', German Life and Letters, n. s. 33, (1979), 53-60.

[19]This theory was established by Eduard Berend in his article 'Shaw und Smollett', Literarische Echo, 16 (1913-1914), 506. See also, E. S. Noyes, 'A Note on Peregrine Pickle and Pygmalion', Modern Language Notes, 41 (1926), 327-330. Chapter 95 of this novel is considered to be similar to the Pygmalion story. The subtitle of the chapter is quoted below: 'Peregrine sets out for the Garison, and meets with a Nymph of the road, whom he takes into keeping, and metamorphoses into a fine lady'. Tobias Smollett, The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle, ed. by James L. Clifford (London, 1813), p. 596. I shall not discuss the Smollett reference further as it does not mention Pygmalion by name.

appearance of a Doppelgänger of the painted woman image replaces the coming to life of the statue and the Romantic author shows his disapproval of the story both by deliberately brutalizing it and by making it end in disaster (Wolff, p. 59).

There have been several articles written on Rousseau's Pygmalion and its impact on European literature. George Becker wrote a pamphlet in French, called Le Pygmalion de J-J Rousseau en Italie, which discusses the Italian translations, performances and composers of the accompanying music of Rousseau's Pygmalion.[20] John Hummel, in 'Rousseau's Pygmalion and the Confessions', links the writing of Pygmalion with certain events in Rousseau's life which are mentioned in his autobiographical work The Confessions. He highlights, in particular, Rousseau's relationship with Sophie d'Houdetot and his quarrel with the philosophes.[21] Jefferson R. Spell discusses the impact of Rousseau's Pygmalion on Spain.[22] Rousseau's works had been banned there, but his Pygmalion was translated and performed without using the author's name.[23]

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[20]George Becker, Le Pygmalion de J-J Rousseau en Italie (Geneva, 1912).

[21]John H. Hummel, 'Rousseau's Pygmalion and the Confessions', Neophilogus, 56 (1972), 273-284 (p. 273). Other critics have linked the genesis of literary Pygmalions to the lives of writers. See, for example, Leonore Beaky, 'John Ruskin: The Patron as Pygmalion', Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies, 1, (1980), 45-52; Joseph Kestner, Mythology and Misogyny. The Social Discourse of Nineteenth Century British Classical Subject Painting (London, 1989), pp. 92-94.

[22]Jefferson R. Spell, 'Pygmalion in Spain', Romanic Review, 25 (1934), 395-401.

[23]Other work on Rousseau's Pygmalion includes Henriette Beese, 'Galathée à L'Origine des Langues. Comments on Rousseau's Pygmalion as a Lyric Drama', Modern Language Notes, 93 (1978), 839-851, Philip E. J. Robinson, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's Doctrine of the Arts, European University Studies, 90 (Berne, 1984).

Finally, on the subject of Montaigne, Constance Jordan writes, in 'Montaigne's Pygmalion: The Living Work of Art in "De l'affection des Pères aux Enfans"', about a reference to Pygmalion in Montaigne's Essais. For Montaigne, she writes, 'it is the work of art's status as child that is particularly important'.[24] As we shall see, this interpretation of the story is important for nineteenth-century British literature. Pygmalion's transformed statue is often portrayed as a naive girl in a woman's body.

1.3. A Review of Research on Pygmalion in Art

Criticism of the Pygmalion story in art has been very diverse. Interests range from the illustrations of medieval manuscripts to the subversion of the story in Surrealist art of the twentieth century. For example, Virginia Wylie Egbert writes on the subject of respresentations of Pygmalion in manuscripts of the Roman de la Rose.[25] She argues that although the Roman specifies that Pygmalion's statue was made of ivory, the manuscripts depict Pygmalion carving a stone statue: 'They undoubtedly wanted to make the metamorphosis more plausible by depicting a life-size figure, and so rejected ivory which in medieval times was used only for small statuettes' (p.21).

J. L. Carr's 'Pygmalion and the Philosophes: The Animated Statue in Eighteenth-Century France' (1960) concentrates on the use of the Pygmalion story in eighteenth-century painting, and also has some important information on the use of the

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[24]Constance Jordan, 'Montaigne's Pygmalion: The Living Work of Art in "De L' affection des Pères aux Enfans"', Sixteenth Century Journal, 9 (1978), 5-12 (p. 8).

[25]Virginia Wylie Egbert, 'Pygmalion as Sculptor', Princeton University Library Chronicle, 28 (1966), 20-33.

story in European Literature.[26] Remaining with the eighteenth century, Antoine Schnapper explores the descriptions of the Pygmalion story in the record book of Louis Lagrenée.[27] This article concentrates on dating various paintings by Lagrenée on the Pygmalion subject.

Arthur Evans discusses Balzac's Chef d'œuvre inconnu, a work about the relationship between artists and their models, in the context of modern painting. Balzac's Frenhofer, he argues, 'is the modern artist in his growing self-consciousness, in his efforts to deepen the subjective experience of his art, in his radical experimentation, in the religious seriousness with which he pursues his calling'.[28] This article also mentions several etchings by Pablo Picasso on the subject of Pygmalion, and explores Eric Gill's interest in the story (p. 193).[29]

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[26]J. L. Carr, 'Pygmalion and the Philosophes. The Animated Statue in Eighteenth Century France', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 23 (1960), 239-255.

[27]Antoine Schnapper, 'Louis Lagrenée and the Theme of Pygmalion', Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts, 53 (1975), 112-117. The record book contained lists and descriptions of various subjects for paintings.

[28]Arthur Evans, 'The Chef-D'Oeuvre Inconnu: Balzac's Myth of Pygmalion and Modern Painting', Romanic Review, 53 (1962), 187-198 (p. 193).

[29]For further details on Picasso's Pygmalion etchings see Kenneth Clark, The Nude. A Study of Ideal Art (London, 1956), pp. 353-354: 'They show the artist and model both nude, contemplating various pieces of sculpture, amongst them one which Picasso himself was to execute in bronze. A puzzled Pygmalion, the sculptor seems uncertain whether the independent form of his own creation really excels the living girl who crouches beside him' (Clark, p. 354). Eric Gill refers to the Pygmalion story in his Autobiography (London, 1992). His interest in the theme was coincident with, or perhaps caused by, his wife's first pregnancy: 'I fashioned a woman of stone. Up to that time, I had never made what is called an 'erotic' drawing of any sort and least of all in so laborious a medium as stone. And so, just as on the first occasion when, with immense planning and scheming, I touched my lover's lovely body, I insisted on seeing her completely naked (no peeping between the uncut pages, so to say), so my first erotic drawing was not on the back of an envelope but a week or so's work on a decadent piece of hard stone. . . . I don't think it was a very good carving and in spite of all I have said, no one would guess the fervours which conditioned its making.

Two studies have devoted space to the study of the Pygmalion story in nineteenth-century art.[30] Joseph Kestner discusses the Pygmalion paintings of Edward Burne-Jones in his work Mythology and Misogyny (pp. 92-94). Kestner suggests that the Pygmalion story

> deals with male fantasies of women and the corrupt nature of women in men's conceptions. There are several latent significances to the legend. The repudiation of actual women is a gynophobic defense mechanism expressing fear of female sexuality. The woman is spurned as depraved to prevent the male from experiencing sexual anxiety (p. 93).

Richard Jenkyns covers much more ground in his book Dignity and Decadence.[31] He examines several versions of the Pygmalion story in art, sculpture and literature, linking them with such nineteenth-century themes as the bound or chained woman, the

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But there it was; it was a carving of a naked young woman and if I hadn't very much wanted a naked young woman, I don't think I should ever have done it. Lord, how exciting! -- and not merely touching and seeing but actually making her. I was responsible for her very existence and her every form came straight out of my heart. . . . stone carving is conceiving things in stone and conceiving them as made by carving. They are not only born but conceived in stone; they are of stone in their inmost being as well as their outermost existence' (p. 158 and p. 161).

[30]Aside from the works discussed here, there is an M. A. thesis on Pygmalion in art by Jenifer Ruth O'Brien. I have been unable to consult this thesis. Jenifer Ruth O'Brien, 'The Myth of Pygmalion and Galatea in French and English Art of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries' (unpublished master's thesis, Southern Methodist University, 1994).

[31]Richard Jenkyns, Dignity and Decadence. Victorian Art and the Classical Inheritance (London, 1991), pp. 115-142.

damsel in distress, the idealization of women of a lower class, and the relationship between the male artist and his female model.

> And perhaps it is reasonable to think that this myth had a special appeal to the Victorian situation. . . . Men wanted their wives to be angels, but angels are pure spirit, and men wanted the solid pleasures of the flesh as well. Angel and mistress, passionate and passionless, a personality wholly conformable to another's will -- what woman could incarnate all these things? In reality, none; but in the imagination, a woman who was also a statue (p. 141).

In his chapter on Pygmalion, Richard Jenkyns explores, in general, the way in which women were portrayed as victims of male dominance.[32]

Finally, Whitney Chadwick examines the twentieth century use of the Pygmalion story in Surrealist art.[33] Chadwick suggests that Pygmalion is a recurrent theme in Surrealism which 'attempts to resolve artistically some of the issues surrounding the polarization of the female image and the conflict between male and female creativity' (p. 50). One of the paintings discussed employs a role reversal (with Pygmalion as the statue); another abandons traditional ideas of classical serenity,

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[32]There are further references to the Pygmalion story in Richard Jenkyns's earlier work, <u>The Victorians and Ancient Greece</u> (Oxford, 1980).

[33]Whitney Chadwick, 'Eros or Thanatos -- The Surrealist Cult of Love Reexamined', <u>Artforum</u>, 14 (1975), 46-56. The Pygmalion story is discussed on pp. 50-52.

exploring eroticism and 'the animalistic vitality and regenerative potential of human sexuality' (p. 51). Chadwick writes:

> In Surrealist hands, the Pygmalion myth takes on new meaning, since the power to bestow life and to move the male Surrealist artist toward greater and more responsive creativity is removed from the realm of the goddess Aphrodite and bestowed on these mortal women loved by various male Surrealists. Manifestly a myth of metamorphosis, the Pygmalion theme also functions as a myth of creation, in which man produces the forms of life with his own hands and woman intercedes spiritually to breathe life into his creations. In removing women to this level in the creative process, man both excludes her unique biological role (one which he is physiologically denied) and gives her spiritual creative powers of a kind which he may also share, since creation by thought or mind already lies within his powers (p. 51).

The Pygmalion story in Surrealist painting of the 1930s depicts, according to Chadwick, a conflict between the search for love and the fear of the empowerment of women. This conflict has its roots in the nineteenth century, bearing some similarities to the approaches outlined by Richard Jenkyns in Dignity and Decadence.

1.4. A Review of Pygmalion in Bibliographies of Classical Stories[34]

The earliest bibliographical list of Pygmalion references I have found was published in 1891 and compiled by Edward C. Guild. This list contains only seven references to renarrations of the Pygmalion story in English literature. It forms part of a longer list dedicated to listing 'Poems Illustrating Greek Mythology in the English Poetry of the Nineteenth Century'.[35]

Aside from Guild's bibliography, the compilation of lists of versions of classical stories appears to be a peculiarly twentieth-century practice. In 1977, Helen H. Law published a list which followed similar lines, entitled 'Bibliography of Greek Myth in English Poetry'.[36] This bibliographical list was mainly devoted to post-medieval versions of Greek myths. A number of these references are to the Pygmalion story in early twentieth-century American literature. The next important and more extensive list is found in Annegret Dinter's work on the Pygmalion theme in European literature (Dinter, 1979, pp. 155-161). This is an index of authors of works which have been discussed by Dinter in her study, and which have more than one mention of the word 'Pygmalion' in them. Dinter includes some American authors in her list. There

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[34]This section is distinct from the section on dictionary definitions (appendix 1). The bibliographical lists discussed here do not attempt to define the story or recount it in any form, but, rather, list versions of the story (or as some say, 'myth') in literature. Dictionary definitions are, of course, occasionally accompanied by lists of this kind; these will be dealt with later.

[35]Edward C. Guild, 'A List of Poems Illustrating Greek Mythology in the English Poetry of the Nineteenth Century', Bowdoin College Library Bulletin, 1 (1891), 15-31.

[36]Helen H. Law, Bibliography of Greek Myth in English Poetry (Ohio, 1977), pp. 35-36.

is also a separate list of works which are referred to in other critical literature, but which the author could not locate (Dinter, pp. 160-161).

The most recent and most extensive list of references to the Pygmalion story in literature and the arts, published so far, is in the Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts.[37] This work is partly a dictionary of classical literature, but more space is given over to bibliographical lists. Though it is an impressive work it is also a misleading one, as the dates given for particular poems are not always the earliest. For example, Robert Buchanan's 'Pygmalion the Sculptor' was first published in 1863; the Guide, however, gives the date as 1901, which is the date of Buchanan's Complete Poetical Works. It also places the poem in the chronology according to this later date.

The advent of the computer age has brought wide access to material via CD-ROM and networked databases. Two important projects which are of great interest to present-day bibliographers and literary critics are the English Poetry Database and English Verse Drama.[38] These databases contain copies of many renarrations of, and short references to, the Pygmalion story.

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[37]The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts 1300-1990s, ed. by Jane Davidson Reid (Oxford, 1993), pp. 955-962.

[38]English Poetry Database (Chadwyck Healy Ltd, 1994). English Verse Drama (Chadwyck Healy Ltd, 1995)

2. Is the Pygmalion Story a Myth?

2.1. What is a Myth?

In their definitions and assessments of the use of the word 'myth', writers have ranged from the simple to the highly complex. Problems have arisen because the definition and use of this particular word have changed over the years. It therefore seems appropriate to add two qualifications to this question: How was the word 'myth' defined at a particular time? and: Who would have defined or used myth in the way specified? It is difficult, because of the metamorphic nature of the concept, to make a definition which will be useful on all occasions.

At its simplest, the word 'myth' has been defined as a 'traditional tale'.[39] This definition, since it is very broad, is a useful one.[40] (Though apparently simple and indisputable, even this definition assigns a particular function for myth in a society; the word 'traditional' implies a handing over of a particular story in such a way as to preserve it.) It is a definition which many scholars have agreed with. Over the centuries, however, most writers on myth have attempted to define myth further. Definitions have ranged from those who thought that myths were a primitive science used to explain the world's mysteries, to those who thought that they were inseparable from the art of poetry.

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[39]Fritz Graf, Greek Mythology. An Introduction, trans. by Thomas Marier (Baltimore and London, 1993), p. 1.

[40]'That a myth is a tale is indicated by the etymology of the word: for the early Greeks, a mythos was a "word" or "story", synonymous with logos and epos; a mythologos was a "storyteller"' (Graf, p. 2).

If we are to define 'myth' as 'traditional tale', then we must assess what kind of a tale it is. There are many forms of narrative. Unfortunately, this task is more complicated than, for example, defining a genre within narrative. This is because the definition of myth as a kind of narrative has been, for a long time, inseparable from the definition of the function of this kind of narrative within a society. The main determining force behind the multifarious definitions of 'myth' has been the necessity to discover how this breed of narrative works within a society and, in some cases, how it originated. Indeed, the problem with providing a working definition of myth is, in part, a question of whether one can meaningfully divorce myth from its function and still provide a useful definition.

To illustrate my point that definitions of 'myth' rely heavily on describing the function of the narrative I shall refer to two early twentieth-century definitions. The first is a dictionary definition of 'myth'; the second definition is provided by a specialist in myth. Webster's New International Dictionary defines myth as:

> A story, the origin of which is forgotten, that ostensibly relates historical events, which are usually of such character as to serve to explain some practice, belief, institution, or natural phenomena. Myths are especially associated with religious rites and beliefs, so that mythology is generally reckoned a part of primitive religion.[41]

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[41]Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language, ed. by Noah Webster (London and Springfield, Massachusetts, 1909), p. 1431.

There is no reference here to myths as fictional stories, or any delineation of the type of narrative other than through its function. My second example is drawn from the work of Sir James George Frazer (1854-1941). Frazer, the author of the influential work The Golden Bough, suggested in 1921 that mythological stories were:

> Mistaken explanations of phenomena, whether of human life or of external nature. Such explanations originate in that instinctive curiosity concerning the causes of things which at a more advanced stage of knowledge seeks satisfaction in philosophy and science, but being founded on ignorance and misapprehension they are always false, for were they true they would cease to be myths.[42]

Frazer's definition ignores the identification of 'myth' with narratives which have an 'unknown origin'. Rather, it highlights the notion of 'myth' as a primitive science.[43] It is possible to see from these two examples that definitions of myth depend greatly on theories of how myth functions; theories which vary so much that the term does not have a definitive meaning.

There were many schools of thought examining the function of myth in society and how mythological stories could be interpreted to give meaning. Some scholars advocated, as did J. G. Frazer and Robert Graves, that myths reflected early rituals.

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[42]Apollodorus, The Library, trans. by Sir James George Frazer, The Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols (London, 1921), II, p. xxvii.

[43]'Legend', he argued, differs from 'myth' in that it relates 'the fortunes of real people in the past' (Frazer, p. xxviii). 'Folk-tales' are stories which have been handed down which, 'though they profess to describe actual occurrences, are in fact purely imaginary' (Frazer, p. xxix).

For example, Graves's definition of myth is: 'The reduction to narrative shorthand of ritual mime performed in public festivals, and in many cases recorded pictorially on temple walls, vases, seals, bowls, mirrors, chests, shields, tapestries, and the like'.[44] The ritualists, a group of scholars who have been seen as taking a 'rationalist' approach to the study of myth, are sometimes known as 'the Cambridge School'.[45] G. S. Kirk notes that Robert Graves claimed that 'myth implies ritual, ritual implies myth, they are one and the same.[46] These rationalists argued, then, that mythological stories had their roots in history.

Anti-rationalists argued for myths to be understood as metaphors. Within this group, opinions as to what kind of system should be used to explain the stories differed widely. Max Müller, for example, argued that myths were about nature, 'all referring to meteorological and cosmological phenomena' (Morford, p. 6). Research into the relationship between psychology and myth forms part of this group. Freud saw a connection between dreams and myths: 'Myths . . . in the Freudian interpretation, reflect waking man's efforts to systematize the incoherent visions and impulses of his sleep world' (Morford, p. 10). Jung, on the other hand, stressed the importance of myth in his work on the collective unconscious.

> Essentially similar images and symbols, Jung held, recur in myths, folktales, and dreams, because inherent in the human mind is the

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[44]Classical Mythology, ed. by Mark P. O. Morford and R. J. Lenardon (New York, 1977), pp. 4-5.

[45]See Graf, p. 40.

[46]G. S. Kirk, The Nature Of Greek Myths (Harmondsworth, 1974), p. 67.

tendency to represent certain inherited, 'archaic' patterns, which he called 'archetypes', though he noted that these representations 'often vary greatly in detail, without forfeiting their basic form' (Graf, p. 38).

Finally, another important school of thought which contributed much to the debate on myth was structuralism. Early structuralist and author of Morphology of the Folktale (1928) Vladimir Propp devised a diachronic system of analysing Russian folktales by means of dividing them into small parts which were arranged in a sequence. Propp discovered that, in the particular type of folktale he was studying, thirty-one different types of event could occur. The characters in the tales were different, but their actions were reducible to a list of thirty-one events. Graf notes that in Propp's system, 'the sequence of these functions is fixed, though not all of them need occur in every tale' (Graf, p. 49).

Structuralist Claude Lévi-Strauss devised a system which could be read as both diachronic and synchronic. Like Propp, Lévi-Strauss divided myths into their constituent parts in order to analyse them. He called these small parts mythemes.[47]

> The true constituent units of a myth are not the isolated relations but bundles of such relations and it is only as bundles that these relations can be put to use and combined so as to produce a meaning. Relations pertaining to the same bundle may appear diachronically at remote intervals, but when we have succeeded in grouping them together, we

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[47]'Mytheme' is Lévi-Strauss's term for the smallest non-divisible part of the myth.

> have reorganized our myth according to a time referent which is simultaneously diachronic and synchronic.[48]

While Propp was interested in the recurrence of a particular pattern in his analysis of mythemes, Lévi-Strauss argued that the mythemes took on significance only within the structure of the myth -- it was the relationship between the mythemes which was important. 'If there is a meaning to be found in mythology, this cannot reside in isolated elements which enter into the composition of a myth, but only in the way these elements are combined' (Lévi-Strauss, p. 86). An interesting part of Lévi-Strauss's theory (which has some links with thematics) is its emphasis on the necessity of looking at all versions of a myth rather than searching for a definitive version, an urtext. He writes, 'We define the myth as consisting of all of its versions; to put it otherwise: a myth remains the same as long as it is felt as such.' (p. 92). The study of several versions of the same mythical narrative, like the study of a theme, is clearly a valuable pursuit. In his article Lévi-Strauss examined versions of the 'Oedipus myth'. Of this 'myth', he explains, 'It cannot be too strongly emphasized that all available variants should be taken into account. . . .There is no true version of which all the others are but copies or distortions. Every version belongs to the myth' (p. 94).

The problem with the acceptance of this idea that a myth always remains a myth, in whatever age, is that it either weakens the term 'myth' into a synonym for 'traditional tale', or it gives modern renarrations of myths a status which would need

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[48]Claude Lévi-Strauss, 'The Structural Study of Myth' in Myth. A Symposium, ed. by Thomas A. Sebeok (Bloomington, Indiana and London, 1965), p. 87.

to be defined further, and indeed separated from other kinds of narratives, in order to be understood.[49]

2.2. The Pygmalion Story as a Myth

In order to establish whether the Pygmalion story is, or ever has been, a myth, it has proved necessary to examine definitions of the word 'myth'. To provide a complete explanation is beyond the scope of this thesis; to do this would necessitate providing answers to questions like: What kind of narrative is a myth? Does a myth have to be false? What is the function of myth in society? Can a myth develop into something else, or is it always a myth? The answers to these questions are still the subject of great debate.[50]

To lighten the burden of definition somewhat, I shall concentrate on how the critical world has received stories from Ovid's Metamorphoses. What is the status of a story from Ovid's collection? Both William G. Doty and H. J. Blackham agree that when considering whether a text is a myth or a fable taken from the corpus of classical myths, there are two levels of conceptualization which have to be distinguished. Blackham writes that:

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[49]I am, of course, happy to accept the canonical use of the term 'myth' to refer to a defined set of classical stories.

[50]Recent work on this subject includes: William G. Doty, Mythography: The Study of Myths and Fables (Alabama, 1986); Chris Baldick, In Frankenstein's Shadow: Myth and Monstrosity in Nineteenth Century Writing (Oxford, 1990); further lists of recent work in this field are available in Fritz Graf, Greek Mythology, pp. 223-230.

> Myths are a first-order direct conceptualization of phenomena, whereas fables are a second-order conceptualization, or in a supplementary way reformed on a special example. The one is a direct representation, the other a double representation reciprocally informative and involving a detached individual awareness.[51]

Blackham goes on to suggest that the formation of a myth usually involves a whole community, whereas fable is 'cognitive, partial, rational, ethical, an individual addressing an individual . . . never the means of any bond or union, social or cosmic' (p. 186). William Doty explains how myths can metamorphose into other genres of narrative:

> A mythological corpus consists of a usually complex network of myths that are culturally important imaginal stories, conveying by means of metaphoric and symbolic diction, graphic imagery, and emotional conviction and participation, the primal, foundational accounts of aspects of the real, experienced world and humankind's roles and relative statuses within it. . . .They may provide materials for secondary elaboration, the constituent mythemes having become merely images or reference points for a subsequent story, such as a folktale, historical legend, novella (p. 11).

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[51]H. J. Blackham, The Fable as Literature (London, 1985), p. 186.

This acknowledgement that a fable can have its origins in the subject matter of myths is important for understanding the development of the Pygmalion story. The story is one of unknown origin which was taken up by later writers. There is some evidence that before Ovid wrote his version the Pygmalion story was an ancient tale of unknown origin associated with the cult of Aphrodite.[52] However, according to Doty, a myth must function in the society where it is indigenous. Ovid was not part of this society, and his tales are not 'first-order conceptualizations of phenomena' (Blackham, p. 186). His poetic account of Pygmalion, in Metamorphoses, X, lines 243-297, is one which is based on a myth, but retold at Ovid's level of sophistication it is, rather, a story or fable.

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[52]Bonnie MacDougall Ray, pp. 2-10.

CHAPTER TWO: THE HISTORY AND DISSEMINATION OF THE PYGMALION STORY

In order to establish the nature of the dissemination of the Pygmalion story in later literature, it is necessary to see how and when Ovid's Metamorphoses became popular, how it was used in different eras, and to examine the early forms of the story. The subject of Ovid's influence is a field which has been well studied by classical scholars, some of whose results I shall summarize. There are, however, only a few writers who have concentrated on a single story of Ovid's and followed its development.

1. Early Accounts of the Pygmalion Story

The pre-literary origins of the Pygmalion story are unclear. As is the case for many ancient stories, it is impossible to find an urtext for the Pygmalion story. Helen H. Law suggests that there are grounds for thinking that the story was a local legend of Cyprus.[1] Though Ovid's version of the Pygmalion story is the most important early version, the Pygmalion story occurs in the writings of other classical mythographers and early Christian apologists.

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[1]Helen H. Law suggests in her article, that Clement of Alexandria's and Arnobius of Sicca's references to Philostephanus's work are 'valuable in proving that the story was a local legend of Cyprus current as early as the third century B.C.' (Law, pp. 338-339).

1.1. Philostephanus of Cyrene, Cypriaca (History of Cyprus)

The earliest known written version of the Pygmalion story was recorded in the History of Cyprus or Cypriaca by the Hellenistic writer Philostephanus -- a poet, and collector of myths, who flourished in the third century BC.[2] His version is only available to us via the later works of Clement of Alexandria (c. AD 150-c. AD 211) and Arnobius of Sicca (d. 330), who recount it in slightly different forms.[3] As this is the earliest known version of the Pygmalion story, I shall consider Philostephanus's version (via Clement and Arnobius) first.

1.2. Clement of Alexandria, Protrepticus (The Exhortation to the Greeks)

Clement, an Athenian and a Christian who wrote much of his work in Alexandria, records Philostephanus's story of Pygmalion in Protrepticus or The Exhortation of the Greeks (4, 51).[4] Clement's version is condensed into a few lines of prose.

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[2]Albin Lesky notes that Philostephanus was a pupil and compatriot of Callimachus. Albin Lesky, A History of Greek Literature, trans. by James Willis and Cornelis de Heer (London, 1966), p. 754.

[3]Both versions are noted in fragment 13 of Karl Müller's collection of the 'framenta' of Philostephanus Cyrenaeus. (This work lists the places where Philostephanus's works are referred to or quoted in other works.) Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, ed. by Karl Müller, 5 vols (Paris, 1841-1870) III, (1849), 31.

[4]Clement of Alexandria, The Exhortation to the Greeks, trans. by G. W. Butterworth, The Loeb Classical Library (London, and Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960), pp. 130-133.

> So the well-known Pygmalion of Cyprus fell in love with an ivory statue; it was of Aphrodite and was naked. The man of Cyprus is captivated by its shapeliness and embraces the statue. This is related by Philostephanus. There was also an Aphrodite in Cnidus, made of marble and beautiful. Another man fell in love with this and has intercourse with the marble, as Poseidippus relates. The account of the first author is in his book on Cyprus; that of the second is in his book on Cnidus. Such strength had art to beguile that it became for amorous men a guide to the pit of destruction. Now craftsmanship is powerful, but it cannot beguile a rational being, nor yet those who have lived according to reason (pp. 131 and 133).

Clement tells the story of Pygmalion, a well-known man of Cyprus, who falls in love with an ivory statue of Aphrodite and embraces it. As to the question of the status of the Pygmalion story as myth here, Clement refers to a 'well-known story' which has been retold in the work of a mythographer. Yet, at the same time, he is using the story to justify his religious polemic: his argument depends on the story having been true, or at least on his readers assuming the story was true.

Clement groups his account of Philostephanus's Pygmalion with a similar story, from Poseidippus's book on Cnidus, of another man's amorous liaison with a marble statue of Aphrodite. The man is not identified. This second story is also mentioned by Arnobius.[5]

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[5]These references and other fragments of Poseidippus's work (or Posidippus) which have been referred to by Clement and Arnobius are contained in Karl Müller's Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, IV (1851), 482.

1.3. Arnobius of Sicca, Adversus Nationes (The Case Against the Pagans)

Arnobius of Sicca's version of the story, in Adversus Nationes (4, 22), contains more detail and is a few lines longer than Clement's.

> Philostephanus states in his Cypriaca that Pygmalion, king of Cyprus, fell in love with an image of Venus, as if it were a woman. It was regarded as holy and venerated by the Cyprians from ancient times. His mind, his soul, the light of his reason and his judgement were blinded, and in his madness, as if it were his wife, he would lift up the divinity to the couch. Likewise, Posidippus in the book which he mentions he wrote about Cnidus and about its history, relates that a youth of very noble lineage -- the name he suppresses -- carried away with love for the Venus on account of which Cnidus is renowned, also entertained amatory relations with the statue of the same goddess.[6]

Arnobius adds to the story that Pygmalion was the king of Cyprus, that he was mad, and that the image of Venus with which he was in love was a holy one. There is a suggestion that Pygmalion had violated the statue. Arnobius also elevates the station of the man from Cnidus in the second story, who is described as being young and of noble birth. Arnobius modifies the second story by suggesting that the man's love for

[6]Arnobius of Sicca, The Case Against the Pagans, trans. by George E. McCracken, 2 vols, Ancient Christian Writers, 7-8 (Westminter, Maryland and London, 1949), II, 475.

the goddess, Venus, caused him to perform 'lewd' acts with it, rather than suggesting, as Clement does, that it is the statue itself which has attracted him.

Both Clement and Arnobius were recounting the story in the context of exhortations against paganism. Clement's story illustrates his point that statue-worship is a grave error. He writes further,

> Now craftsmanship is powerful, but it cannot beguile a rational being, nor yet those who have lived according to reason. . . . They say that a maiden once fell in love with an image, and a beautiful youth with a Cnidian statue; but it was their sight that was beguiled by the art. For no man in his senses would have embraced the statue of a goddess (p. 133).

On the other hand, Arnobius argues that it was impossible for gods to dwell in statues, that the statues were offensive to the gods themselves (see Ray, p. 18).

Though the rendition of the story is slightly different in each of the authors considered, it is possible to conclude that Philostephanus's version of the story established Pygmalion as a well-known man of Cyprus (who may or may not have been the mad king of the island) who fell in love with a statue of Venus / Aphrodite (which may or may not have been made of ivory).[7]

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[7]There is a reference to a Pygmalion in Hyginus's Fabulae (written before 207). It is not clear, however, whether this is the correct Pygmalion. The passage is quoted below: 'In Aegypto apud Busiridem Neptuni filium cum esset sterilitas et Aegyptus annis novem siccitate exaruisset, ex Graecia augures connocavit. Thrasius Pygmalionis fratris filius Busiridi monstravit immolato hospite venturos imbres, promissisque ipse immolatus exhibuit' (Hyginus, Fabulae, ed. by P. K. Marshall (Stuttgart, 1993), p. 60). 'In Egypt in the land of Busiris, son of Neptune, when there was a famine, and Egypt

1.4. Ovid, Metamorphoses[8]

Ovid's story of Pygmalion, in Metamorphoses X, fable 9, is the earliest written version which is culturally important. The poem was composed between AD 1 and AD 8.[9] It is the most popular and well known version of the Pygmalion story, and can be seen, in the main, as the archetype for the story which has been retold and interpreted by later writers. Meyer Reinhold writes that 'it was the version of Ovid . . . that remained the canonical form of the myth until the end of the seventeenth century' (p. 316). I would add that its influence is felt beyond the seventeenth century.

Briefly, Ovid's story is of Pygmalion of Cyprus, who, having scorned the women of his nation, creates his own perfect woman in ivory.[10] Pygmalion falls

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had been parched for nine years, the king summoned the augurs from Greece. Thrasius, his brother Pygmalion's son, announced that rains would come if a foreigner were sacrificed, and proved his words when he himself was sacrificed' (Hyginus, The Myths of Hyginus, trans. by Mary Grant (Kansas, 1960), p. 60). Hellanicus also included information on Pygmalion in his Cypriaca. This translates as: Carpasia [was] a city of Cyprus, which Pygmalion founded, so writes Hellicanus in the Cypriaca. (Karl Müller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, I (1841), 65).

[8]Ovid, Metamorphoses, trans. by Frank Justius Miller (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 1984). The second edition is revised by G. P. Goold. Quotations from the Metamorphoses will be taken from this edition.

[9]This date is given by E. J. Kenny in Ovid's Metamorphoses, trans. by A. D. Melville (Oxford and New York, 1986), p. x.

[10]Joseph B. Solodow suggests, in The World of Ovid's Metamorphoses (Chapel Hill, North Carolina and London, 1988), that Ovid's source for the story was Philostephanus's Cypriaca. Though it is the earliest known written version of the story, none of the other critics I have considered have inferred a direct connection between Ovid and Philostephanus: 'Comparison of this [Ovid's] version with its Greek source shows how, in making it over, the poet gave it a new subject and reconceived it so powerfully that it became a paradigm for later ages. Philostephanus of Cyrene, a pupil or friend of Callimachus, wrote what appears to be the original account; Philostephanus' work is lost, but two later writers have preserved notice of it' (pp. 215-216).

passionately in love with the statue. He prays to the goddess Venus who grants his wish and brings the statue to life. Pygmalion and the statue marry and have a child.[11] Pygmalion is said to be an ancestor of Adonis, with whom Venus later falls in love.

Aside from being just a simple sketch of Ovid's artful and poetic tale, the narrative, when it is recounted like this, becomes a tale taken out of context. (It is important to acknowledge, that when dealing with post-Ovidian renarrations of the Pygmalion story, we are usually dealing with narratives which have divorced the story from the significant place it has in the Metamorphoses.) It is possible to argue that this story has one set of interpretations when it is separated from the Metamorphoses, and another when it is left in its context. J. Hillis Miller suggests, in Versions of Pygmalion, that the tale is linked to a series of stories in the Metamorphoses by a complex concatenation. The story is part of a network of stories. Perhaps the most striking result of removing the Pygmalion story from the Metamorphoses is seen in the implications of Pygmalion's actions. When divorced from its context, the story ends happily. Hillis Miller argues, on the other hand, that when it is read with regard to its position in the Metamorphoses, the story does not end happily, and that Pygmalion's descendants are punished for his marriage to his own creation:

> For Ovid the appropriate punishment always comes, though in this case it is deferred. The payment for Pygmalion's happiness is made not by

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[11]The sex of the child is not conclusive due to manuscript difficulties. See Franz Bömer, P. Ovidius Naso. Metamorphosen. Kommentar Books 10-11, (Heidelberg, 1980), pp. 109-110.

> his daughter [or son] Paphos, but by his grandson Cinyras and, especially by his great-granddaughter Myrrha (Hillis Miller, p. 10).

Myrrha, Pygmalion's great-granddaughter, falls in love with her own father, Cinyras, and tricks him into sleeping with her. Venus is punished for her part in the transformation of the statue, as the son whom Myrrha conceived was Adonis. Venus fell in love with the beautiful Adonis and mourned his loss when he was killed by a wild boar in a hunting accident.

Ovid places the Pygmalion story between two other tales which involve the actions of the goddess of love and are set in Cyprus. In the story immediately preceding Pygmalion's, the Propoetides are punished by the goddess for denying her divinity. Venus makes them the first prostitutes and turns them into stone: 'in rigidum parvo silicem discrimine versae' (p. 80), 'turned with but small alteration to hard stone' (Ovid, p. 81). This is the reverse of the metamorphosis of Pygmalion's statue. Ovid says that the blood of their faces hardened. This contrasts with the blushing innocence of Pygmalion's awakened statue. 'dataque oscula virgo / sensit et erubuit' (p. 84), 'the maiden felt the kisses and blushed' (p. 85). Pygmalion, we are told, makes the statue <u>because</u> he is disgusted by the Propoetides. This is a fact which is omitted in many later renarrations of the story. So, various aspects of the Pygmalion story take on special significance when it is placed within the context of the other stories in the <u>Metamorphoses</u>.

The metamorphosis of the statue into a maiden was Ovid's own invention. There is no evidence for it in the earlier versions of the tale. The story differs from most of the other stories in the <u>Metamorphoses</u> in that it is a story in which an

inanimate object becomes animate. Douglas Bauer suggests, in his article 'The Function of Pygmalion in the Metamorphoses of Ovid', that:

> Of all the themes in the Metamorphoses, none recurs either as frequently or as patently as that of stone. The variety of its manifestations -- now functioning literally and at the same time symbolically as the subject-matter in the account of a bizarre petrification or its inverse, now as the metaphor of physical or moral insensibility, and now as a complementary simile or verbal echo -- warrants its distinction as the dominant image.[12]

Bauer puts forward a theory that the Pygmalion story has special significance in the Metamorphoses. Firstly, it has significance within the framework of the tenth book of the Metamorphoses: 'The nine erotic narratives which form Book 10 are, I believe, disposed in a deliberate symmetry, three concentric frames or recessed panels outlining the one episode radically dissimilar to the other eight' (p. 10). The 'dissimilar' episode, the Pygmalion story, is distinguished in two ways:

> First, whereas each of the other myths advances to a grim tragedy, the happy resolve of the Pygmalion episode is unique on the pages of Book 10. And secondly, whereas each of the other myths adheres to a firm

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[12]Douglas Bauer, 'The Function of Pygmalion in the Metamorphoses of Ovid', Transactions of the American Philological Association, 93, (1962), 1-21 (p. 2).

> tradition, 'it was quite possible, and in fact quite likely, that in all relevant respects the invention was his' (p. 11).[13]

The story forms a striking connection between two of the major themes in the Metamorphoses: love and stone, and is located in the golden section of the Metamorphoses. Bauer works out that the ratio between the number of lines which precede the Pygmalion story and the number of lines which 'divide it from the cognate epilogue is exactly 0.618, the Golden Section' (p. 20). This is significant because it shows the premeditation of the poet in constructing the Metamorphoses, and his 'familiarity with the mystical Pythagoreans' (p. 20). If the theory about the golden section is correct, it means that Ovid has decided to draw attention to the Pygmalion episode. Bauer suggests that this could be because the stone, love and art themes are all interwoven in the story. The fact that Ovid altered the remnants of the original myth of Pygmalion adds substance to the theory that it is given emphasis.

There are other explanations and theories which have been put forward to explain the significance of the metamorphosis in this particular story. Hillis Miller argues that this transformation is an allegory for a special type of 'prosopopoeia':

> This trope ascribes a face, a name, or a voice to the absent, the inanimate, or the dead. But prosopopoeia is already the basic operative trope in the more usual transformations in the Metamorphoses. The

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[13]Bauer's quotation is from Hermann Fränkel, Ovid. A Poet Between Two Worlds (California, 1945), p. 95.

> two kinds of metamorphosis meet, the crisscross lines intersect, because both forms are prosopopoeia (Hillis Miller, p. 4)

Jane Miller, on the other hand, suggests that there are parallels between the metamorphosis, or vivification, of the statue and human birth in Ovid's version of the story.[14] This birth-image reinforces the view that the statue is, in a sense, the child of Pygmalion, a notion which would have an obvious bearing on the Myrrha story. The idea that Pygmalion was the father or creator of the statue-maiden, and therefore should not marry her, is linked with the following story of Myrrha. The link is not just that of transformation, but also that of sexual guilt and punishment.

Errol Durbach suggests a third interesting interpretation.[15] He argues that the Pygmalion story contains within it the germ of its anti-myth: that form of Romantic idealism that stands in danger of changing living flesh into stone. What Pygmalion most desires, he says, is a living doll, like Hoffman's Coppelia (Durbach, p. 90). Ovid's statement that Pygmalion prays to have a wife like the ivory maid is in tune with Durbach's view: '"sit coniunx, opto", non ausus "eburnea virgo" / dicere, Pygmalion "similis mea" dixit "eburnae"' (Ovid p. 84). '"I pray to have as a wife" -- he did not dare add "my ivory maiden", but said, "one like my ivory maiden"' (Ovid, p. 85).

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[14]Jane M. Miller, 'Some Versions of Pygmalion', in Ovid Renewed. Ovidian Influences on Literature and Art From the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century, ed. by Charles Martindale (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 205-214 (p. 208).

[15]Errol Durbach, 'Pygmalion: Myth and Anti-Myth in the Plays of Ibsen and Shaw', in George Bernard Shaw's 'Pygmalion', ed. by Harold Bloom (New Haven, 1988), pp. 87-98.

Another important part of Ovid's narration is the erotic element. Jane M. Miller suggests that Ovid uses sexual innuendo in his description of the statue:

> Once the statue is finished, Pygmalion falls in love with it: 'operisque sui concepit amorem' ('and he falls in love with his own work', Ovid, p. 249). The word 'concepit' is a sexual metaphor, already hinted at by the use of 'nasci' in the previous line (Miller, p. 206).

There is an 'undercurrent of sexuality' in the story (Miller, p. 207). Miller suggests that Ovid seems to be indicating that Pygmalion has a sexual relationship with the statue. 'She is called his "tori sociam", the partner of his bed' (Miller, p. 281). Pygmalion kisses the statue whilst lying on it: 'incumbensque toro dedit oscula' (Ovid, p. 84). Miller notes further examples of 'stories about men having physical relationships with statues' (Miller, p. 281, n. 19). She argues that the strong sexual overtones of the story tell against the view of the story as one of piety rewarded. His treatment is erotic rather than obscene but a physical relationship between sculptor and statue is implied (Miller, p. 208).

Pygmalion is not the only artist figure in the Metamorphoses. Bauer notes that:

> Alcmene, Apollo (twice), Canens, Circe (twice), Daedalus, Deucalion, Gargaphie, Medea, Orpheus (twice), Phantasus, Philomela, Prometheus, Tages, and Thetis all practice one or more of the fine arts in surmounting their obstacles, performing their transformations, and

> realizing their designs. But the Pygmalion episode, even in modern literature the most celebrated of the potentialities belonging to the fine arts, presides again over all the others, for its hero effects a masterpiece without parallel in the entire composition by wedding an ingenuous nobility of purpose with a studied refinement of approach (Bauer, p. 13).

Ovid embellished the story greatly. He made Pygmalion the sculptor of the statue and removed his status as king. Instead of portraying him as an over-passionate lover who had lost his wits, he is described as a hater of women, a man who was affronted by the lewd behaviour of the Propoetides. The story, rather than being left unresolved, as it is by earlier mythographers, is given a fitting conclusion; Pygmalion and the statue-woman have a child. This child provides a link between Pygmalion's tale and the following tale.

In order to examine the nature of the Pygmalion story after Ovid, it has proved useful to construct a template of Ovid's version, with which later stories can be compared, along the lines of that used by Gresseth in his article (Gresseth, p. 15). I have elaborated on Gresseth's formula, which divides the story into five significant episodes. I divide it into seven so that all of the major events of the story can be included. In outline, Ovid's story may be seen in the following way:

1. The identification episode
2. The sculpting and falling in love episode
3. The giving of gifts episode

4. The departure episode

5. The return and transformation episode

6. The joy and thanks episode

7. Conclusion.

In the case of those episodes which have two elements, for example, the sculpting and falling in love episode, I have concluded that the story links the events together closely in terms of time and space given to them in the narrative. Within these categories there are, of course, more details. A template of the story which included these would look like this:

1. The identification episode (4 lines):

    Pygmalion is identified as:

    a. a man (he is identified as a Cypriot later in the story)

    b. a sculptor

    c. unmarried

    d. a despiser of women

2. The sculpting and falling in love episode (12 lines):

    Pygmalion sculpts a statue: the statue is

    a. made of ivory

    b. of beautiful woman

    c. more perfect than any living woman

    d. kissed and touched by Pygmalion

    e. the object of Pygmalion's love

3. The giving of gifts episode (11 lines):

    a. Pygmalion gives the statue certain presents[16]

    b. he treats her like a real woman

4. The departure episode (10 lines):

    a. Pygmalion puts the statue in his bed

    b. he goes to the temple

    c. he prays to Venus

    d. he asks for a woman who is like the ivory statue

5. The return and transformation episode (7 lines):

    a. Pygmalion returns home

    b. he kisses and touches the statue

    c. the statue is transformed

    d. Pygmalion is amazed

    e. the statue gives a virginal blush

    f. the statue-woman lifts her eyes to the sky

6. The joy and thanks episode (8 lines):

    a. Pygmalion is joyful and thanks Venus

7. The conclusion (3 lines):

    a. the pair marry

    b. they have a child called Paphos

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[16]The presents are: shells, smooth pebbles, little birds, many coloured flowers, lilies, coloured balls, clothes, gemmed rings, a long necklace, pearl ear-rings, and beautiful chains. These are all said to be the kind of gifts pleasing to girls.

1.5. Apollodorus, Bibliotheca

A brief reference to the Pygmalion story is made in the Bibliotheca or The Library which has been attributed to Apollodorus (AD 180-AD 110/120).[17] Sir James Frazer notes in his introduction to the Library that this text is wrongly attributed to Apollodorus. As for dating the text, Frazer suggests that 'we cannot say more than that the Library was probably written at some time in either the first or the second century of our era (Apollodorus, I, p. xvi). The reference to Pygmalion in the Library does not mention Pygmalion's relationship with a statue. It merely records his genealogy. The genealogy recorded here differs from the account given by Ovid.

> This Cinyras in Cyprus, whither he had come with some people, founded Paphos; and having there married Metharme, daughter of Pygmalion, king of Cyprus, he begat Oxyporus and Adonis, and besides them daughters Orsedice, Laogore and Braesia (Apollodorus, II, 84-85).

In Ovid's version Cinyras is Pygmalion's grandson, rather than his son-in-law; and Pygmalion's child is called Paphos rather than Metharme.

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[17]Apollodorus, The Library, trans. by Sir James George Frazer, 2 vols (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1921), II, 84-85.

1.6. Porphyry, De Abstinentia (On Abstinence From Animal Food)[18]

A Pygmalion, described as a king of Cyprus (who was born a Phoenician), is alluded to in the fourth book of De Abstinentia of Porphyry.[19] Porphyry lived from about AD 232/3 to c. AD 305. This work is thought to have been written in the region of AD 270. The story connected with Pygmalion in this work is about priests breaking their rule of vegetarianism by eating sacrificial flesh, rather than about the love of statues.

> In process of time, however, the Cyzicenean and Asclepiades the Cyprian say, about the era of Pygmalion, who was by birth a Phoenician, but reigned over the Cyprians. . . . On one occasion a priest touched cooked flesh, burnt his fingers and put them in his mouth. Having tasted the flesh, he wanted more, ate some and gave it to his wife. Pygmalion, however, becoming acquainted with this circumstance, ordered both the priest and his wife to be hurled headlong from a steep rock, and gave the priesthood to another person, who not long after performing the same sacrifice, and eating the flesh of the victim, fell into the same calamities as his predecessor. The thing, however, proceeding still farther, and men using the same kind

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[18] The references to Pygmalion in the works of Porphyry, Nonnos and Hyginus have not been considered by other theses.

[19] Porphyry, Selected Works of Porphyry, trans. by Thomas Taylor (London, 1823), pp. 152-153.

> of sacrifice, and through yielding to desire, not abstaining from, but feeding on flesh, the deed was no longer punished (pp. 152-153).[20]

There are two prominent Pygmalions in classical history: Pygmalion, the king of Cyprus who fell in love with a statue, and Pygmalion of Tyre (in Phoenicia) who was the brother of Dido, queen of Carthage. Though Tyre and Cyprus are geographically close, it is generally thought that these were two different men. Porphyry's Pygmalion is, however, connected with both of these places.[21] It is not possible to say for certain which Pygmalion this is.

1.7. Nonnos Panopolitanus, Dionysiaca

Nonnos Panopolitanus's Dionysiaca, from the fifth century AD, connects Pygmalion, king of Cyprus with a story about him living for a long time.

> Echelaos lad, you have belied your birth as a Cyprian! You are not sprung from Pygmalion, to whom Cypris gave a long course of life and many years. Ares the bridegroom of your Paphian did not save you.[22]

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[20]Porphyry notes that Pygmalion is mentioned by Neanthes Cyzicenus and Asclepiades Cyprius. This is also noted in Karl Müller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, III, 10 and 306.

[21]Occasionally, later writers have confused Pygmalion of Cyprus with Pygmalion of Tyre.

[22]Nonnos, Dionysiaca, trans. by W. H. D. Rouse, notes by H. J. Rose, 3 vols (London and Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1940), II, 459. Rose suggests that this text was written before 500.

H. J. Rose notes in Rouse's edition of Dionysiaca that Pygmalion is connected with both Tyre and Cyprus.

> Hardly anything is known of the Pygmalion legend, except that he was a king of Cyprus (probably originally a god, the first two syllables of his name being apparently a corruption of a divine Phoenician name). The tale how he made a beautiful statue of a woman, fell in love with it and successfully begged Aphrodite to make it live is the only well-known story concerning him. From this passage it appears that the goddess also granted him long life and that she gave him a carriage (not a war chariot, for it was drawn by mules) which carried him safely out of all dangers. Lines 216-218 must refer to some tale concerning Pygmalion, for they are quite inappropriate to Echelaos, who evidently had been fighting on foot (II, 458-459).

1.8. Conclusion

What is most evident from looking at these early versions of the Pygmalion story is that they differ in their rendition of the story. The three main stories of Pygmalion -- those of Clement, Arnobius and Ovid -- 'agree only in stating that Pygmalion of Cyprus fell in love with a statue -- in the case of Arnobius and Clement the statue of Aphrodite, in the case of Ovid the statue of a maiden' (Law, p. 337). They do not agree on Pygmalion's status in Cyprus, on whether he sculpted the statue himself, and on whether the statue was brought to life. It is important to note that the

statue is made from ivory in the stories of both Clement and Ovid. (The medium for Arnobius's statue is not specified.)

The genres of the Pygmalion story, at this early stage, divide into three groups. Firstly, there are the Greek mythographers: Philostephanus, Apollodorus, Porphyry, Nonnos, Hellanicus, Neanthes Cyzicenus, Asclepiades. The work of these writers has been largely lost, or remains in fragments. These references to the Pygmalion story by Greek mythographers occur both before and after Ovid wrote his version of the tale. Post-Ovidian accounts written by Greek mythographers show no obvious signs of having been influenced by Ovid. Wilmon Brewer confirms, in Ovid's 'Metamorphoses' in European Culture, that neither Nonnos nor Apollodorus 'showed any acquaintance with Ovid'.[23] Aside from that of Philostephanus, the stories are sketchy tales of actions attributed to Pygmalion which do not mention his relationship with a statue. Apollodorus, Porphyry, and Nonnos agree that Pygmalion was a king of Cyprus.

The second type of reference to the Pygmalion story is the poetic one written by Ovid. This poem, quite distinct from the short references made to Pygmalion in Greek prose, embellishes the story in a sophisticated way, giving Pygmalion a new identity as a sculptor and making the statue come to life. The last group of writers, the Christian apologists, treated the Pygmalion story as an example which could be used in order to denounce pagan idolatry. It is clear, from looking at the minor references to Pygmalion, that there were several stories told in connection with him. Undoubtedly the most popular of these was on his love for a statue of a woman.

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[23]Wilmon Brewer, Ovid's 'Metamorphoses' in European Culture (Boston, 1941), p. 19.

2. The Pygmalion Story from 1200-1500

During the Middle Ages, the Pygmalion story developed close associations with theology through the moralizing tradition, and we see the beginnings of its separation from the Metamorphoses. As the Pygmalion story evolved, its significance changed over the years, under influences from many directions. It is important to note that in many cases during this period, the Pygmalion story is allegorized, paraphrased and moralized purely because it is part of the Metamorphoses. This is an important factor in its early development.[24]

The phrase 'aetas Ovidiana' has been coined to describe the popularity of Ovid in the medieval period. Under this heading Charles Martindale includes the end of the eleventh century, the twelfth century and the thirteenth century. Ovid, he writes, 'has had a more wide-ranging impact on the art and culture of the West than any other classical poet' (Martindale, p. 1). Little is known of Ovid before the twelfth century. In the latter part of the eleventh, and in the twelfth century, however, 'the circulation and influence of Ovid's poetry increased dramatically'.[25] Despite this activity, the

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[24]The influence of Ovid's works on literature and art from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century is the main concern of Charles Martindale's collection of essays in Ovid Renewed. A catalogue and summary of a substantial amount of work on this topic is to be found in Louise Vinge, The Narcissus Theme in Western Literature up to the Early Nineteenth Century (Lund, 1967). Further information on Ovid in the Middle Ages is available in Ann Moss, Ovid in Renaissance France. A Survey of Latin Editions of Ovid and Commentaries Printed in France Before 1600, Warburg Institute Surveys, 8, (London, 1982); Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics, ed. by L. D. Reynolds (Oxford, 1983); Jane Chance, The Mythographic Art. Classical Fable and the Rise of the Vernacular in Early France and England (Gainesville, Florida, 1990).

[25]R. J. Tarrant, 'Ovid', in L. D. Reynolds, Texts and Transmission, pp. 257-284 (p. 258).

Metamorphoses 'is remarkable for the total absence of extant complete manuscripts before the second half of the eleventh century' (Reynolds, p. 276). The editio princeps of the Metamorphoses was published in 1471 (Vinge, p. 128).

In this period, aesthetic questions were largely centred around issues relating to theology. Art had to justify itself in the relationship between God and people; pagan stories and philosophy had to be defended and Christian teaching supported. The principal literary reaction to the Metamorphoses, at this time, was to retell its stories in such a way as to bring out a Christian moral allegorical meaning. Medieval writers retold the Ovidian version of the Pygmalion story in a condensed form, often adding a separate allegorical section in order to bring out the theme they wanted to emphasize. The popularity of the Metamorphoses in the medieval period seems to have some connection with its easy incorporation into the moralizing tradition. 'To the fourteenth century, the Metamorphoses was the key example of fabulous material that could be demystified to produce Christian Doctrine, and commentaries . . . abounded' (Martindale, p. 74). Some less skilful interpretations would merely retell the story, tacking on a far-fetched moral at the end. Others provided a moralistic commentary in the margin.

Aside from the allegorical interpretations of the Metamorphoses in this period, it is important to note that the themes of the Metamorphoses were often borrowed. The stories began to assert their independence from Ovid's work.

> The narratives, taken realistically, seem to have been what first captivated the readers. From the twelfth century onwards, more and more poetry borrows themes from the Metamorphoses. Independent

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> short narrative poems re-tell the Ovidian love-stories in modernised versions. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries these love stories are inserted, with almost as great detail as in the self-contained narratives, into larger poetical works: in the Roman de la Rose and writings of Boccaccio, Chaucer and Gower -- in all these, Ovidian themes play an important part (Vinge, p. 55).

Allusions to Ovidian lovers operate as devices in love-theme conventions. Pygmalion's role as lover and the statue's role as beloved are significant.

Stories from the Metamorphoses were also used as a basis for the practice of rhetorical exercises in Latin. Bruce Harbert writes:

> To form a picture of how the medieval reader saw Ovid we need to take into account not only the allegorizing commentaries mentioned earlier but also the use of Ovid's poetry as the basis for rhetorical exercises in Latin.[26]

Some of the stories are highly condensed. For example, the story of Phaethon is reduced to an elaborate couplet. The use of Ovid's Metamorphoses for such practices must have undoubtedly made the work more well known and more likely to be retold and reinterpreted. I shall not discuss this use of the Ovidian stories further as there is not a Pygmalion story of this type.

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[26]Bruce Harbert, 'Lessons From the Great Clerk: Ovid and John Gower', in Ovid Renewed, ed. by Charles Martindale, pp. 83-97 (p. 83).

In the middle ages, the story of Pygmalion is incorporated into two distinct mythographic conventions: the theological or moral convention and the classical convention. As part of the theological-mythographic convention, the story is reinterpreted and given a new meaning as a didactic, moral story or exemplum. In the classical-mythographic convention, the Pygmalion story is alluded to in its Ovidian form rather than given a moral. The story stands as a recognizable emblem in this context.

In the theological-mythographic group are found: Arnulf of Orléans's Allegoriae Super Ovidii Metamorphosin (c. 1200); Ovide Moralisé (1316-1328),[27] Pierre Bersuire's (or Petrus Berchorius's) Ovidius Moralizatus (c. 1340); John Gower's Confessio Amantis (1390-1393); Christine de Pisan's Épître d'Othéa (c. 1400); Thomas Walsingham's De Archana Deorum (fl. 1360-1420). In the Classical-mythographic group are found: Jean de Meun's Roman de la Rose (c. 1277); Pearl (c. 1375); Geoffrey Chaucer's The Physician's Tale (c. 1387); John Lydgate's Reson and Sensuallyte and The Troy Book (1412-1420).

2.1. Theological-Mythographic Interpretations of the Pygmalion Story

Classical stories or fabulae were used as a means of providing a shell for the pearl of moral or theological teachings. The stories were taken out of a pagan context and given a Christian one: 'Writers and thinkers of this time looked upon myths primarily as stories; if the stories could yield a moral, so much the better. . . . Myths

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[27]This date is taken from William D. Reynolds, 'Sources, Nature, and Influence of the Ovidius Moralizatus of Pierre Bersuire', in The Mythographic Art, ed. by Jane Chance, pp. 83-99 (p. 85). Hereafter, 'Reynolds (1990)'.

offer a multi-faceted, multi-layered view of the world'.[28] There are many Christian interpretations of Ovid's stories, and it is often the case that single texts provide multiple expositions of the same story. The main hermeneutic methods by which individual authors in this period derive their understanding of the tale are allegorical and typological. I take allegory to mean

> A story in verse or prose with a double meaning: a primary or surface meaning; and a secondary or under the surface meaning. It is a story therefore that can be read, understood and interpreted at two levels . . . it is thus very closely related to the fable and the parable.[29]

Typological interpretation on the other hand 'Makes parallel narratives from biblical and classical sources. This interpretive method promotes a merging of difference, transgressing boundaries between different kinds of stories' (Munich, p. 7). The allegorical interpretations of the Pygmalion story possess common features: though it is evident that the story acquired multiple allegorical referents in the medieval period. Some texts give both allegorical and typological interpretations of the story. 'The polysemantic or multilevel approach was . . . characteristic of medieval exegesis in its interpretation of sacred or profane authors'.[30]

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[28]Kathleen Wall, The Callisto Myth From Ovid to Atwood (Kingston, 1988), pp. 27-28.

[29]Adrienne Auslander Munich, Andromeda's Chains. Gender and Interpretation in Victorian Literature and Art (New York, 1989), p. 7.

[30]John M. Steadman, Nature Into Myth. Medieval and Renaissance Moral Symbols (Pittsburgh, 1980), p. 16.

One might expect medieval authors to be interested in the central motif of the story, the transformation of the statue, and its obvious associations with the creation myth. We do not, however, find this. Instead, the texts concentrate on the nature of the relationship between the statue and the artist. Representations of the Pygmalion story in this period are essentially about contrasting opposites, for example, good and bad, active and passive, strong and weak. Pygmalion is usually portrayed as a superior figure, and the statue as an inferior and dependent figure. This portrayal also plays an important part in the allegories which accompany the story. They are stories about dominance and the importance of hierarchy, whether it be between God and a human person or between men and women. The allegories express sexual conflicts in the relationship between a man and a woman. Bersuire's allegory, for example, is about the love which can arise between a nun and a monk. Ovide Moralisé is about a beautiful, untaught servant-girl who is educated by a lord until she is fit to be his wife. Pygmalion, as a character, claims authority and dominance and other positive qualities for men; the statue claims an acquiescent, self-effacing, negative role for women. Pygmalion is experienced and active; the statue is new-born and passive. The contrast is emphasized at every level.

2.1.1. Arnulf of Orléans, Allegoriae super Ovidii Metamorphosin (c. 1200)

Arnulf of Orléans's work, Allegoriae super Ovidii Metamorphosin (c.1200), interpreted Ovid's stories 'morally, historically, and allegorically'.[31] It was the earliest

[31]Frank T. Coulson, Vulgate Commentary on Ovid's Metamorphoses Book 10 (Toronto, 1991), p. 5.

moralization of the whole of the Metamorphoses.[32] Arnulf included 'brief summaries of the stories and somewhat more detailed analyses of their allegorical meaning' (Vinge, p. 73). The gloss to the Pygmalion story reads:

> Statua Pigmalionis de eburnea in vivam mulierem. Re vera Pigmalion mirabilis artifex eburneam fecit statuam cuius amorem concipiens ea cepit abuti ad modum vere mulieris.[33]

> Pygmalion's statue [was changed] from ivory into a living woman. Truly,[34] Pygmalion the wonderful artist made an ivory statue, fostering the love of which, he began to abuse her after the manner of a true woman.

Arnulf reduces the Pygmalion story to a tale of lust. Although he begins the gloss with information about the statue's transformation from ivory to living woman, Arnulf ends with the idea that Pygmalion abused the ivory statue.[35] He leaps from Ovid's tale of

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[32]W. D. Reynolds, 'The Ovidius Moralizatus of Petrus Berchorius: An Introduction and Translation' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois, 1971). Hereafter, 'Reynolds (1971)'.

[33]Fausto Ghisalberti, 'Arnulfo d'Orléans, un cultore di Ovidio nel secolo XII', in Memorie del Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, 24 (1932), 157-234 (p. 223).

[34]D. W. Robertson, A Preface to Chaucer. Studies in Medieval Perspectives (Princeton, New Jersey, 1969), translates this as 'as a matter of fact', p. 102.

[35]Thomas D. Hill, in his article 'Narcissus, Pygmalion, and the Castration of Saturn: Two Mythographic Themes in the Roman de la Rose', Studies in Philology, 71 (1974), 404-426, notes that Giovanni del Virgilio discusses the story of Pygmalion in his exposition of the Metamorphoses. Giovanni rejects Arnulf's exposition on the

successful love to a story of a strange sculptor with a statue fetish, in a few lines.[36]

2.1.2. Anonymous, Ovide Moralisé (1316-1328)

The major French moralization of the Metamorphoses in this period is the Ovide Moralisé. This anonymous poem, which has in the past been wrongly attributed to Chrétien Legouais of Sainte Maure and Phillippe of Vitry, the bishop of Meaux, was composed between 1316 and 1328.[37] According to Helen Cooper this '70,000-line French octosyllabic version of the Metamorphoses . . . brings the task of Christianizing Ovid to its culmination'.[38] Louise Vinge suggests that the moralizations of the Ovide Moralisé are primarily based on Arnulf of Orléans's Allegoriae super Ovidii Metamophosin and John of Garland's Integumenta Ovidii (Vinge, p. 96). Ovide Moralisé was also influenced in its treatment of Pygmalion by the Roman de la Rose (c. 1277). Though the Roman forms part of the classical-mythographic tradition, it will be considered briefly here as its influence is so important.

Thomas Hill draws parallels between the handling of the Pygmalion story in

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grounds that Ovid says that Pygmalion and his transformed statue had a child (Hill, p. 411).

[36]Though I cannot determine whether Arnulf could have known the work of Clement and Arnobius, it is interesting to note that Arnulf reacted to the story of Pygmalion in a way which bears some similarity to the context within which they placed Philostephanus's story. Arnobius, in particular, suggests that Pygmalion related to the statue as if it were his wife.

[37]Wilmon Brewer, Ovid's 'Metamorphoses' in European Culture, 2 vols (Boston, 1941), I, 20, and William Reynolds (1971), p. 12.

[38]Helen Cooper, 'Chaucer and Ovid: A Question of Authority' in Ovid Renewed, ed. by Charles Martindale, pp. 71-81 (p. 74).

the Roman and the Ovide Moralisé:

> To cite a few details which are common to the Roman and to the Ovide Moralisé but which are not found in Ovid, both French poets remark that love seized Pygmalion, they both call him a fool and both say that Pygmalion claimed his statue as his espouse before her transformation. Jean de Meun apparently misconstrued the Ovidian phrase 'similis mea . . . eburnae,' and the Ovide Moralisé resembles the Roman rather that the Latin poem in this respect. . . . Ovid does not emphasise the folly of Pygmalion, but Jean de Meun and, to a lesser extent, the anonymous author of the Ovide Moralisé, deliberately exploit the comic potential of Pygmalion's fol amour (Hill, p. 412).

Jane M. Miller summarizes the allegorization of the Pygmalion story in the Ovide Moralisé:

> The first interpretation put forward in the Ovide Moralisé is a kind of aetiology expressed in demythologised terms which has clear parallels with the Cinderella story. Pygmalion is interpreted as a great lord who has in his household a serving girl, dirty and uneducated perhaps but nonetheless beautiful. Such a lord might take this girl and groom her until finally she is fit to be his wife. The second interpretation sees the story as a Christian allegory of the relationship between God and his Creation, humanity (Miller, p. 208).

These two interpretations are quite distinct. In the first interpretation we see the beginning of the Pygmalion story's association with the education of woman of a lower class by a man of a higher class -- the theme of George Bernard Shaw's Pygmalion (1912).

2.1.3. Pierre Bersuire (or Petrus Berchorius), Ovidius Moralizatus (c. 1340)[39]

Ovidius Moralizatus forms part of a larger work, the Reductiorum Morale by Pierre Bersuire, though it circulated independently from it (Reynolds (1971), p. 17). W. D. Reynolds notes that Bersuire had read Ovide Moralisé (Reynolds (1990), p. 87). In this work, Bersuire summarizes Ovid's tales and then adds an interpretation of his own.

According to Bersuire, the sculptor ('the maker of images'), represents a preacher. The preacher's art is to sculpt or influence another person for the better. Pygmalion, the monk, proposes to desire neither woman nor 'carnal embraces'. He turns away from life to the society of his chaste image. The monk chooses a nun and loves her as a companion. Bersuire describes the process of animation as the gradual awareness of concupiscence in their relationship. The monk, Bersuire says, desires this change from Venus. Reynolds translates the exposition:

> Through this ivory girl I perceive a holy woman who is said to be ivory because she is said to be chaste, cold, weighty, and honest. It

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[39]William D. Reynolds (1971) gives the date as c. 1340 (p. 17); Frank T. Coulson gives it as c. 1348 (p. 5).

often happens that some good Pygmalion -- that is some good religious -- promises not to desire a woman or carnal embraces and converts himself to making ivory images -- that is forming holy women and matrons in chastity and sanctity and fashioning them in spiritual habits. It sometimes happens that he selects one of them whom he calls sister or daughter and touches her with a good and chaste spirit and love. But at last it happens that Venus the goddess of wantonness -- that is concupiscence of the flesh -- interposes herself and changes this dead image into a living woman. She causes that chaste woman to feel the goads of the flesh and changes her from a good person into a foolish one. Pygmalion -- the preacher -- himself seeks and desires this alteration from Venus. When they return in the customary manner to their colloquies they find themselves so changed that she who had been ivory becomes flesh and he who abhorred women begins to desire the filth of the flesh. These carnal people then take one another and sometimes produce sons. It is not safe for male religious to contract too much familiarity with women or vice versa. Ecclesiasticus 9. 8-9 says: 'Turn away your face from a woman dressed up and gaze not about upon another's beauty. For many have perished by the beauty of a woman and by it lust is enkindled as a fire'.[40] A little earlier in 9.5 it is said: 'Do not look upon a maiden lest her beauty be a stumbling-block to you' (Reynolds (1971), pp. 355-356).

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[40]D. W. Robertson notes that Robert Holcot, in his Super Librum Sapientiae, links idolatry with the doctrine of Ecclesiasticus 9. 8-9 (p. 99).

The danger caused by the beauty of women is a frequent subject for moralistic glossators and other medieval writers. D. W. Robertson points out that the contemplation of an image with a view to fleshly satisfaction is, according to St. Augustine, analogous to the Fall (Robertson, p. 72). In his discussion of this point Augustine centres on the key verse, Matthew 5. 28: 'Whosoever shall look on a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart.'[41] The verse provides a useful programmatic summary of this theme. Andreas Cappellanus alights on this theme in the first chapter of his work De Amore (c. 1185):

> For when a man sees some woman fit for love, and shaped according to his taste, he begins at once to lust after her in his heart; then the more he thinks about her the more he burns with love, until he comes to a fuller meditation. Presently he begins to think about the fashioning of the woman and to differentiate her limbs, to think about what she does, and to pry into the secrets of her body, and he desires to put each part of it to the fullest use.[42]

Richard Rolle wrote of the dangers of preoccupation with beauty in chapter 23 of The Fire of Love:

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[41]D. W. Robertson notes that this is in Augustine's De Sermone Domini in Monte 1. 12. 33-37 (Robertson, p. 72).

[42]Andreas Cappellanus, The Art of Courtly Love, trans. by John Jay Parry (New York, 1941), p. 29.

> No one, then, condemns his soul more than when he looks at a woman lustfully. For when a man's eye is excited by what he sees, he then thinks about it, and soon his thoughts cause lust in the heart, corrupting the inner being.[43]

Bersuire uses Ecclesiasticus 9, which contains a doctrine analogous to Matthew 5. 28, to illustrate his allegory of the Pygmalion story. As in the exposition of Arnulf of Orléans, the Pygmalion story is an emblem for cupidinous desire. The excessive love of a woman is a sign of a strong interest in earthly things which can rival the contemplation of God.

The foil to the lust-inspiring woman was the 'good woman'. The stereotype of the 'good woman' plays a part in the portrayal of women in the medieval Pygmalion story. Kathleen Wall suggests that 'women in medieval literature are pictured either as sex objects or as noble and virtuous wives and mothers nursing their children. . . . If they dared confront a male in any other role, they were resented and vilified' (Wall, p. 33). The statue-like nun, before her transformation, is described as a good woman. She is 'chaste, cold, weighty, and honest' (Reynolds, p. 355).

In Bersuire's allegorization, both Pygmalion and the statue (monk and nun) become aware of earthly love. The outcome is that 'these carnal people then take one another and sometimes produce sons'.[44] Bersuire concludes that it is not safe for a monk to occasion too much familiarity with a woman. Even the good woman is not

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[43]Richard Rolle, The Fire of Love, ed. by Halcyon Backhouse (London, Sydney and Auckland, 1992), p. 97.

[44]In the summary of Ovid's narrative, not quoted here, Bersuire has given the sex of Paphos as male.

safe from cupidinous desire. He lays particular stress on the dangers of beauty. Although the pagan story has been Christianized, Venus retains her pagan identity. This is because of her significance as the goddess of love.

2.1.4. John Gower, Confessio Amantis (1390-3)[45]

Though there is evidence that Gower used both the Ovide Moralisé and the Ovidius Moralizatus as inspiration for his Confessio Amantis, he does not interpret the Pygmalion story in terms of the Matthew 5. 28 / Ecclesiasticus 9. 8-9 doctrine, nor the stereotype of the 'good woman'.[46] Gower's representation of the Pygmalion story evens the balance between these contrasting perceptions of women. Gower's statue is not the blushing and timid girl whose modesty contrasts with the brashness of the Propoetides; she is, rather, a 'lusti wif' (Macaulay, p. 312). She is given more positive and active qualities. Gower renders Ovid's Metamorphoses freely in his Confessio.

Importantly, Gower develops the character of Pygmalion. In the identification scene (where Pygmalion's characteristics are listed), Pygmalion is shown to have only one characteristic in common with Ovid's Pygmalion: he is a sculptor. Gower's Pygmalion is portrayed as a young man ('a lusti man of yowthe'), rather than a man who has long lived a bachelor existence (Macaulay, p. 311). He does not say that

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[45]G. C. Macaulay, The English Works of John Gower, Early English Text Society, 81, 2 vols (London, 1900), I, 311-313; John Gower, Confessio Amantis, trans. by Terence Tiller (Baltimore, Maryland, 1963), pp. 151-153.

[46]Bruce Harbert writes 'There is good evidence that he [Gower] used both the Old French Ovide Moralisé and the Latin Ovidius Moralizatus of Pierre Bersuire since he incorporates into his narratives at several points details found in them but not in Ovid. But he steers well clear of their interpretations of the myths' (Harbert, p. 91).

Pygmalion disliked women. Most importantly, Gower's Pygmalion is more vociferous than his Ovidian counterpart. Ovid's Pygmalion offers a timid and short prayer to the goddess. Gower's Pygmalion 'made such continuance / Fro dai to nyht, and preith so longe' (Macaulay, p. 312). He omits some of Ovid's scenes in order to emphasize the moral of the story. There is no giving of gifts, modest blushing, rejoicing, nor giving thanks to Venus. The role of Venus is diminished and there is no mention of her festival. As Carole Keopke Brown suggests in her article, 'The Tale of Pygmalion':

> By reshaping the material in the Metamorphoses, Gower dramatically alters the narrative to illustrate a specific moral not in his source. Genius states this moral after Amans confesses that he 'dar noght speke' to his 'ladi' (4, 360-362). Genius advises the lover continually to pray and beseech. . . . In other words, Genius is exhorting Amans to avoid a particular kind of Sloth, pusillanimity, which the opening section defines as lacking 'bothe word and dede, / Whereof he scholde his cause spede' (4, 323-24).[47]

Carole Brown argues that there is a godlike element in the character of Ovid's Pygmalion which is lacking in Gower's Pygmalion. When the statue is coming to life,

> Ovid offered a simile of wax being softened by the sun, the sun representing Pygmalion. Similarly, when the ivory maiden became

[47]Carole Keopke Brown, 'The Tale of Pygmalion', in John Gower's Literary Transformations in the 'Confessio Amantis', ed. by Peter G. Beidler (Washington, 1982), pp. 29-32 (p. 30).

animated and first opened her eyes, she saw her lover and the heavens at the same moment (Brown, p. 31).

This implied association of Pygmalion with godlike characteristics can be seen in later versions of the story. Brown suggests that Gower's version contrasts with this: Gower makes Pygmalion appear more human (Brown, p. 31).

The new moral interpretation which Gower puts across links the Pygmalion story with the idea that articulated prayer is important: 'if that thou spare / To speke, lost is al thi fare, / For Slowthe bringth in alle wo' (Macaulay, p. 313).[48] The 'confessor' sums up, saying that words work better than deeds, and the god of love is favourable to those whose love is stable. The story signifies that good prayers will help one to get what one desires. Like Ovid, Gower moulds the story to fit his own purpose within the structure of the Confessio Amantis.

2.1.5. Christine de Pisan, Épître d'Othéa (c. 1400)

The Épître d'Othéa, as the title suggests, takes the form of a letter; this fictional epistle is from Othea, the goddess of prudence, to a young Hector, son of the Trojan

[48]Bonnie Ray gives a further interpretation of Gower's story. She emphasizes the melancholy nature of Pygmalion in order to prove her point that idolatry and melancholy are connected in this story. In the light of Gower's own assertion that his story is about the efficacy of prayer, Ray's reading of the story seems rather forced. Rightly, however, Ray also sees a similarity between the portrayal of Pygmalion in the Confessio and Chaucer's 'The Knight's Tale'.

king and queen, Priam and Hecuba.[49] The Pygmalion story comprises the twenty-second chapter of this letter. In her book Christine de Pisan. A Bibliography of Writings By Her And About Her, Edith Yenal describes the work:

> The Texte tells a story about a mythographic character or legend from which the reader is supposed to draw a moral concerning a particular virtue or vice. The Glose comments and expands on the Texte, reinforcing its meaning with a saying by an ancient philosopher. The Allegorie forms the concluding part of each chapter. It deals with the spiritual message contained in the two preceding sections. Its function is to enlarge upon them with quotations from a theological source like the Church Fathers and a verse from the Bible.[50]

It was, then, Christine's intention to draw out an exposition from the tale in a formal way. The author suggests, in this story, that she found reading new meanings into fables challenging:

> To Þis fable may be sette many exposicions, and in liche wise to othir

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[49]The most recent edition of The Épître d'Othéa is the text based on Stephen Scrope's Middle English translation of the French of Christine de Pisan: The Epistle of Othea: Translated From The French Text of Christine de Pisan by Stephen Scrope, ed. by Curt Ferdinand Bühler, Early English Text Society, 264 (Oxford, 1970). There is an earlier translation into modern English: The Epistle of Othea, ed. by George F. Warner (London, 1904). Quotations are taken from the Scrope translation as it is the most widely available.

[50]Edith Yenal, Christine de Pisan. A Bibliography of Writings By Her And About Her (Metuchen, New Jersey, and London, 1982), p. 42.

> such fables; and the poetis made them because that mennys vnderstandynge schulde be the more scharpe and subtill to finde dyvers exposicions (Pisan, p. 34).

Like the rest of the Épître, the Pygmalion story divides into three sections: the 'texte', the 'glose' and the 'allegorie'. The texte is a four line poem which gives a general interpretation of the story.

> Pymalyones ymage for to fele,
> If that thou be wise sette therbi no dele,
> For of such an ymage so wel wroughte
> The beaute therof was to dere boughte (Pisan, p. 33).

Christine puts forward two interpretations of the story in the glose. Pygmalion is a chaste and 'subtil werkman in makyng of ymages', who shies away from 'the gret lewdenes that he sawe in the women of Cidoyne' (Pisan, p. 34).[51] His reasons for sculpting a statue are honourable. He wishes to make an image 'where-in there schulde be nothing for to blame' (p. 34). In the interpretive part of the glose, Pygmalion is described as having a chaste relationship with his statue:

> and enamoured him on a mayden of righte grete beaute, the which

[51]'Cidoyne' probably stands for Sidon; this town was traditionally associated with Tyre -- the place from which Pygmalion, the brother of Dido, came. This is a divergence from Ovid's story; in view of the Biblical links with Sidon it is an appropriate one.

> wolde not, or myght not vnderstande his pitous pleyntes, no more than [the] ymage of ston had doon (Pisan, p. 34).

The maiden would not, however, hold out against him forever: 'at the last, the mayden loued him at his wille and hadde hire to mariage' (Pisan, p.34). Venus changes the stone statue into a living woman and Pygmalion marries her. The gloss ends with the advice that 'the good knyghte scholde not be assottid of such a made ymage in such wise that he lefte to folowe the crafte of armes, to which he is bounde be the orde of knyghthode' (p. 34-35). The glossator warns that a knight should not be besotted with 'such a made ymage' to the extent that he might want to give up being a soldier (p. 34). The words of one 'Abtalyn' are drawn upon to reiterate this statement: 'It longith nothinge for a prince to assotte him on nothing that is to be repreuede' (p. 35). This interpretation suggests the love of an ideal image which is akin to the romances.

The allegory section of the story comes down more on the side of tradition. It is here that Christine links the statue with the sin of lechery. The allegory states that the good knight should not be besotted with the statue which 'we schal take for the synne of lecherye' (p. 35). Christine summarizes an epistle of St. Jerome on hell fire and glutony and ends with a quotation from II Peter 2. 13 in Latin: 'Voluptatem existimantes delicias, coinquinacionis et macule, deliciis affluentes, conuiuiis suis luxuriantes' (p. 35).[52] This translates as: 'They count it a pleasure to revel in the daytime. They are blots and blemishes, revelling in their dissipation, carousing with

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[52]The verse in the vulgate reads as follows: 'voluptatem existimantes diei delicias: coinquinationes, et maculae deliciis affluentes, in conviviis suis luxuriantes vobiscum', Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam, ed. by Alberto Colunga O.P. and Laurentio Turrado (Madrid, 1977), p. 1174.

you.'[53] Christine's interpretations are more sympathetic to women than the doctrine contained in Matthew 5. 28 and Ecclesiasticus 9. 8-9. She warns of the dangers of temptation rather than of feminine beauty itself.

2.1.6. Thomas Walsingham, De Archana Deorum (fl. 1360-1420)

Thomas Walsingham's De Archana Deorum (fl. 1360-1420) contains a paraphrase and explication of the Pygmalion story in Latin prose. The Pygmalion story is reduced to a few lines[54] and is accompanied by a short exposition:

> Pigmalion statuam mulieris formavit eburneam, 'formamque dedit qua femina nasci Nulla potest' tam decora. 'Virginis est vere facies quam vivere credas, Et, si non obstet reverentia, velle moveri'. Motus ergo Pigmalion illicito amore sue statue obtinuit a Venere ut in veram feminam verteretur. Expositio: Pigmalion mirabilis artifex eburneam fecit statuam cuius amorem concipiens ea cepit abuti ad modum vere mulieris (Walsingham, p. 154).

> Pygmalion formed an ivory statue of a woman 'and gave it a form by which no woman could be born' so beautiful. 'It is truly the face of a

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[53]The Holy Bible, Revised Standard Version (London, 1966).

[54]'Nona fabula de Pigmalione faciente statuam eburneam que versa est in feminam, que sic incipit: "Quas quia Pigmalion". In hac Pigmalion vocatur Paphius a Papho, quem dicitur genuisse de statua, a quo insula Paphos nomen habet'. Thomas Walsingham, De Archana Deorum, ed. by Robert A. Van Kluyve (Durham, North Carolina, 1968), p. 145.

> virgin whom you believe to live, and, if reverence were not an obstacle you would wish to move'. Therefore Pygmalion, moved by illicit love of his statue, obtained from Venus that it might be turned into a real woman. Exposition: Pygmalion, the great artist made an ivory statue, fostering the love of which he began to abuse her, truly after the manner of a woman.

Walsingham's exposition is almost identical to Arnulf's gloss. Both authors accentuate Pygmalion's lasciviousness.

2.1.7. William Caxton's Translation of the Metamorphoses (1480)

The most important translation of the Metamorphoses into English, in this period, was made by William Caxton in 1480. It was thought, by Henry Burrowes Lathrop, that Caxton's translation was of the moralization made by Pierre Bersuire, Ovidius Moralizatus.[55] Louise Vinge suggests on the other hand that the translation was not of Bersuire's Latin work, but rather of the French text Ovide Moralisé (Vinge, p. 98). Caxton's version of the Pygmalion story follows closely that of Ovide Moralisé,

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[55]Henry Burrowes Lathrop, Translations From the Classics into English From Caxton to Chapman 1477-1620 (New York, 1967), p. 25. Elizabeth Story Donno is also of this opinion: 'For his translation Caxton had used a text enriched with the moralizings of Berchorius'. Elizabeth Story Donno, Elizabethan Minor Epics (London, 1963), p. 3. Clarke Hulse suggests in Metamorphic Verse. The Elizabeth Minor Epic (New Jersey, 1981), that the work is 'a translation combining Bersuire and Ovide Moralisé' (Hulse, p. 245).

and includes the allegory of the great lord who grooms a servant girl to be his wife.[56]

2.1.8. Conclusion

In this period the character of Pygmalion was moulded to suit the exposition: he was both hero and villain, depending on the context. To Arnulf of Orléans (c. 1200), Pygmalion is a lecher; to Jean de Meun (c. 1277), he is a man who, by being chaste, is disloyal to Venus and mends his ways by becoming lecherous (I deal with this text in section 2.2.1.1., since Pygmalion falls into the category of the classical lover in de Meun's story); to Bersuire, in Ovidius Moralizatus (1340), he is a monk who has strayed from the path of chastity; to Christine de Pisan in the Épître d'Othéa (c. 1400), he is a man kept chaste because of his love of something he cannot have or a knight who wastes his love and is tempted by lechery. Pygmalion's love is, predominantly, though not entirely, condemned in the moralizing convention.[57]

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[56]'This is to saye that some grete lord myghte have a mayde or a servant in hys hows. Whiche was pouer. nacked and coude no good. but she was gent and of fayr fourme. but she was Drye and lene as an ymage. This ryche man that saw he[r] fayr Clothyd. norysshyd and taughte her so moche, that she was wel endoctyned. And whan he sawe her drawynge to good maneres he lovyd her so moche that it plesed him tespowse her and take her to hys wyf. of whom he hade after a fayre sone. prudent. wyse and of grete renomee. Whiche was named Cynaras whome hys doughter deceyved afterward and laye with hyme'. William Caxton, Ovyde, Hys Booke of Metamorphose, ed. by S. Gaseles and H. F. B. Brett-Smith (Oxford, 1924), p. 26.

[57]This period spawned further European commentaries on the Metamorphoses. One of the most notable was completed in 1493 by Raphael Regius, an Italian grammarian and rhetorician: Ovidius Metamorphoseos, cum commento familiari (Venice, 1493). The work was reprinted in Paris in 1496 and aquired a new title (P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseos Libri Moralizati) and illustrations in 1510. This particular commentary was, according to Ann Moss, geared towards school-children. Ann Moss, Ovid in Renaissance France. A Survey of Latin Editions of Ovid and Commentaries Printed in France Before 1600, Warburg Institute Surveys, 8 (London, 1982), p. 29.

2.2. Classical-Mythographic Interpretations of the Pygmalion Story

In the classical mythographic convention, Pygmalion has two distinct characteristics: he is the classical lover (with his statue as the beloved), and the classical artist (where the statue is usually important for its beauty and its transformation). These operate within their own conventions. Pygmalion is either characterized solely as an artist or as both an artist and a lover. The non-theological Pygmalion is referred to more often as an artist than as an artist-lover.

Katherine Heinrichs notes that English authors were influenced in their classical conventions by continental love poetry. She suggests that when English poets comment upon classical lovers: 'they do so within the same rhetorical environments that we have seen constructed by their contemporaries on the continent'.[58] Pygmalion, the artist-lover, appears alongside other famous lovers, such as Narcissus and Orpheus, in non-theological contexts. Heinrichs writes of Ovidian lovers,

> In making use of the allusion he [the medieval poet] has taken it out of the Ovidian or mythographic context and placed it into the context of a medieval love poem, within which we must try to understand it. In most instances, medieval writers do not interpret for us their allusions to the Ovidian lovers (Heinrichs, p. 54).

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[58]Katherine Heinrichs, The Myths of Love.Classical Lovers in Medieval Literature (Pennsylvania and London, 1990), p. 98.

Pygmalion, the artist, appears alongside artists such as Zeuxes and Apelles, likewise in a non-theological context.

The classical lover and the classical artist are alluded to for a variety of reasons. For example, there is often a thematic link between the main narrative and the allusion which justifies their mention; the allusion may add to a characterization, and on occasion the allusion is used simply as a classical exemplum. Using the name of Zeuxes or Apelles, in a comparison, was a shorthand way of creating an impression of a great artist. In brief allusions, where the point was to reinforce or create an image of an artist, it seems that the precise name of the classical artist was not important. Zeuxes, Apelles and Pygmalion were interchangeable names. Their personal histories do not add much to the allusions, and in the case of one reference to the story by Lydgate, knowledge of Pygmalion's personal history would distort the analogy (see section 2.2.2.3.).

The Pygmalion story united the themes of love and art and therefore could be useful both as an illustration of the classical artist, and as an illustration of a classical lover.

2.2.1. Pygmalion as Both Artist and Lover

Contrary to what one might expect, there are only two texts in the classical-mythographic group in which Pygmalion is identified both as a lover and a sculptor (as he is in Ovid). He was more widely known for his abilities as an artist, than as an artist-lover.

2.2.1.1. Jean de Meun, Roman de la Rose (c. 1277)[59]

The Roman de la Rose is a text which draws much on Ovid. The first 4,266 lines of the poem were written by Guillaume de Lorris between the years 1225 and 1230, and the last 22,700 lines were written by Jean de Meun in 1270. The Pygmalion story is in the section written by Jean de Meun.[60] There are major differences between Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, both in approach and emphasis. The story of Pygmalion is retold at the end of the Roman. Thomas Hill writes:

> The exemplum of Narcissus is narrated just before the lover begins his quest for the rose, and the exemplum of Pygmalion just before he consummates it. The relevance of these fables to the lover's [the main character's] situation is emphasised by the fact that he falls in love in the fountain of Narcissus, and the image which Venus wins for him is explicitly compared to the statue of Pygmalion (Hill, p. 407).

The Pygmalion story is chosen because of the transformation element. Sterile love (like that of Narcissus) is contrasted with sexual love which produces children.

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[59]Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, The Romance of the Rose, trans. by Charles Dahlberg (Hanover and London, 1983), pp. 340-346.

[60]Importantly, the Pygmalion story is used (in its entirety) here because the poet was interested in the story and not because it was part of the Metamorphoses. It is also worth noting that Pygmalion is referred to in other parts of the Roman. See Dahlberg, p. 226 and p. 274 (where his name is listed alongside those of Zeuxes and Apelles).

If we compare the version of the Pygmalion story in the Roman with that of the Metamorphoses, it is immediately apparent that there is much more detail in the Roman. The story has been fleshed out with lists, descriptions and direct speech. Its setting is not classical, but medieval. Pygmalion, for example, gives his statue the clothes and presents appropriate for a lady of the era.

The introduction to the story is, as in Ovid, an identification episode. It consists of a summary of the action starting from the identification of Pygmalion as a sculptor and ending with Pygmalion falling in love with his statue. There is no mention of Cyprus. The poet elaborates on Pygmalion's ability as a sculptor by cataloguing the number of materials with which he can work. The narrator elaborates on only two points in the introduction: the genius of the sculptor and the beauty of the statue. The first method of elaboration is in the form of a list, the second is a description of the statue's beauty. References are made to two other beautiful women from the classics. Thus to Jean de Meun, Pygmalion is primarily a sculptor. Ovid's other details, that Pygmalion lived in Cyprus, was a man in want of a wife, and a man who despised the Propoetides, fall by the wayside.

The next section, the sculpting and falling in love scene, has been enlarged significantly. Ovid gives this section of the story twelve lines; the Roman gives it approximately sixty-five. This section contains Pygmalion's thoughts on being in love with an inanimate statue and his apparent loss of reason. The Roman Pygmalion questions his love for the statue (unlike Ovid's Pygmalion):

> 'How did the idea of such a love come about? I love an image that is deaf and mute, that neither stirs or moves nor will ever show me grace.

> How did such a love wound me? There is no one who heard of it who should not be thunderstruck. I am the greatest fool in the world. What am I to do in this situation?' (Dahlberg, p. 341).

In the context of the Roman this is seen as a questioning of the sanity of those who love ideal and untouchable women. The poet is suggesting that a one-sided sterile love is pointless. (The love of Pygmalion is further linked with 'courtly love' in the gift scene.) This love scene is followed by an adoration scene. Pygmalion prays to the statue on his knees. Praying to an idol is seen to be as fruitless as loving an idol: 'She neither heard him nor understood anything' (Dahlberg, p. 342).

Pygmalion's second identity is that of an idolator. This pre-departure prayer scene contrasts with the later prayer scene when Pygmalion prays to the 'true' deity without an idol. The statue, as a deity of chastity and courtly love, contrasts with Venus the true deity of human sexuality.

The gift scene in the Roman Pygmalion story takes over a hundred lines, whereas the same scene in Ovid is told in eleven lines. Heather Arden points out that the reason for this expansion is to show that the poet 'recognizes the importance of experience':

> The first, and most obvious, technique is the use of lists, of details to convey the variety of things experienced. In the story of Pygmalion, for example, in order to express the sculptor's joy when dancing before his statue, the poet lists nineteen instruments on which Pygmalion plays.[61]

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[61]Heather Arden, The Romance of the Rose (Boston, 1987), p. 108.

The activities and trappings of life around the statue, portrayed at length, contrast with the stationary quality of the ivory statue. The poet shows Pygmalion treating her as a real woman:

> At the girdle he hung a precious and expensive purse, and in it he put five stones chosen from the seashore, of the sort that girls use for play-hammers, when they find pretty, round ones. He gave careful attention to dressing her feet (Dahlberg, p. 343).

Pygmalion is portrayed as doing as much as he can to bring his statue into the world of the living by creating a visual picture of her as a real woman rather than an aloof statue. This section of extensive description marks the change in Pygmalion from worshipping an idol for her statuesque qualities, to wanting to live with a real woman.

Jean de Meun retains Ovid's structure for the remainder of the story. The gift scene is followed by Pygmalion's departure and prayer to Venus on her festival day. Interestingly, in the prayer Venus is Christianized; she becomes 'Saint Venus' (Dahlberg, p. 344). In the prayer, Pygmalion admits to worshipping chastity (in the form of the ivory statue) and resolves to follow Venus instead if she grants his request of transforming the ivory maiden. This scene is presented comically. Pygmalion says to Venus:

> 'I repent and beg that you pardon me and, by your pity, your sweetness, and your friendship, grant me, on my promise to flee into banishment if I do not avoid Chastity from now on, that the beautiful one who has

> stolen my heart, who so truly resembles ivory, may become my loyal friend and may have the body, the soul, and the life of a woman. And if you hasten to grant this request and if I am ever found chaste, I consent that I may be hanged or chopped up into pieces, or that Cerberus, the porter of hell-gate, may swallow me alive' (Dahlberg, p. 344).

Pygmalion says that he will gladly go to hell if he is ever chaste again. In a comical way, Jean de Meun is suggesting that there is a problem with post-lapsarian sexuality and morality. Whilst talking about the sin Pygmalion might commit if he were ever chaste, Jean may be referring to the opposite: the shame felt when a chaste person is tempted.

When Pygmalion's love is sterile and idolatrous, he is portrayed as being irrational or mad; when he embraces human sexuality and banishes chastity, he is portrayed as rational. The statue is transformed from an idol of chastity to a child of Venus, the goddess of human sexuality. The statue does not blush like her Ovidian counterpart and her first words are of love, not modesty: "'I am neither demon nor phantasm, sweet friend, but your sweetheart, ready to receive your companionship and to offer you my love if it please you to receive such an offer"' (Dahlberg, p. 345). The story concludes with Ovid's pattern: the expression of joy and thanks, then marriage and children.

There is some disagreement amongst scholars over the significance of the Pygmalion story in the Roman de la Rose. Thomas Hill's article examines some of the major interpretations. He regards Alan Gunn's work, The Mirror of Love, as the 'first

modern study to argue seriously for the literary merit and intellectual coherence of the Roman de la Rose', though, Hill says, Gunn's 'interpretation of the exemplum of Pygmalion cannot, I believe, be seriously maintained' (Hill, p. 408). Gunn sees Pygmalion as exemplifying 'the attainment of maturity, which involves and requires the overcoming of selfishness'.[62] His love, Gunn says, has elements of chivalry in it. It is with this statement that Hill takes issue. Hill argues that 'Pygmalion's behaviour is ludicrous and verges on the obscene, and . . . in comparison with the Metamorphoses, Jean de Meun has accentuated this aspect of the story' (p. 408). This interpretation of the story is convincing. Pygmalion, after all, undresses and dresses his statue and takes it to bed with him. The descriptions are comical and Pygmalion is described as being foolish. Hill argues that D. W. Robertson interpreted the story in a similar way to Gunn -- emphasising the chivalrous nature of Pygmalion's relationship with the statue. Robertson writes:

> The sculptor seeks to palliate the element of sensuality in the story by means of tenderness and refinement, qualities which have the power to stimulate the warmest compassion (Robertson, p. 103).

Although this description of the Pygmalion story is clearly the opposite of Hill's, it must be added that Hill's opinion of Robertson is, perhaps, a little ungenerous. Robertson is aware of the sexual connotations of the story. He writes a few lines earlier that Venus, in the story, represented 'the pleasure of sexual intercourse' and that

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[62]Alan Gunn, The Mirror of Love: A Reinterpretation of the Romance of the Rose (Lubbock, Texas, 1952), p. 288.

she was not just a 'fairy godmother' (Roberston, p. 102).

As the story is about a progression from one way of thinking to another -- in this case from chastity to concupiscence -- it would seem reasonable that both Pygmalion's chivalry and his lechery are portrayed to some degree. The problem of interpretation is not, then, the question of which of these states are emphasized, but whether or not the story is meant to be ironic. It may be a tale which warns us of the sin of concupiscence by describing the ludicrous situation of a lecherous man who dare not commit the 'sin' of chastity.

2.2.1.2. John Lydgate, Reson and Sensuallyte (c. 1412)

John Lydgate referred to the Pygmalion story in two separate works: Reson and Sensuallyte (c. 1412) and The Troy Book (1412-20). In Reson and Sensuallyte, Pygmalion is characterized as a crafty sculptor who is driven mad by love. Lydgate identifies his source for the Pygmalion story, in his Troy Book, as the Roman de la Rose. The reference in Reson associates Pygmalion with love and with art; the reference in The Troy Book, however, identifies Pygmalion solely as an artist. I will deal with this later.

The reference in Reson and Sensuallyte begins:

take hede
The crafty man Pigmalion
To grave in metal and in ston
Made and wroght to his delyte

An ymage of yvore white,

Most mervelous of entaylle,

To tellen al the apparaylle:

Most excellent in fairenesse,

Bothe of shap and semelynesse,

And amyable of visage.[63]

Pygmalion is driven mad with love for the beautiful statue: 'Love him made so amerously' (Sieper, p. 112).

Al be that yt was ded and colde,

Which made hym selfe [for] to stryve,

Lyche as hyt had[de] ben alyve.

Of whos fooly thou mayest lere

To be war and come no nere (Sieper, p. 112-113).

Lydgate, like Jean de Meun, suggests that Pygmalion treated the statue as if she were a real woman and that his actions were those of a fool.

2.2.2. Pygmalion the Artist

There are several instances, in the medieval period, when Pygmalion is

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[63]John Lydgate, Reson and Sensuallyte, ed. by Ernest Sieper, Early English Text Society, 2 vols (London, 1901-1903), I (1901), 112.

identified as an artist rather than an artist and lover. His story poses fundamental questions about the nature and status of art. How, and by what criteria should we create a work of art? Should art be the imitation of divine beauty or a product of the imagination? What is the relationship between art and nature? The story lends itself to questions on idolatry, ranging from the worship of graven images to the worship of women as idols. In both its secular and theological contexts, it also leads to a discussion on the question of beauty and women, and the nature of love. The Pygmalion narrative is based around the idea that art comes to life. Ovid's Pygmalion did not base his statue on the features of a live model, but created an ideal woman. The story thus explores the possibility that art does not imitate nature, but the artist's own idea. We see nature imitating art as the statue comes to life.

Though according to the Ovidian story Pygmalion does not imitate nature but improves upon or rivals nature, he is characterized by Chaucer (and later by Lydgate) as a counterfeiter: someone who imitates.[64]

2.2.2.1. Anonymous, Pearl (c. 1375)[65]

The allusion to Pygmalion in Pearl (c. 1375) is interesting in that it describes

[64]Edward William Taylor writes in 'The Medieval Contribution', Nature and Art in Renaissance Literature (New York and London, 1964) that the 'conventional praise of Nature produces the inevitable citations of Zeuxes and Pygmalion and all the usual commonplaces about "imitation", even so far as the simian metaphor that has swung indefatigably through the standard treatises of criticism from Aristotle to John Dennis' (p. 76).

[65]The Poems of the Pearl Manuscript: 'Pearl', 'Cleanness', 'Patience', 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight', ed. by Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron (Exeter, 1989).

Pygmalion as a painter.[66] The story is of a jeweller whose young daughter, Pearl, has died. The jeweller sees Pearl in a dream and finds that she has been transformed into a beautiful woman, though at first he does not recognise her.

> 'Þat wroȝt þy wede, he watz ful wys;
> Þy beauté com neuer of nature --
> Pygmalyon paynted neuer þy vys,
> Ne Arystotel nawþer by hys lettrure
> Of carped þe kynde þese propertéz;
> Þy colour passez þe flour-de-lys,
> Þyn angel-hauyng so clene cortez.
> Breue me, bryȝt, quat kyn offys
> Berez þe perle so maskellez?' (Andrew and Waldron, p. 89)

He who made your clothes was very wise. Your beauty was never natural; Pygmalion never painted your face, nor Aristotle neither in his letters discoursed the nature of these properties. Your colour surpasses the fleur-de-lys; your angelic demeanour is so brightly courteous. Tell me,

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[66]This happened occasionally in short references made to Pygmalion in later years. For example, Thomas Churchyard, A Pleasant Conceite Penned in Verse, Collourably Sette Out, and Humblie Presented on New Year's day Last to the Queenes Maiestie at Hampton Court (London, 1593): 'The Painter thought to please his owne dilite, / With pictures faire, as poore Pigmalion did', lines 1-2, no page numbers; George Wither, Faire Virtue, The Mistresse of Philarete (London, 1622), no page numbers: 'I could say, so chast is shee, / As the new-blowne Roses be. / Or, the drifts of Snow, that none / Ever toucht, or loot upon. / But, that were not worth a Flie, / Seeing so much Chastitie, / Old Pigmalions picture had'.

brightness, what kind of office do you have, pearl so immaculate? (section 13, stanza 3).[67]

Pygmalion is used here as an example of a painter whose talent is compared to the powers of nature. In this context, the beauty of the Pearl-maiden surpasses both the beauty of nature and the beauty of the sculpture.

Perhaps there is more to this reference to Pygmalion? The poem is, after all, one full of intricate patterns and symbols. There are some striking similarities between the story of Pygmalion and Pearl. The pearl-maiden shares some of the important characteristics of Pygmalion's statue, such as the quality of innocence. The image and the pearl-maiden are both beyond the reach of the protagonist: the pearl-maiden is dead, the statue-maiden has never been alive. Both stories share the idea of a man talking to an inanimate beloved object. The jeweller, like Pygmalion, is both the creator and the lover of the statue. The father-lover theme is woven into both stories. Also, the transfiguration of the pearl-maiden runs parallel to the metamorphosis of the statue-maiden.

2.2.2.2. Chaucer, 'The Physician's Tale' (c. 1387)[68]

Chaucer was influenced by Ovid via the Roman de la Rose and Guillaume de

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[67]Richard Hoffman suggests in his article, 'Pygmalion in the "Physician's Tale"', American Notes and Queries, 5 (1967), 83-84, that the Roman de la Rose probably influenced these lines.

[68]The Riverside Chaucer, ed. by Larry D. Benson (Oxford, 1988), based on The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. by F. N. Robinson.

Machaut's Jugement dou Roy de Navarre, Dit de la Fonteine Amoureuse and Livre du Voir.[69] There is not much evidence that Chaucer knew Ovide Moralisé, though he may have been influenced by this text via Machaut.[70]

Chaucer's reference to Pygmalion occurs in 'The Physician's Tale' (c. 1387). Here, Pygmalion is described as a counterfeiter (or imitator):

> For Nature hath with sovereyn diligence
> Yformed hire in so greet excellence,
> As though she wolde seyn, 'Lo! I, Nature,
> Thus kan I forme and peynte a creature,
> Whan that me list; who kan me countrefete?
> Pigmalion noght, though he ay forge, and bete,
> Or grave, or peynte; for I dar wel seyn
> Apelles, Zanzis, sholde werche in veyn
> Outher to grave, or peynte, or forge, or bete,
> If they presumed me to countrefete' (Benson, p. 190).

Pygmalion is used as an example of a famous sculptor who made a statue of a beautiful, life-like woman. The reference forms part of a description of a knight's daughter at the beginning of 'The Physician's Tale'. F. N. Robinson suggests in his notes to these lines that Chaucer was following the Roman de la Rose, as the name

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[69]Edward Rand, Ovid and his Influence (New York, 1928), p. 145.

[70]Helen Cooper, 'Chaucer and Ovid', in Ovid Renewed, ed. by Charles Martindale, pp. 71-81, (pp. 74-75 and p. 264, n. 7).

Pygmalion appears there alongside that of the sculptor, Apelles and Zeuxes, the Athenian artist, in a similar argument.[71] Chaucer's reference to Pygmalion is in the context of a debate between the merits of art and nature. It is evident from this quotation that Pygmalion was held to be an imitator whose art was inferior to the works of nature.

2.2.2.3. John Lydgate, The Troy Book (1412-20)

John Lydgate refers to Pygmalion on two occasions in the Troy Book. In the second book of this work, Lydgate's king Priam calls for artists, who could imitate Pygmalion or Apollo, to help him build a new Troy.

> And swiche as coude with countenances glade
> Make an ymage þat wil neuere fade:
> To counterfet in metal, tre, or ston
> Þe sotil werke of Pigmaleoun.[72]

Here Pygmalion's identity as a sculptor is preferred to his identity as a lover or as a sculptor who brought a statue to life. The everlasting or immortal qualities of sculpture are relevant for a new Troy which would not fall. The fact that Pygmalion precipitated the change of the immortal statue into the mortal woman is not mentioned, and indeed

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[71] The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. by F. N. Robinson (Oxford, 1933), p. 832, n.14.

[72] Lydgate's Troy Book, ed. by Henry Bergen, Early English Text Society, 97, 103 and 106, 3 vols (London, 1906-1910), I (1906), 159.

would make his position as an immortalizer untenable.

In the fourth book of this work, Lydgate associates Pygmalion with a divine sculptor. Bergen's marginal gloss to this section reads:

> When Troy -- once Ilion -- was built, the founder of it built Pallas a grand Temple. And when it was all done but the roof, there came from Heaven a wondrous image, better than Pygmalion could have made, which was sent by God as a protection to Troy (Bergen, III, 726-727).

Lydgate mentions, in this section, that the story of Pygmalion is to be found in the Roman de la Rose.

> For, as it is trewly to suppose,
> Pigmalyon, remembrid in þe Rose,
> In his tyme hadde no konnyng
> To graue or peint so corious a þing:
> For it was wrouȝt wiþ dilligent labour
> By hond on aungil in þe hevenly tour,
> Þoruȝ Goddes myȝt & devyn ordinaunce
> (Bergen, III, 727).

This pious Pygmalion contrasts greatly with the foolish lover of Reson and Sensuallyte.

2.2.3. Conclusion

The demotion of Pygmalion to mere copier of nature, and his exaltation to the role of channel for the creativity of God, is a late, and interesting, change in Pygmalion's fortunes. It would seem to be a result of the reception of his story via the earlier French secular work Roman de la Rose, rather than through the moralizing tradition.

J. A. W. Bennet writes in Middle English Literature that 'the Ovidian story of the sculptor who brought marble beauty to very life was disparaged in an age that put Nature above Art' (Bennet, p. 250).[73] While this is not the only reason for the general renarration of the Pygmalion story in malo during this period, it is a significant one with regards to Chaucer who explicitly characterizes Pygmalion as a counterfeiter. Broadly, there are two views of the Pygmalion story in this period. Pygmalion and his statue were largely condemned by theologians. Pygmalion's actions were those of a madman or lecher. The predominant impression one gets from the characterization of Pygmalion in the poetry of this era is that he was a great artist, a subtle workman and even a pious man (as in the work of Gower and Lydgate).

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[73]J. A. W. Bennett, Middle English Literature, ed. by Douglas Gray (Oxford, 1986), p. 250. Ovid's statue was made of ivory rather than marble.

3. The Pygmalion Story: 1500-1600

3.1. Translations and Commentaries

Sixteenth century Europe saw a great increase in the number of translations of the Metamorphoses into the vernacular.[74] Verse translations were also made.[75] The most influential of these, in Britain, was Arthur Golding's famous translation, started in 1565 and completed in 1567.[76] Commentaries on the Metamorphoses were still being written. These were, as before, written in Latin. There are two major allegorical interpretations of the Metamorphoses in this period. George Sabinus, a German humanist, completed Fabularum Ovidii Interpretatio in 1555 'for the benefit of youthful students' (Vinge, p. 143).[77] Johannes Sprengius, a German poet and translator, brought

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[74]For example, an anonymous French prose translation, called La Grand Olympe and influenced by Ovide Moralisé, was published in 1532.

[75]In 1557, François Habert translated the Metamorphoses into French verse.

[76]Golding's English verse translation of the Metamorphoses contained allegorical comments on the stories. Niall Rudd hails the text as 'the standard English translation during the greatest period of our literature, and it still holds a special place as "Shakespeare's Ovid"'. Niall Rudd, 'Daedalus and Icarus (ii). From the Renaissance to the Present Day', in Charles Martindale, Ovid Renewed, pp. 37-53 (p. 38). The translation was reprinted six times during Shakespeare's lifetime. Golding's version of the Pygmalion story escapes moralization. However, the following story, that of Myrrha, begins with the unequivocal statement: 'Of wicked and most cursed things to speak I now commence. / Yee daughters and yee parents all go get yee farre from hence'. Arthur Golding, The XV Books of P. Ovidius Naso, Entytuled 'Metamorphoses', Translated Out Of Latin Into English Meeter By Arthur Golding Gentleman (London, 1567), fol. 127^r-127^v.

[77]George Sabinus, Fabularum Ovidii Interpretatio Ethica, Physica, et Historica (Cambridge, 1584), pp. 396-398. This was reprinted several times during the seventeenth century.

out his Metamorphoses Ovidii a few years later, in 1563.[78] Ann Moss notes that 'many of the points that Sabinus makes were to be repeated in almost identical phrases by Sprengius. Both have at the back of their minds the old ways of reading the text allegorically' (Moss, p. 48).[79]

The moral Sabinus gleans from the Pygmalion story is that a chaste and modest wife is given from God and should be asked for from God. In his commentary on the story, Sabinus recounts a similar episode which he says was told about St. Francis. He says that St. Francis shrank from the company of women, like Pygmalion did. However, in order to curb his desire, it happened that a wife and child were made for him out of snow. The snow woman and the ivory woman are admired for their chastity. Sabinus suggests a reason for the use of ivory for the statue in Ovid's Pygmalion story. He suggests that the wife of Pygmalion was said to be made of ivory either because of the brightness of her body, or 'on account of the likeness of the name, because she was perhaps called Ivory or Ivory-like' (Sabinus, p. 398).

Johannes Sprengius's commentary draws out the similar message that those who desire a happy marriage cannot succeed without the divine help.[80] A man has to pray to God if he is to receive a friendly and pleasing wife. The interpretations made by these commentaries are nearer to those of Gower than to those of the medieval commentators.

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[78]Johannes Sprengius, Metamorphoses Ovidii, Argumentis Quidem Soluta Oratione, Enarrationibus Autem et Allegoriis Elegiaco Versu Accuratissime Expositae, Sumaque; Diligentia ac Studio Illustratae (Franfurt am Main, 1563), p. 124.

[79]These two works are discussed by Ann Moss in Ovid in Renaissance France, pp. 44-53.

[80]The introductory passage to the Pygmalion episode claims that Pygmalion was a king of Tyre.

There is a question mark concerning the extent to which the commentary tradition (still alive in the sixteenth century) influenced the Elizabethan poets. Laurence Lerner suggests that the 'Elizabethan discovery of Ovid involved detaching the stories at least partly from the heavy weight of moralizing they had generally carried in the Middle Ages. How far this was done is a disputed question'.[81] With regard to the Pygmalion story there is not much evidence for suggesting that the commentary tradition had any direct effect on its Elizabethan interpretations. Rather than focusing on Pygmalion as lascivious, the attentions of poets were drawn to the statue as a symbol of the inconsistency and falseness of women.

3.2. Literature

In the literature of the sixteenth century, Pygmalion's reputation as an artist-lover grew considerably. Medieval theologians had branded him a lecher and a madman, this century saw a rise in Pygmalion's importance as a lover; on the other hand, an old criticism was revived. Pygmalion was once again an idolator.

Renarrations of the Pygmalion story in this period fall broadly into two categories. Firstly, there are those texts which concentrate on the theme of love. These are texts which relate the feelings of an anonymous lover to the story of Pygmalion. The second category relates the story of Pygmalion to the theme of

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[81] Laurence Lerner 'Ovid and the Elizabethans', in Ovid Renewed, ed. by Charles Martindale, pp. 121-135 (p. 121).

idolatry.[82]

3.2.1. The Pygmalion Story and the Lover's Complaint

3.2.1.1. Anonymous, 'The Tale of Pigmalion' (1557-1587)

The earliest poem of the sixteenth century which is solely on the subject of Pygmalion is called 'The Tale of Pigmalion with Conclusion Vpon the Beautye of His Loue', and forms part of Tottel's Miscellany (1557-1587).[83] In this poem, told in rhyming couplets, Pygmalion is a sculptor of great skill who has sculpted several statues before going on to sculpt a statue of a 'woman fayre' (p. 126). Aside from locating the story in Greece, the poet has divorced the narrative from the connecting points which we see in the Metamorphoses. There is no mention of the Propoetides. Rather than being a hater of women, Pygmalion is a sculptor in search of an 'immortall name' (p. 126). The emphasis placed on Pygmalion's skill as an artist, as in the short references to Pygmalion of the previous century, is realized here in the first English poem on Pygmalion which is totally separate from the Metamorphoses.

With regard to the influences on this anonymous poem, little can be established. The poet was probably aware of Ovid's story. What is interesting is that

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[82]The exception to this is a short poem by Bernard Garter called 'A strife Betweene Appelles and Pigmalion' (1566) which, rather than retelling the usual story of Pygmalion, invents a new narrative. In this story Pygmalion competes with Apelles to create the perfect woman and wins; Nature brings her to life. Bernard Garter, A Strife Betweene Appelles and Pigmalion. The Other Ditty, Of Trust and Trial (London, 1566). The pages of this text are not numbered.

[83]Tottel's Miscellany (1557-1587), ed. by Hyder Edward Rollins, 2 vols (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965), I, 125-126.

the poet gleans his perception of the story from the classical mythographic tradition, rather than from the theological tradition. It is a positive tale, celebrating Pygmalion's skill as an artist. The poem condenses Ovid's story, excluding some of the episodes. It departs completely from the Ovidian template immediately after the giving of gifts scene. Instead of a transformation scene, the narrator turns the story into a love address to a woman he loves:

> My dere, alas since I you loue, what wonder is it than?
> In whom hath nature set the glory of her name:
> And brake her mould, in great dispayre, your like she could not frame (p. 126).

The narrator compares the love Pygmalion had for his ideal ivory statue with his love for a woman who is uniquely beautiful. The unique woman is on a par with the unique statue. The dramatic switch from the past to the narrator's present suggests a kind of metaphoric metamorphosis. Links between Pygmalion's statue and the beloved of a narrator are often seen in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in poems which refer briefly to the Pygmalion story.

3.2.1.2. William Fulwood, 'A Secret Lover Writes His Will, By Story Of Pigmalion's Ill', The Enimie of Idlenesse (1568)[84]

William Fulwood's renarration of the story identifies Pygmalion as a skilled sculptor and counterfeiter of images. This is the first poem in which the statue of

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[84]William Fulwood, The Enimie of Idlenesse (London, 1568), pp. 139-141.

Pygmalion is deemed to have been made from marble rather than ivory.[85] Like the medieval poets, Fulwood placed emphasis on Pygmalion's ability as a sculptor and counterfeiter. His ambition, like Pygmalion in Tottel's Miscellany is to achieve 'immortall fame'. Further, Fulwood's poem is similar to 'The Tale of Pigmalion' in that it departs from the Ovidian structure after the first three episodes, it relates the story to the theme of the narrator's own suffering in love, and the transformation of the statue is not described.

The lover's complaint is the concern of the last three stanzas of the poem. The narrator compares his love of a real woman to Pygmalion's love of the statue. The speaker says that if Pygmalion 'pynde away' for his marble statue, it is no wonder that he, who is in love with a real woman, decays 'with piteous plaint, and grevous grone' (p. 140). He suggests that in some respects he would like to play the part of Pygmalion, as Pygmalion was able to embrace his beloved and place her in his bed. The poem is a suggestive one, with the poet hinting that when his beloved is in his bed, he 'should fynde better pastime sure, / Than poore Pigmalion could procure' (p. 141). The final lament of the poem is that the speaker cannot tell his beloved that he loves her, in case she refuses him and his fantasy disappears. He concludes with another classical reference linking stone and anguish: that of Sisiphus and his stone. Sisiphus's punishment for not going back to the underworld was to push a boulder up a hill until he almost reached the top, at which point the boulder rolled down again and he had to repeat his task. Here this symbolizes the perpetuity of the lover's agony.

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[85]In the next few years it became the custom to refer to the statue as made of marble. From the sixteenth century to the twentieth century most renarrations describe the statue either as ivory, marble or stone. There are a few exceptions. Andrew Lang, for example, chose chryselephantine, and in 1935 Gilbert Coleridge described the statue as being made from clay, stone, marble and ivory.

This type of renarration is used again in Samuel Daniel's Delia sonnet.

3.2.2. The Pygmalion Story and Anti-Catholic Polemic

The last two major renarrations of this century used the Pygmalion story as a vehicle for anti-Catholic polemic. Pygmalion is characterized, as he was occasionally in the medieval period and before that by the Christian apologists, as an idolator. At this juncture, however, Pygmalion is not a pagan idolator, but a Christian one.[86] The renarrations of the story which dwell on Pygmalion's idolatry are also strongly misogynistic.

3.2.2.1. George Pettie's 'Pygmalion's Friend, and his Image', A Petite Pallace of Pettie and his Pleasure (1576)[87]

Pettie's prose version of the Pygmalion story bears little resemblance to that of Ovid. The main part of the story is a narrative about Pygmalion, a gentleman from Piedmont, who innocently loves and is loved by Penthea, the wife of Luciano, who then rejects him in favour of another suitor. The latter part of the narrative is more like Ovid's version. Pygmalion abandons the company of all women as a result of his rejection, and carves an image of a woman. Falling in love with the image, he entreats Venus to transform it into a woman, whom he then marries. Unlike the

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[86]This view was also expressed in the shorter reference to the story by Edward Guilpin discussed later.

[87]George Pettie, A Petite Pallace of Pettie and His Pleasure (London, 1576), pp. 108-134.

previous two writers, Pettie adds to the beginning of the story. This is the first literary expansion of the story at great length.

The text is a diatribe on the inconstancy and 'imperfect nature' of women (p. 114). At certain points the narrator divorces himself from the opinions of his misogynistic Pygmalion who commits 'bold blasphemy against your noble sex' (p. 127). At the end of the work the narrator explains openly that he regards women as fickle creatures, and advises them not to exchange old friends (like Pygmalion was to Penthea) for new ones.

A number of possible reasons for Pygmalion's love for his marble statue are put forward in this text. The narrator suggests that Pygmalion may have been possessed 'with melancholy passions' (p. 129) and therefore acted strangely; Pygmalion, he says, may have thought himself to have been made of stone, and 'knowing that like agree best with their like' fell in love with the stone image (p. 129); continuing this theme the narrator suggests that Pygmalion may have been attracted to stone because he may have been one of the people made from stone by Deucalion and Pyrrha after the flood. We are told that Pygmalion may have fallen in love with the statue because he owned it. Further, the narrator suggests that it may have been part of Pygmalion's religion to love images. This is not strange we are told:

> Neither is it any more to be marvelled at in him, than in an infinite number that live at this day, which love images right well, and verily persuade themselves that images have the power to pray for them, and help them to heaven (pp. 129-130).

The description of the statue's metamorphosis is likened to miracles purportedly occurring at the time of the poet's writing:

> The like miracles we have had many wrought within these few years, when images have been made to bow their heads, to hold out their hands, to weep, to speak (p. 131).

This is the first statement in the history of the Pygmalion story which can be interpreted as anti-Catholic;[88] though, of course, it is in part an anti-pagan statement of the kind that we find in Clement and Arnobius.

3.2.2.2. John Marston's 'The Metamorphosis of Pigmalion's Image' (1598)[89]

'The Metamorphosis of Pigmalion's Image' is a poem which has caused much discussion.[90] Arguments have been largely devoted to the question of whether the poem was intended to be satirical or whether it was 'a serious attempt in the Ovidian mode' to be taken at face value as a lurid love poem (Finkelpearl, p. 334).[91]

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[88]The work was published after Elizabeth was well established on the throne.

[89]John Marston, The Poems of John Marston, ed. by Arnold Davenport (Liverpool, 1961), pp. 47-61.

[90]See Gustav Cross, 'Marston's "Metamorphoses of Pigmalion's Image": a Mock-Epyllion', Études Anglaises, 13 (1960), 331-336. The issues are set out clearly in Philip J. Finkelpearl, 'From Petrarch to Ovid: Metamorphoses in John Marston's "Metamorphosis of Pigmalion's Image"', A Journal of English Literary History, 32 (1965), 333-348.

[91]For example, Ray suggests that Marston's poem is 'the most sordid use of Pygmalion' (Ray, p. 100).

Convincing arguments have been put forward on both sides. There is even evidence for the poem having been written as a serious love poem and revised as a satirical poem once the poet had realized his talent for satire.[92]

Whatever the intention of the author, certain things pertaining to the development of the Pygmalion story can be established. The poem is about the frustration of the hero, Pygmalion. The story is interspersed with cynical comments such as the generalization that women are easily overcome, and will always give in to temptation.

The poem contains elements of the first group of poems discussed in this section, the lover's complaint. The dedication to the narrator's Mistres sets the tone: 'My wanton Muse lasciviously doth sing / Of sportive love, of lovely dallying' (p. 51). The narrator asks his mistress to be like the statue in the story, and 'take compassion,/ Force me not envie my Pigmalion' (p. 51). The mistress becomes a device to make the poem more salacious, for example when Pygmalion views the ivory-maiden naked, the narrator adds: 'O that my Mistres were an image too, / That I might blameless her perfections view' (p. 54).

Pygmalion is portrayed as a man who hates women and love. Marston does not provide a reason for him to sculpt a statue. We are only told that 'Love at length forc'd him to know his fate, / And love the shade, whose substance he did hate' (p. 52). The first part of the poem revolves around the main conceit that all women are like relentless stone. Marston compares the statue to a woman who resists his

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[92]Arnold Davenport suggests in The Poems of John Marston that 'when Marston found his real vein in satire, he was drawn on to relate his earlier poem to his new mode, and so came to pretend that it was a parody' (Davenport, p. 10). Davenport also notes that Morse S. Allen was of this opinion. Morse S. Allen, The Satire of John Marston (Columbus, Ohio, 1920), p. 91.

advances. The narrative sequence of the metamorphosis is abrupt. 'The stonie substance of his Image feature, / Was straight transformed into a living creature' (p. 58). There is not a gradual coming to life, but a sudden one, deliberately devoid of feeling. When the statue does yield and become a real woman, the poet remarks, 'Tut, women will relent / When as they finde such mouing blandishment' (p. 59).

Marston's anti-Catholic jibes form part of a digression from the story:

> Looke how the peevish Papists crouch and kneel
>
> To some dum Idoll with their offering,
>
> As if a senseless carved stone could feele
>
> The ardor of his bootless chattering

Like Pettie, Marston emphasizes the futility of worshipping images.

3.2.2.3. Edward Guilpin, Skialetheia (1598)

The second satire of Edward Guilpin's Skialetheia (1598) also identifies Pygmalion as a statue worshipper:

> Then how is man turnd all Pygmalion,
>
> That knowing these pictures, yet we doat Vpon
>
> The painted statues, or what fooles are we
>
> So grosly to commit idolatry? . . . . or els papists
>
> Whose over-fleeting brittle memories

Right worshipfull intitle Images.[93]

The poem is interesting, further, because it is also an instance of the Pygmalion story being connected with cosmetics -- an association which was first made in the Elizabethan period. The poem ridicules those who need to paint their faces in order to appear beautiful. It suggests that one must be as foolish as Pygmalion if one knows a woman to have a painted face and still love her. Pygmalion's relationship with his statue is both likened to this state of affairs (statues at that time were painted) and to the worship of statues which was perceived to be a part of Roman Catholicism. The poem suggests that liking women who wear make-up is as bad as being a Catholic, as both are attractive only on the surface. The poet talks of

. . . generall pardons, which speake gloriously,
Yet keepe not touch: or Popish Iubily.
Thus altering natures stamp, they're altered,
From their first purity, innate maidenhead:
Of simple naked honesty, and truth,
And given o're to seducing lust and youth (p. 43).

3.3. Pygmalion's Statue as Thief, Murderess and Prostitute

Pygmalion's statue acquired new characteristics in this period, and was often

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[93]Edward Guilpin, Skialetheia. Or, A Shadowe of Truth, in Certaine Epigrams and Satyres, ed. by Rev. Alexander B. Grosart (Manchester, 1878), p. 42.

perceived negatively. The sixteenth century is the earliest period in which characterization of the statue as anything other than modest and subservient becomes a popular practice. John Lyly's Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit (1578) is an example of this.

> The Parthians, to cause their youth to loathe the alluring trains of women's wiles and deceitful enticements, had most curiously carved in their houses a young man blind; besides whom was adjoined a woman, so exquisite that in some men's judgement Pygmalion's image was not half so excellent, having one hand in his pocket as noting their theft, and holding a knife in the other hand to cut his throat.[94]

The idea of Pygmalion's image as a dangerous woman was taken up by Shakespeare in Measure For Measure (1604). The similarity of Shakespeare's reference to Pygmalion and that of John Lyly has been noted by Lyly's editors (p. 16, n. 1). Shakespeare's Lucio says: 'What, is there none of Pygmalion's images newly made women to be had now, for putting the hand in the pocket and extracting clutched?'[95] S. Nagarajan's edition of the play suggests that 'Pygmalion's images' were prostitutes.[96] The Arden edition provides a fuller gloss to these lines, suggesting that 'because the

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[94]John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit. Euphues and His England, ed. by Morris William-Croll and Harry Clemons (London, 1916), p. 16.

[95]William Shakespeare, Measure for Measure, The Arden Edition, ed. by J. W. Lever (London, 1965), I. 2. 49, p. 84.

[96]William Shakespeare, Measure For Measure, The Signet Classic Shakespeare, ed. by S. Nagarajan (New York and London, 1964), p. 88.

Elizabethan statue was often painted, Pygmalion's beloved suggested the idea of a prostitute' (Arden, p. 84). This edition points us to a further reference to Pygmalion's statue as a prostitute, in the fifth satire of Thomas Middleton's Micro-Cynicon (1599), which reads:

> Trust not a painted puppet, as I've done,
> Who far more doted than Pygmalion:
> The streets are full of juggling parasites,
> With the true shape of virgins' counterfeits.[97]

This text seems to echo Edward Guilpin's second satire which contains the lines 'yet we doat Vpon / The painted statues' (p. 42).

3.4. Conclusion to the Sixteenth Century.

The Pygmalion story appears in three different ways in the sixteenth century. Firstly, as before, it occurs in short references.[98] Secondly, the story was still being interpreted allegorically in the mid sixteenth century, though not in Britain. Thirdly, it is in this century that we see, for the first time, the emergence of poems and prose

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[97]Thomas Middleton, The Works of Thomas Middleton, ed. by A. H. Bullen, 8 vols (London, 1886), VIII, 133.

[98]For example, see Christopher Marlowe, The Second Part of the Bloody Conquests of Mighty Tamberlaine, ed. by Fredson Bowers, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1981), I, 158: 'The Grecian virgins shall attend on thee, / Skilful in musicke and in amorous laies: / As faire as was Pigmalions Ivory gyrle, / Or lovely Io metamorphosed'. For further references see appendix 2, under 'shorter references'.

works solely on the Pygmalion story.

The themes associated with the story increased.[99] Several poems of this era bring out the theme of unrequited love. The Pygmalion story becomes an elaborate conceit for the lover who is not having much success with his 'stony-hearted' woman. The story is a vehicle for describing both the woman who can resist male advances, and the inconstant woman who cannot. Poets concentrate on relating the subject to love, and on the differences between natural and artificial beauty. Changes are made to the story which are the direct effect of the society of the time. Pygmalion's statue achieves a new identity as a painted lady or prostitute (this may have has something to do with the Elizabethan custom of painting statues). In the reign of Elizabeth, when anti-catholic polemic was not unusual, the Pygmalion story, because of its association with the worship of images, becomes a place in which to discuss the demerits of Catholicism.[100]

4. The Pygmalion Story 1600-1700

The seventeenth century has been described as 'another aetas ovidiana' in which Ovid was an important source for themes in literature and painting (Vinge, p. 179). This period saw a tremendous increase in short references to the Pygmalion story. There was not, however, a proportionately great rise in the number of full renarrations

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[99]French essayist Montaigne, for example, associated the story with the theme of incest.

[100]It is worth noting that the continuity of Pygmalion's identity as a famous sculptor remained, and that there was little interest in the description of the transformation of the statue in this period.

of the story. This century produced one major renarration and two short epigrams on the subject (whereas the sixteenth century had produced five renarrations).[101]

The epigrams are elaborate allusions to the story and are included in this list because they are whole poems on the Pygmalion story. They do not retell the story in any depth. Neither poem portrays Pygmalion in a favourable light. Both epigrams refer to the statue as a 'picture'. The OED suggests that the fourth definition of picture was 'by extension, an artistic representation in the solid, especially a statue or a monumental effigy; an image'.[102] Examples of this usage date as far back as c. 1500. The use of the word 'picture' for the statue was quite common in references to the Pygmalion story in the seventeenth century.

The earliest of the renarrations was a short epigram by John Davies (1611).[103] This was followed by a satire by Richard Brathwait (1621), an epigram by Hugh

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[101]None of the seventeenth century references examined here are discussed by Bonnie Ray. Though her thesis includes the early seventeenth century, the only text from this period Ray examines is The Winter's Tale. I shall limit my reference to The Winter's Tale here, partly because it has already been studied in depth by Ray (pp. 128-170) and others, and partly because it does not contain a direct reference to the Pygmalion story and therefore violates my criterion for inclusion. Those who explore the link between the Pygmalion story and The Winter's Tale are Arthur H. R. Fairchild in Shakespeare and the Arts of Design, University of Missouri Studies, 12 (1937), 73-89; Barbara Roche Rico, 'From "Speechless Dialect" to "Prosperous Art": Shakespeare's Recasting of the Pygmalion Image', Huntingdon Library Quarterly, A Journal For the History and Interpretation of English and American Civilization, 48 (1985), 285-295; Leonard Barkan, '"Living Sculptures": Ovid, Michelangelo, and The Winter's Tale', English Literary History, 48 (1981), 639-667.

[102]As Pygmalion is still referred to as a sculptor, it is probably safe to conclude that the word 'picture' is being used in this sense.

[103]John Davies's `Against Pigmalion's Indiscretion' (1611) is quoted below: 'Pigmalion carves, and that with mickle heed, / Dead stones like living men by Cunnings forces / He makes Stones men; but he good men (in Deede) / Himselfe makes like a stone by sencelesse courses: / If he makes men like Stones, and Stones like men, / Pigmalion's Pictures are his Betters then'. John Davies, The Scourge of Folly (London, 1611), p. 34.

Crompton (1657),[104] and the anonymously written poem, Chaucer's Ghoast (1672).[105] Two Latin versions of the story were made in this period by British writers: Richard Crashaw's poem 'In Pigmaliona' (1648) and an anonymously written verse playlet called Pygmalion (1630-50). These will not be discussed further as it is the aim of this thesis to restrict discussion, where possible, to texts written in English.[106]

4.1. Major References to the Pygmalion Story

Richard Brathwait's fifth satire in Nature's Embassie (1621) takes for its subject the theme of dotage. The entire satire is given over to describing the story of the besotted Pygmalion. Pygmalion is characterized as a skilful artist who has fallen in love with a painted ivory statue of his own making. Though the statue is described as a 'faire saint' and an 'idle idoll', the question of idolatry, which was explored by the Elizabethans, is not entered into deeply. After explaining the pointlessness of Pygmalion's love, the narrator shows him praying to Venus for his statue to come to

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[104]Hugh Crompton's epigram bears the title 'Pigmalion' (1657): 'Why does Pigmalion on his picture doat? / And to the worship of the same devote / His purest thought? Pigmalion, dost thou see / More value in thy image then in thee? / That thou shouldst buckle, and incline thy wit / To leave thy self, and fall in love with it? / Alas Pigmalion, thou art but an Ape, / That for the substance dost adore the shape'. Hugh Crompton, Poems (London, 1657), p. 233.

[105]Richard Brathwait, 'The Fift Satyre', Natures Embassie: Or the Wilde-Mans Measures: Danced Naked By Twelve Satyres, With Sundry Others Continued in the Next Section (London, 1621), pp. 99-106; Anon., Chaucer's Ghoast: or A Piece Of Antiquity, Containing Twelve Pleasant Fables of Ovid Penn'd After The Ancient Manner Of Writing In England (London, 1672), pp. 1-4.

[106]The most important translation of the Metamorphoses in this period was a rendering into heroic couplets by George Sandys in 1626. The second edition of this translation (1632) contained a commentary. I have used George Sandys, Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished (London, 1638), pp. 197-199.

life. Venus does so, and Pygmalion marries his new woman. The story concludes with them producing a daughter called Paphos.

There is little in the poem which marks it out as a satire, except that we are told that Pygmalion and his wife were constantly of one opinion, and that 'few wives be of her temper now adaies' (p. 105). Brathwait's renarration does not link the story with lust or immorality, but sees it as an example of vanity.

> The Morall includeth the vaine and foolish Loves of such as are besotted on every idle picture or painted Image, whose selfe-conceited vanitie makes beauty their Idoll, becoming Creatures of their owne making, as if they dis-esteemed the creation of their Maker. The Satyre though compendious, compriseth such matter (Brathwait, p. 98).

A margin note to this introductory passage connects the 'painted image' with the user of cosmetics: 'Note this you painted faces, whose native Countrey (once white Albion) is become reddish, with blushing at your vanities' (Brathwait, p. 99). This looks back to the works of the previous century in which the Pygmalion story was occasionally linked with this theme. Brathwait's poem, like others of the century, refers to the statue as a picture.[107]

Chaucer's Ghoast (1672) shall be considered her briefly as it is a curiosity. The work was published anonymously and is a collection of short poems 'containing twelve pleasant Fables of Ovid penn'd after the ancient manner of writing in England. Which

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[107]In the prose introduction the statue is called 'a curious Image or Picture or an amiable woman' (Brathwait, p. 98).

makes them prove Mock-Poems to the Present Poetry' (Chaucer's Ghoast, frontispiece). In the address 'to the Readers' at the beginning of the volume, the poet explains that he or she 'must write what's neither new nor old; in a Dialect that is both dawbed over with Novelty, and hath Antiquity for its ground'. A short introductory poem follows this statement and draws attention to the author's idea that antiquity is a novelty in an age which is producing a large quantity of new poems: 'But here's a Piece; come quick, before 'tis sold. / 'Tis truly new: for why? because 'tis old'.

Chaucer's Ghoast gives the impression of being a translation of, or a collection of renarrations from, the Metamorphoses. Each story, when listed and described at the beginning of the volume, is supported by a quotation from the Metamorphoses in the original Latin. The work is, however, not a direct translation of Ovid, but it is, rather, a rendering of twelve stories from John Gower's Confessio Amantis (1390-3).[108] The title of the work implies that it has some connection with Chaucer. (Gower's name is not mentioned on the work.) It is unlikely that the Confessio was wrongly attributed to Chaucer as we know that Gower produced his manuscripts efficiently and supervised the making of copies. Gower's reputation was, however, linked with that of Chaucer. Derek Pearsall notes that 'Chaucer seems to have drawn Gower along in the wake of his reputation, presumably because of the dedication in Troilus'.[109] This might account for the title of the work.

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[108]The stories chosen are all from the prologue and books 1-5 of the Confessio Amantis. 'Pygmalion and the Image' is the first story of the collection, and is a slightly abbreviated version of Gower's original. The stories in Chaucer's Ghoast are not in the sequence in which they appear in the Confessio.

[109]Derek Pearsall, 'The Gower Tradition' in Gower's 'Confessio Amantis'. Responses and Reassessments, ed. by A. J. Minnis (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 179-197 (p. 185).

4.2. Minor References to the Pygmalion Story

With regard to minor references to the story in the seventeenth century, it is evident that Pygmalion was being alluded to for a variety of reasons. His reputation as an artist and lover was strong in this period, though he was frequently referred to solely as an artist (his name often being used alongside those of artists like Apelles and Zeuxes). For example, Richard Johnson writes in 1612 that 'Pigmalion with his gravers then could never worke so faire a peece: / Nor yet Apelles in his time, did never see the like in Greece'.[110] Richard Brathwait writes in 1621: 'Zeuxes, Phydias, and Pigmalion, / Those native artists who indeed did strive / To make their curious statues seeme alive, / Reducing art to Nature'.[111] Pygmalion was rarely characterized solely as a lover in this period.

The sixteenth century had witnessed the denigration of the character of Pygmalion's statue; the seventeenth century saw a return to the practice of earlier years, the denigration of Pygmalion's character. This was by no means a universal practice in British literature, though it was a significant one. Several writers chose to emphasize Pygmalion's lasciviousness. John Davies writes in his poem Microcosmos (1603), 'Pigmalion / For his owne Picture did like passion prove / Damned Lust what

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[110]Richard Johnson, 'A Lover's Song in Praise of his Mistresse', A Crowne-Garland of Goulden Roses. Gathered Out of Englands Royall Garden. Being the Lives and Strange Fortunes of Many Great Personages of this land (London, 1612). This text has no page numbers.

[111]Richard Brathwait, 'Omphale, or The Inconstant Shephearde', Natures Embassie (London, 1621), p. 227.

pleasure provid'st thou in a Stone'.[112] Robert Gomersall writes of Pygmalion's love in 1628: 'the barreness is in the Love . . . this hath no other Motive then the Sinne'[113] Abraham Cowley writes in 1647: 'If an Inordinate Desire be Lust: / Pygmalion, loving what none can enjoy, / More lustful was, than the hot youth of Troy'.[114] Finally, in 1664 Henry King used Pygmalion to illustrate that 'Lust is a Snake and Guilt the Gorgon's head, / Which Conscience turns to Stone'.[115] On the other hand, William Basse characterized Pygmalion with a modesty which is usually reserved for his statue: 'Pygmalion at her cheekes and chin would trip, / And at hir browes would blush and look awry'.[116] Others refer to the story in a positive way.[117]

Several seventeenth-century allusions to the story describe Pygmalion's love specifically as foolish or hopeless. John Taylor's narrator suggested in 'A Whore' (1630) that he would rather live alone than love a stone: 'Pigmalion, with an Image

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[112]John Davies, Microcosmos. The Discovery of the Little World, With the Government Thereof (Oxford, 1603), p. 168.

[113]Robert Gomersall, The Levites Revenge (London, 1628), p. 23.

[114]Abraham Cowley, 'Answer to the Platonicks', The Collected Works of Abraham Cowley in Two Volumes, ed. by Thomas O. Calhoun, Laurence Heyworth and J. Robert King, 2 vols (London and Toronto, 1993), II, 37. The poem forms part of the collection called 'The Mistress' which was first published in 1647.

[115]Henry King, 'Paradox. That Fruition Destroyes Love', Poems, Elegies, Paradoxes, and Sonets (London, 1664), p. 76.

[116]William Basse, 'Three Pastoral Elegies; Of Anander, Anetor and Muridella', 'Elegy 2' (1602), The Poetical Works of William Basse (1602-1653), ed. by R. Warwick Bond (London, 1893), p. 61.

[117]For example, John Davis's 'Nihil Tam Bene Dictum, Quod Non Fuit Dictum Prius', in Wittes Pilgrimage (London, 1605): 'What Images would not seem rude, and raw / Before Pigmalion'. The pages of this text are not numbered. (The word 'rude' is used here to mean unsophisticated. This quotation is not used to argue for Pygmalion's innocence, but as an example of a favourable description of Pygmalion.)

made of Stone, / Did love and lodge: (I'le rather lye alone)'.[118] Henry King's poem 'Paradox. That Fruition Destroyes Love' (1664) describes 'Pigmalion's dotage on the carved stone' as a delusion (King, p. 76). Matthew Stevenson's narrator, in 'A. B. To an Old Woman was afraid He would steal her daughter, who was ugly, and crooked as a Sythe, and Light withall', would rather have gone through the pointless exercise of loving a stone than have to court an ugly woman: 'But to make serious love to such an one, / Pigmaleon-like, I'd sooner court a Stone'.[119]

The use of the Pygmalion story in the lover's complaint continued throughout this century. Edmund Waller's poem, 'On the Discovery of a Ladies Painting' (1645) puts forward the usual statement that Pygmalion's situation has some bearing on the predicament of a narrator-lover. Sir Aston Cokayne's 'Now after Tedious Weeks of Being Mute' (1658) is another example of this kind of poem:

> Had I your Picture reasonably wrought,
>
> No lady like it should command my thought;
>
> Pigmalion-like I would adore't, until
>
> You did prove kind, or me my griefes did kill.[120]

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[118]John Taylor, All The Workes of John Taylor The Water-Poet (London, 1630), p. 108. These lines, and a substantial quantity of the rest of this poem, were plagiarized by Walter Scot (1614?-1694) for his poetic history called A True History of Several Honourable Families of the Right Honourable Name of Scot, In the shires of Roxburgh and Selkirk, and Others Adjacent (Edinburgh, 1688), p. 4.

[119]Matthew Stevenson, Poems: Or, A Miscellany Of Sonnets, Satyrs [etc.] (London, 1673), p. 121.

[120]Aston Cokayne, Small Poems Of Divers Sorts (London, 1658), p. 47.

Also, we see the continuation of other features of sixteenth-century references to the Pygmalion story. The association of the theme with the use of cosmetics (as seen in Edward Guilpin's Skialethia (1598)) was continued by John Heath in 'To Mistris E. S.' (1619): 'Our latter Artists, who make up a face / Of seeming beautie, for to blinde such eyes / As with Pigmalion them doe Idolize'.[121] These lines were copied by Samuel Pick in his poem 'To his deare Mistris, H. P.' (1639).[122] Robert Gomersall associates Pygmalion's statue with painted women: 'a painted Woman will cause love', he suggests (Gomersall, p. 23). The narrator of John Donne's 'A Paradox of a Painted face' states that he knows that the beauty of his beloved is 'artificiall, borrowed . . . yet for this / I idoll thee, and begge a luschyous kisse'.[123]

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[121]John Heath, The House of Correction: or Certayne Satyricall Epigrams. Written by J. H. Gent. Together With a few characters, called Par Pari: or, Like to the Like, Quoth the Devill to the Collier (London, 1619). The pages of this text are not numbered.

[122]Samuel Pick, Festum Voluptatis, Or the Banquet of Pleasure; Furnished with Mvch Variety of Speculations, Wittie, Plesant, and Delightful. Containing Divers choyce Love-Poesies, Songs, Sonnets, Odes, Madrigals, Satyres... (London, 1639), p. 5.

[123]John Donne, The Complete Poems of John Donne, ed. by Alexander B. Grosart, 2 vols (London, 1872), I, 229. The poem ends with the exhortation: 'Jove grant me then a repairable face, / Which whil'st that colours are, can want noe grace; / Pigmalion's painted statue I wold loue, / Soe it were warme or soft, or could but move' (Donne, I, p. 232). Herbert J. C. Grierson notes that 'A Paradoxe of a Painted Face was attributed to Donne because he had written a prose Paradoxe entitled That Women Ought to Paint. The poem was not published till 1660' (John Donne, The Poems of John Donne Edited from the Old Editions and Numerous Manuscripts, ed. by Herbert J. C. Grierson, 2 vols (London, 1912), II, 268.

4.3. Conclusion to the Seventeenth Century

To conclude, the Pygmalion story in this period retained several of the associations it had acquired in the previous century. In particular, there are still references made to cosmetics and painted ladies, and comparisons made with narrator-lovers. The seventeenth century saw a renewed interest in the lasciviousness of Pygmalion, and Pygmalion became, once again, a deluded fool. To some writers of this period Pygmalion's situation was enviable; to others it was not.

5. The Pygmalion Story 1700-1800

The eighteenth century was characterized by a marked decline in the popularity of Ovid. Douglas Bush writes:

> One symptom of altered taste, to be inferred from silence as well as from express statements, is the loss of prestige that Ovid underwent. . . . Ovid had held a high place in the tradition of European poetry, during long periods he had outshone the greater ancients . . . The response of the early Augustans was less ardent, but it was exceedingly voluminous; every gentleman of letters translated parts of the Metamorphoses or the Heroides or the Ars Amatoria. But the appeal of Ovid quickly declined.[124]

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[124]Douglas Bush, Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry (New York, 1963), p. 32.

The Metamorphoses was translated (in parts and in its entirety) by such writers as Dryden (1700).[125] Louise Vinge suggests, however, that despite the abundance of translations of the Metamorphoses in Europe, 'the impression remains that the influence of Ovid in literature has decreased . . . Other research shows, however, that interest in mythology survived' (Vinge, pp. 253-256).

With regard to the Pygmalion story, the eighteenth century saw an increase in its use of short references, and a sharp decrease in renarrations of the story. The only British poem dealing solely with the subject of Pygmalion was a four-line epigram by James Robertson called 'To Please Pygmalion, Heav'n Inspir'd With Life' (1773).[126] This fact seems curious when we consider that this century produced one of the most important renarrations of the Pygmalion story: Rousseau's Pygmalion.

Rousseau's play, a scène-lyrique with musical accompaniment, was written in 1762, first performed in 1770 and published in 1771. After Rousseau's play became popular the Pygmalion story became more widely used in France, and its fame gradually spread to other parts of Europe. There was a noticeable increase in French plays on the subject of Pygmalion after 1762. Rousseau's interest in the theme did not appear in isolation.[127] There are examples of its use in eighteenth-century French

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[125]John Dryden, 'Fables' (1700), The Poems Of John Dryden ed. by James Kinsley, 4 vols (Oxford, 1958), IV, 1439-1757. Dryden's popular version was included in Ovid's Metamorphoses, Translated By the Most Eminent Hands. J. Dryden and Others, ed. by Samuel Garth (London, 1717), pp. 343-346.

[126]'To please Pygmalion, Heav'n inspir'd with Life / A Tongueless Stone, of which he made a Wife; / Wou'd Heav'n, all-gracious, hear Asino's moan, / His Wife -- her Tongue at least -- wou'd soon be Stone', James Robertson, Poems On Several Occasions (London, 1773), p. 252.

[127]J. L. Carr suggests that the Pygmalion story gained in popularity in eighteenth-century France because it linked the human and the divine. (J. L. Carr, 'Pygmalion and the Philosophes. The Animated Statue in Eighteenth Century France', Journal of the

poetry and drama prior to 1762 (see appendix 2); and the theme had been taken up by the artists François Boucher and Jean Restout in the 1740s. While Pygmalion had occasionally been the subject of operas prior to 1700, it became an extremely popular theme for operas, cantatas, and opera-ballets in Europe during the eighteenth century. Several of these were based on Rousseau's Pygmalion.[128] Rousseau's influence on the Pygmalion story in Britain, however, was not felt until the turn of the century.

Also, in this period, in France, we see the Pygmalion story starting to be retold through comedy.[129] Examples of French comic plays of the eighteenth century are Jean-Antoine Romagnesi, Pygmalion (1741), Anonymous, Pigmalion (1741), Edme Sulpice Gaubier de Barrault, Brioché (1753), Louis Poinsinet de Sivry, Pygmalion (1760), Fontenelle, Pigmalion (1764), Michel de Cubières-Palmézeaux, Galathée (1777 or 1778). There was also a comic tradition associated with the story in French opera of the period. It was not until the nineteenth century that the story became the subject of comic plays in Britain.

In Britain, Rousseau's Pygmalion was first translated into English anonymously in 1779. The translation took the form of rhyming couplets and conveyed very little

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Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 23 (1960), 239-255 (p. 244).) He qualifies this saying that the story was appealing because 'artistic creation may be said to be the outcome of man's desire to influence inanimate nature. The statue legend, therefore, illustrates the point of contact between art and magic; into the statue, made in the image of Venus herself, some part of the goddess of love has been transfused' (Carr, p. 244).

[128]For example, Anton Schweitzer, Pygmalion (1772), Giambattista Cimador, Pigmalione (1773), Franz Asplmayr, Pigmalion (1776), Georg Benda, Pygmalion (1779), Antonio Bartolomeo Bruni, Galathée (1795).

[129]Though the Pygmalion story was not included in the earlier comic Ovide Bouffon by Louis Richer. (Louis Richer, L'Ovide Bouffon; ou Les Metamorphoses Burlesques (Paris, 1650).

of the style of the original work, which was more conversational. It contained many brief diversions into classical mythology and history which did not appear in Rousseau's original. William Mason's English verse translation of 1811 was more literal.[130]

Several English verse translations of Ovid's version of the Pygmalion story were made in this century. These often formed part of short collections of stories from the Metamorphoses. Most notable of these are John Dryden's 'Pygmalion and the Statue' (1700), John Hopkins's 'Pigmalion and his Iv'ry Statue' (1700) and Henry Baker's 'Pigmalion and the Statue' (1737).[131]

5.1. Minor References to the Pygmalion story

The association of Pygmalion with the lover's complaint continued in short references to the Pygmalion story in British literature of this century. This kind of allusion is seen at its best in Soame Jenyns's 'The Choice' (1790):

> Had I, Pygmalion like, the pow'r
> To make the nymph I wou'd adore;
> The model shou'd be thus design'd,

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[130]William Mason, 'Pigmalion, A Lyrical Scene, Translated Into Theatrical Verse From the French Prose of J-J Rousseau of Geneva', The Works of William Mason, 4 vols (London, 1811), II, 365-377.

[131]John Dryden, The Poems Of John Dryden, pp. 1570-1573; John Hopkins, Amasia, Or the Works of the Muses 3 vols (London, 1700), III, 37-40; Henry Baker, Medulla Poetarum Romanorum: Or the Most Beautiful and Instructive Passages of the Roman Poets, 2 vols (London, 1737), II, 223-227.

Like this her form, like this her mind.[132]

The poem goes on to outline the various qualities the speaker decides that his beloved should possess.[133]

The transformation of the statue achieved greater prominence in eighteenth-century short references. Words like melted, softened, warmed and glowed were frequently used to describe the metamorphosis of the statue.[134] Though words like these were used to describe the metamorphosis in other eras, they gain a new significance in the eighteenth century as they are often accompanied by references to fires and flames. For example, Soame Jenyns writes of the statue in 'The Art of Dancing' (1728), 'But breasts of Flint must melt with fierce desire, / When art and motion wake the sleeping fire' (Works (1790), I, 4). Joseph Mitchell writes in 1731 that 'Life Pygmalion's Iv'ry fir'd'.[135] Henry Travers's statue 'imbib'd the Flame' in 1731,

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[132]Soame Jenyns, The Works of Soame Jenyns in Four Volumes, 4 vols (London, 1790), I, 147-150 (147).

[133]For further references of this type, see George Granville, 'To Myra. Loving at First Sight', The Genuine Works in Verse and Prose of the Right Honourable George Granville, Lord Lansdown, 2 vols (London, 1732), I, 16-17; Christopher Pitt, 'The Fable of the Young Man and his Cat', Poems and Translations (London, 1727), p. 168.

[134]For example Henry Travers described Venus as bidding the statue's 'vital Pow'rs exert their Strife, / And warm each varied Atom into Life', in 'To Dr. --'. Henry Travers, Miscellaneous Poems and Translations (London, 1731), p. 75.

[135]Joseph Mitchell, Three Poetic Epistles to Mr. Hogarth, Mr. Dandridge, and Mr. Lambert, Masters in the Art of Painting (London, 1731), p. 3. The lines quoted and others were later plagiarized by Richard Savage in 'To Mr. John Dyer', The Works of Richard Savage, esq. Son of the Earl Rivers. With an Account of the Life and Writing of the Author by Samuel Johnson, 2 vols (London, 1777), II, 147-149 (148).

and James Woodhouse has his 'statuary's soul inflame' in 1764.[136] References like these herald the beginning of a close association between the Pygmalion story and that of Prometheus.[137] Prometheus's name is mentioned in association with Pygmalion's in George Ellis's renarration of Chaucer's wife of Bath's tale, called 'The Canterbury Tale' (1778):

> Here nature seem'd to mock Pygmalion's art,
>
> All that proportion, all that form can give,
>
> Venus once more had play'd Prometheus' part,
>
> And bid the beauteous wonder love and live.[138]

Joseph Mitchell and Richard Savage also mention the two stories within a few lines.

> If Life Pygmalion's Iv'ry fir'd,
>
> Divinity your Draughts inspir'd;
>
> For, thro' the shades, Promethean Flame
>
> Kindles your Canvass into Fame (Mitchell, p. 3).[139]

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[136]Henry Travers, 'To Dr * * *', Miscellaneous Poems and Translations (London, 1731), p. 75; James Woodhouse, 'The Lessowes. A Poem', Poems on Sundry Occasions (London, 1764), p. 96.

[137]Pygmalion is even confused with Prometheus in Anna Seward's 'Ode To Poetic Fancy': 'While Zeuxis' pencil, Orpheus' lyre, / Pygmalion's heaven-descended fire, / The smiling pleasures bring.' Anna Seward, The Poetical Works of Anna Seward, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1810), II, 106.

[138]George Ellis, Poetical Tales. By Sir Gregory Gander (Bath, 1778), p. 26.

[139]Richard Savage writes: 'If Life Pygmalion's iv'ry fir'd, / Sure some enamour'd God this draught inspir'd! / Or if you rashly caught Promethean Flame, / Shade the

These early connections between the Prometheus story and the Pygmalion story were later consolidated by the romantics in works like Mary Shelley's Frankenstein (1818). The importance of the Prometheus story for romantic writers has been well documented.[140] The following chapter will concentrate on the significance of the Pygmalion story for romantic writers.

Finally, as is mentioned above, the Pygmalion story developed an association with the wife of Bath's tale. Chaucer's version of this tale did not contain a reference to the Pygmalion story. Dryden, however, included a reference to it in his translation in Fables (1700). The allusion forms part of the description of the metamorphosis of the old woman, whom the knight is compelled to marry, into a beautiful young woman.

He look'd, and saw a Creature heavn'ly Fair,
In bloom of Youth, and of a charming Air.
With Joy he turn'd, and seiz'd her Iv'ry Arm;
And like Pygmalion found the statue warm (Dryden, p. 1717).

Pygmalion's statue is, here, used as it has been many times before, as an example of a beautiful woman. Its use is particularly appropriate here as both stories are about the metamorphosis of a woman. The reference to Pygmalion, at this point in the narrative,

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sweet theft, and mar the beauteous frame!', 'To Mr John Dyer, A Painter' (1724), (Savage, II, 148).

[140]See for example, Burton R. Pollin, 'Philosophical and Literary sources of Frankenstein', Comparative Literature, 17 (1965), 97-108; Christopher Small, Ariel Like a Harpy: Shelley, Mary and 'Frankenstein' (London, 1972).

was included by George Ellis in 'The Canterbury Tale' 1778 (as is seen above).[141]

Although renarrations of the Pygmalion story were out of favour in Britain in the eighteenth century, the story was kept alive in the shorter references of the period. When it returned, writers looked to Rousseau's Pygmalion for inspiration.[142]

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[141]George Ogle's collection of stories from The Canterbury Tales used Dryden's rendering of the tale, calling it 'The Desire of Woman: Or the Wife Of Bath's Tale', and therefore included the Pygmalion reference. George Ogle, The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, Modernis'd By Several Hands (London, 1741), p. 103.

[142]Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Pygmalion. Scène Lyrique (London, 1799), pp. 7-16.

CHAPTER THREE: ROUSSEAU AND THOMAS LOVELL BEDDOES'S 'PYGMALION'

I

In a letter to Thomas Forbes Kelsall (25 April 1825) Thomas Lovell Beddoes acknowledged Rousseau's Pygmalion. Scène Lyrique (1762) as an influence on (or at least a better version of) his narrative poem 'Pygmalion. The Cyprian Statuary' (1823-5):[1]

> I wrote this Pyg stuff this morng. -- what d'ye think of it? Don't look at J. J. Rousseau -- his is much better, because prose. I have not hit at what I aimed at -- the beautiful philosophy of the story -- but have fallen as usual into diffuseness and uninteresting delay.[2]

If we do 'look at' these two versions of the story, we can see that Rousseau's Pygmalion play sheds some light on what Beddoes was trying to achieve in his poem. Rousseau's

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[1]Thomas Lovell Beddoes, Plays and Poems, ed. by Henry Wolfgang Donner (London, 1950), pp. 98-104 (Hereafter 'Beddoes').

[2]Thomas Lovell Beddoes, The Works Of Thomas Lovell Beddoes, ed. by Henry Wolfgang Donner (Oxford, 1935), p. 601 (Hereafter 'Works'). The Pygmalion poem is mentioned again in further letters to Thomas Forbes Kelsall. On 4 December 1825, Beddoes asked Kelsall to consider printing 'Death's Jest-Book' with 'Pygmalion' (p. 610), and on 15 May 1837, Beddoes wrote: 'Pygmalion is, if I recollect aright, considerable trash' (p. 662).

version of the story not only directed some of the ways in which Beddoes developed the Pygmalion narrative -- such as his choice of images -- but also encouraged him to attempt an exploration of the concepts of 'self' and 'other'. The influence of Rousseau's poem does not, of course, prevent Beddoes's poem from exhibiting a number of quintessentially Beddoesian themes: for example the identification of love with death.

Beddoes was not the only British writer to have been influenced by Rousseau's Pygmalion in the early eighteen hundreds. Leigh Hunt considered the play to be 'exquisitely managed'.[3] Hunt published a review and an English translation of the text in 1820. Shelley mentioned Pygmalion in the thirty-fifth stanza of 'The Witch of Atlas' (1820).[4] We know that Hazlitt was interested in Rousseau's La Nouvelle Héloise. This work, along with Pygmalion and the Confessions, inspired his story of unrequited love,

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[3]Leigh Hunt, 'Rousseau's Pygmalion', The Indicator, 1 (1820), 241-246 (p. 241). For convenience, when quoting from Rousseau's Pygmalion I shall use Hunt's English translation in the body of the text, including Rousseau's original only in the footnotes. Where Hunt has not translated Rousseau literally, insertions will be added in square brackets.

[4]'Then by strange art she kneaded fire and snow / Together, tempering the repugnant mass / With liquid love -- all things grow / Through which the harmony of love can pass; / And a fair Shape out of her hands did flow -- / A living Image, which did far surpass / In beauty that Bright shape of vital stone / Which drew the heart out of Pygmalion'. Percy Bysshe Shelley, The Complete Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley, ed. by Thomas Hutchinson (London, 1965), p. 379. Shelley, who had almost certainly read Rousseau's Pygmalion and Leigh Hunt's review and translation (see Edward Duffy, Rousseau in England. The Context of Shelley's Critique of the Enlightenment (California, 1979), p. 133), included Rousseau as a character in his final and unfinished poem 'The Triumph of Life' (composed in 1822 and published in 1824). Beddoes was an avid reader of Shelley and corresponded with Mary Shelley after Shelley's death. It is possible to see some connections between 'The Triumph of Life' and Beddoes's Pygmalion.

Liber Amoris; or The New Pygmalion (1823).[5] In this autobiographical work, Hazlitt compared a young girl, with whom he was in love, to a marble statue: 'You look at this moment heavenly-soft, saint-like, or resemble some graceful marble statue, in the moon's pale ray!' (Hazlitt, IX, 103, my italics). Hazlitt also wrote about the Pygmalion story in Characteristics, which was published in the same year (Hazlitt, IX, 212). Pygmalion was mentioned briefly by Robert Southey, in 'Sonnet 4: The Poet Expresses His Feelings Respecting A Portrait In Delia's Parlour', which formed part of The Amatory Poems of Abel Shufflebottom (1799). This sonnet cycle was loosely based on Samuel Daniel's Delia sonnets. The poem follows traditional lines in equating the Pygmalion story with a tale of unrequited love.[6]

Rousseau's scène lyrique popularized the Pygmalion story once again in Britain, and, because of his emphasis on the synthesis of art and life, the sublime, and the elevation of the artistic personality, the story became interesting for the British romantics.[7] Beddoes's poem in particular is a melting pot for all of these ideas. There are, however, some important differences between Beddoes and Rousseau which highlight the lack of

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[5]William Hazlitt, The Complete Works of William Hazlitt, ed. by P. P. Howe, 21 vols (London and Toronto, 1930-1934), IX (1932), 99-162.

[6]Robert Southey, The Poetical Works of Robert Southey, 10 vols (London, 1837-8), II, 117-120 (120). Byron also alluded briefly to the Pygmalion story in Don Juan (1819-1824). The references are in the sixth and ninth cantos of the poem. The longer of the two references forms part of a description of Dudù: 'She looked (this simile's quite new) just cut / From marble, like Pygmalion's statue waking, / The Mortal and the Marble still at strife, / And timidly expanding into life' (George Gordon Noel Byron, Byron's Don Juan: A Variorum Edition, ed. by Truman Guy Steffan and Willis W. Pratt, 4 vols (Austin, Texas, 1957), III, 27). The second reference is in III, 208.

[7]Rousseau's play may be called a 'monodrama', a term not in use until the 1850s when it was used of Tennyson's Maud, but nonetheless one which fits our purpose here.

uniformity (and variety of development) in the romantic movement. Rousseau's play was written during the earliest stirrings of romanticism whereas Beddoes's poem was composed at the conclusion of the movement.

II

In terms of narrative construction, the influence of Rousseau can certainly be felt on Beddoes's poem. Neither of the renarrations of the story, unlike Ovid's version, have identification scenes.[8] There are other notable elements found in Ovid which are omitted by both texts. For example, there is no scene in which Pygmalion gives presents to the statue; Pygmalion does not go to the temple to pray for a woman like his marble statue, or thank Venus after the event. As well as omitting the parts of Ovid's version which Rousseau left out, Beddoes inserted actions which are found in Rousseau but not in Ovid. Both authors emphasized the loneliness and isolation of Pygmalion. The deity takes a peripheral role in both narratives, and the texts end dramatically after the transformation scene.

Naturally, Beddoes made some alterations to Rousseau's version. For example, the original setting for the Pygmalion story in Ovid's version of the tale was Cyprus. Rousseau changed this to Tyre. J. L. Carr suggests that Rousseau had confused Pygmalion, the king of Cyprus, with Pygmalion, the prince of Tyre, who was the brother

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[8]Such scenes discuss, by means of an introduction to the narrative, Pygmalion's position in the society in which he lives.

of Dido.[9] When Rousseau's Pygmalion was translated into English, anonymously, in 1779, the translation noted in its 'advertisement' that Rousseau had set his play in the wrong place.[10] The translator informs us that he or she had

> in Conformity to the Original, represented Pygmalion the Sculptor as King of Tyre: Tho' it seems to be settled on unquestionable Authority, that he was a very different Personage, and lived at Cyprus, four hundred Years before the Tyrian Monarch of that Name (Anonymous, p. 2).

Leigh Hunt did not know of this translation when he undertook the task himself: 'We are not aware that this piece of Rousseau's has hitherto appeared in English' (Hunt, p. 241). Neither did Hunt know of a more literal translation by William Mason which was published in 1811.[11] Both of these translations kept to Rousseau's setting. Beddoes, however, corrected Rousseau's mistake (or preference) and situated his own poem in Cyprus. We do not know for certain whether Beddoes had read the anonymous translation with its correction, or took his information directly from Ovid himself. The

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[9]J. L. Carr, 'Pygmalion and the Philosophes. The Animated Statue in Eighteenth-Century France', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 23 (1960), 239-255 (p. 240). Carr notes that Fontenelle's version of the story (1764) made the same mistake, even though eighteenth-century dictionaries distinguished the two Pygmalions. Interestingly, Christine de Pisan, in Épître d'Othéa (c. 1400), set her version of the story in Sidon, the twin of Tyre.

[10]Anonymous, Pygmalion, A Poem (London, 1779).

[11]William Mason, 'Pigmalion, A Lyrical Scene', The Works of William Mason, 4 vols (London, 1811), II, 365-377. The author notes that the translation was published here for the first time (p. 365).

latter is more likely as Leigh Hunt mentioned that he did not know of an English translation of Rousseau's monodrama, and so it is doubtful that it was widely available.[12]

Beddoes's narrative differs from Rousseau's in other details. Rousseau named the statue Galathée. Beddoes, like Ovid, did not give the statue a name. The first British use of this name for the statue was not until 1871, when W. S. Gilbert published his play Pygmalion and Galatea.[13] Beddoes followed Ovid in his description of the blush which occurs as the statue comes to life. Rousseau did not refer to it. Further, in Rousseau's drama, the scene opens after the statue has been sculpted. Beddoes followed Ovid in making the sculpting of the statue a part of the action of the poem. It is clear from these changes that Beddoes drew on Ovid's version as well Rousseau's for his renarration of the tale.

There are differences of emphasis in each text. Rousseau concentrated on Pygmalion's reaction to the statue. His play takes the form of a monologue which follows the changing moods of the artist as he contemplates his work. Pygmalion ranges from expressing doubt about his ability, to complete belief in himself. Beddoes was, on the other hand more interested in describing the surroundings, and lingered over the details

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[12]The advertisement to the anonymous translation of 1779 suggests that it 'was intended only for the Closet' (Anonymous, p. 2).

[13]W. S. Gilbert, Pygmalion and Galatea (London, 1872).

of the sculpting episode. His style has been described as Keatsian.[14] Rousseau's drama has a shorter time sequence and a single location. (It is, of course, a one-act play.)

Beddoes advocated that the artist should not write about himself. Rousseau's play on the other hand was more autobiographical, and at the same time promoting the extensive involvement of the artist in his art.[15] Hunt suggested that 'Pygmalion's self predominates over the idea of his mistress, because the author's self pressed upon him while he wrote' (Hunt, p. 241). The play's philosophy points to the artist putting himself into his art and enjoying the result. The persona of Rousseau's Pygmalion is confused with that of his statue. When the statue comes to life she touches herself and says: 'It is myself' (Hunt, p. 246);[16] when touching a nearby marble statue, she says that it is not herself. Finally, Pygmalion kisses the statue-woman, and she concludes: 'Ah it is I again' (Hunt, p. 246).[17] Her statement is ambiguous; she implies both that Pygmalion is an

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[14]James Reeves, for example, notes that 'the long verse-narrative Pygmalion, is very reminiscent of Keats, and recalls verse-narratives on mythical subjects such as Endymion'. Five Late Romantic Poets, ed. by James Reeves (London, 1974), p. 158. Philip A. Anderson called the poem 'a Keatsian narrative poem concerning artistic creation'. Encyclopedia of Romanticism. Culture in Britain, 1780s-1830s, ed. by Laura Dabundo (London, 1992), p. 32. Thomas Forbes Kelsall, to whom Beddoes sent the Pygmalion poem, wrote to Admiral F. A. Maxse on 10 June 1869 saying that the poem 'has a certain affinity to the Greek vein of Keats'. The Browning Box, ed. by Henry Wolfgang Donner (Oxford, 1935), p. 85.

[15]John Hummel argues that 'even when it is not overtly autobiographical, Rousseau's work is never very far removed from autobiographical concerns, and we cannot ignore them. . . . The Pygmalion is Rousseau's first attempt to come to terms, as an artist, with the experience of his affair with Sophie d'Houdetot and his quarrel with the philosophes'. John H. Hummel, 'Rousseau's Pygmalion and the Confessions', Neophilogus, 56 (1972), 273-284 (p. 273).

[16]'C'est moi' (Rousseau, p. 15).

[17]'Ah, encore moi' (Rousseau, p. 16).

extension of her, and that by being touched she can feel herself again. In a letter to Thomas Forbes Kelsall, Beddoes described the dangers of putting oneself into a work of art:

> I will not venture on a psychological self-portraiture, fearing, and I believe with sufficient reason, to be betrayed into affectation, dissimulation, or some other alluring shape of lying. I believe that all autobiographical sketches are the result of mere vanity -- not excepting those of St. Augustin and Rousseau -- falsehood in the mask and mantle of truth. . . . How sleek, smooth-tongued, paradisiacal a deluder art thou, sweet self-conceit! (Works, p. 664).

This attitude is reflected in Beddoes's portrayal of the character of Pygmalion.

There are also many points of comparison between the two narratives. By looking at these, we can begin to appreciate what Beddoes owed to Rousseau. Broadly, Beddoes followed Rousseau in suggesting that there was an important connection between the artist and his statue. Beddoes's Pygmalion says: 'is there not gone / My life into her which I pasture on, / Dead where she is not? (Beddoes, p. 103). Rousseau's Pygmalion says: 'It shall suffice me to live in her' (Hunt, p. 245).[18] Both poets emphasized the greatness of the artistic personality. Beddoes described his Pygmalion, metaphorically, as a lamp which poured its 'light creative' onto the statue: 'With light creative he went in alone / And

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[18]'Il me suffira de vivre en elle' (Rousseau, p. 14).

poured it warm upon the growing stone' (Beddoes, p. 101). He is like an artificial sun causing the 'stone bud' to flower (p. 101). Pygmalion's creativity is likened to that of a god. There is a suggestion in both texts that Pygmalion's creative act is his doom: 'Thou hast done / That glory which has undone thee for ever' (Beddoes, p. 101); 'Ah! let Pygmalion die, to live in Galatea' (Hunt, p. 244).[19]

Both Rousseau and Beddoes use the Pygmalion story as a metaphor for the close relationship between the artist and his art. However, Beddoes's tale concludes with the failure of the imagination to bring about such a close connection within the world of experience. (The relevant opposite of the world of experience for Beddoes is, as we shall see, the world of death.) This failure occurs primarily because Beddoes could not wholly believe that the author should openly put himself into his work to achieve the 'sublime' connection of subject and object.[20] Beddoes's Pygmalion achieves a living art (and a connection of subject and object) only through the death of the authorial personality of Pygmalion. For Beddoes, the author shines on his work with 'light creative'; he does not use it, as Rousseau did, as a mirror which reflects himself. Rousseau's Pygmalion says: 'I am intoxicated with self-love; I adore myself in that which I have made' (Hunt, p. 243).[21]

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[19]'Ah! que Pygmalion meure pour vivre dans Galathée' (Rousseau, p. 13).

[20]Edward Duffy writes that what Shelley sees 'as a characteristic of Rousseauean reverie is its obliteration of the lines ordinarily drawn up between the perceiving subject and the object perceived, what in more current parlance one might call dissolution of ego-consciousness. Taking one completely out of one's self, "reverie" denotes the absolutized form of that state of consciousness, the external operation of which is usually described in Shelley's empiricist diction as the sympathetic imagination' (pp. 113-114).

[21]'Je m'adore dans ce que j'ai fait' (Rousseau, p. 10).

Both artists emphasize the solitude and isolation of their Pygmalions to achieve a sense of the artist's heightened state. Rousseau emphasized Pygmalion's self-awareness by making him self-analytical. Pygmalion constantly talks about himself and his personal feelings. He is wrapped up in his own ego. The nature of the genre gives scope for this effect. Until the statue talks at the end of the piece, Pygmalion is the only character in a one act play. Though he is isolated in one room, he is physically present, and communicative. The statue is his touchstone.

Beddoes's Pygmalion, on the other hand, is introverted. He is removed from his audience by the intervention of a narrator, and is alone and uncommunicative. 'Lonely Pygmalion' is 'self inhabited', 'his mind had space / And none went near'; he is the 'centre / Of an inspired round', and 'the middle spark / Of a great moon setting aside the dark and cloudy people' (Beddoes, p. 99).[22] In Beddoes's poem Pygmalion does not communicate with any one except Venus. Images of the isolating sea and the solitary moon are prominent. Through his solitariness, Pygmalion achieves the self-awareness which enables him to create: 'His soul was bright and lonely as the sun / like which he could create' (Beddoes, p. 99). Companionship comes to Beddoes's Pygmalion, however, only when he dies.

Both Rousseau and Beddoes discuss the transformation of the statue in similar terms. Rousseau's Pygmalion employs the rhetoric of self-annihilation (for example: 'My

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[22]A similar image of the solitary figure parting the multitude, which is described as cloud-like, can be found in Shelley's critique of Rousseau, 'The Triumph of Life' (1824): 'The crowd gave way, and I arose aghast, / Or seemed to rise, so mighty was the trance, / And saw, like clouds upon the thunder-blast, / The million with fierce song and maniac dance' (Shelley, p. 510).

heart, consumed by her charms, longs to quit my own body to give warmth to her's' (Hunt, p. 244)).[23] Beddoes's Pygmalion literally destroys himself. Both authors are aiming at the same point: the linking of the transformation of the statue with the removal of the boundary between art and life. This destruction is to be a sublime or epiphanic moment. Rousseau's Pygmalion only toys with the idea of overcoming the distinction between himself and the statue by giving up his life to her:

> I imagine in my delirium that I could spring from myself, that I could give her my life, that I could animate her with my soul. Ah, let Pygmalion die, to live in Galatea! -- What do I say, O heaven? If I were she, I should no longer see her; I should not be he that loves her! -- No, let my Galatea live; but let me not become Galatea. Oh! let me always be another, always to wish to be herself, [to see her], to love her, to be beloved (Hunt, p. 244).[24]

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[23]'Mon coeur embrasé par ses charmes, voudroit quitter mon corps pour aller échauffer le sien' (Rousseau, p. 12).

[24]'Je crois dans mon délire pouvoir m'élancer hors de moi. Je crois pouvoir lui donner ma vie & l'animer de mon ame. Ah! que Pygmalion meure pour vivre dans Galathée -- que dis-je, ô ciel! si j'étois elle, je ne la verrois pas, je ne serois pas celiu que l'aime! non, que ma Galathée vive, & que je ne sois pas elle. Ah! que je sois toujours un autre, pour vouloir toujours être elle, pour la voir, pour l'aimer, pour en être aimé' (Rousseau, p.13).

This is merely a gesture towards the idea of self-annihilation, and Pygmalion quickly moves on to another theme. It is a gesture, however, which Beddoes made firm at the end of his poem.

Beddoes leaves us with an ambiguous ending: Pygmalion and the statue-woman are united on a plane which is not in the world of normal experience. By line 219 it is clear that Pygmalion is dying: 'His eyes have a wild starry grace / Of heaven into whose depth of depths he's dying' (Beddoes, p. 104). The final stanza divides easily into two parts. The first eight lines express actions which are sudden; the last four lines express actions which are prolonged. The transformation is over after the first eight lines of this stanza and a new situation emerges in the final four lines: Pygmalion and the statue-woman are together. This stanza is an example of what Harold Bloom called 'Romantic apocalypticism'.[25]

> The postulate of Beddoes' poetry is a world in which every metaphor resolves itself as another figure of death. For Beddoes the separation between subject and object is bridged not by any imaginative act, as in Blake, Wordsworth, and Shelley, but by dying. Memory conquers death for life in Wordsworth, while Blake and the Shelley of Prometheus tried to see death as only another dimension of life. . . . But Beddoes abandoned hope in the earth's renewal. In him the apocalyptic impulse of Romanticism

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[25]Harold Bloom, The Visionary Company (London 1961), p. 429

> degenerated into the most ironic of its identifications, and death and the imagination became one (Bloom, pp. 433-434).

This act of dying has its origins in Rousseau's gesture towards Pygmalion's destruction. The images in the last stanza of Beddoes's poem are certainly apocalyptic. The light is extinguished, there is a flash of light, a loud noise and 'roof after roof the palace rends asunder' (p. 104).[26] The poem has a positive ending, since the artist and the statue share the same world.

III

The earliest British romantic response to Rousseau's Pygmalion came in the form of Leigh Hunt's review and translation of the text. Hunt read the play as a piece about the vanity of an artist's self-regard manifested in his work. I have followed Hunt's lead and read the text as an exploration of the role of the artist in the production of art.

Although Hunt thought highly of Rousseau's Pygmalion, he took issue with the egocentricity implied by Rousseau's account of the creative process. He wished to modify Rousseau's portrayal of Pygmalion as an artist who fell in love with his statue because it was his own work, objecting to the narcissistic implications of the renarration.

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[26]This description of death is not a negative one; it contrasts with Beddoes's earlier more negative description of death in the prayer to Venus: 'the grave. . . is a fearful coop / Dark, cold, and horrible -- a blinded loop / In Pluto's madhouse' green and wormy wall. / O save me from 't; let me not die, like all, / For I am but like one' (Beddoes, p. 102).

Pygmalion's narcissism is brought out in lines like: 'I am never weary of admiring my own work; I am intoxicated with self love' (Hunt, p. 243).[27] Hunt argued that Pygmalion should sculpt a woman with whom he could fall in love because she represented a human being and not just his own genius.[28] Rousseau makes Pygmalion 'fall in love, almost out of vanity' (Hunt, p. 241). Hunt suggested that Pygmalion should have made his statue and then wished 'that he could have met with such a living being' (p. 241). He saw a necessity for art to be connected in some way to the natural world.

Rousseau's dependence on an internal ideal generated by the artist has something in common with the British neoclassical view that art best represented an ideal. The ideal theory, as it has come to be known, is expounded clearly by Sir Joshua Reynolds in his Discourses.[29] It was an aesthetic which allowed nature to be reinterpreted according to the artist's conception of beauty, elevating the status of the artist enormously. Reynolds's first premise, a premise with which the romantics would have agreed, was that art should imitate nature. He qualified this with the view that the artist must not simply imitate nature, but should rather imitate the general idea of nature: 'All the arts receive their perfection from an ideal beauty, superior to what is to be found in individual nature'

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[27]'Je ne puis me lasser d'admirer mon ouvrage; je m'enivre d'amour-propre' (Rousseau, p. 10).

[28]Rousseau's interest in narcissism is confirmed by Paul de Man, who notes that in an earlier work, Narcisse, Rousseau tells the story of Valère who is so vain that he falls in love with his own portrait thinly disguised as a woman. Paul de Man, Allegories of Reading. Figural Language in Rousseau, Nietzsche, Rilke, and Proust (New Haven and London, 1979), p. 166.

[29]Joshua Reynolds, The Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds, ed. by Roger Fry (London, 1905).

(Reynolds, Discourses, p. 50). (This seems to be one of the underlying themes of the Pygmalion story.) Reynolds saw all individualities of Nature as 'deformities'; it was the artist's task to correct them in accordance with an idea of beauty (Discourses, p. 54).

This kind of debate is not alien to Rousseau's Pygmalion. Rousseau elevated the status of the artist further by implying that Galathée was an extension of the artist's own self. Emphasis on this kind of individualism, however, leads to a breakdown of the distinction, so central to the neoclassical aesthetic, between subject and object (that is, the artist and the object his or her work represents). Hazlitt, for example, with his concept of 'gusto', makes just this kind of Rousseauean move. 'Gusto' was Hazlitt's word for an aesthetic which synthesized the subject and the object, preserving the individuality or essence of both entities, and at the same time using the nature of one to reveal the nature of the other. The artist's imagination, then, is responsible for combining the internal and the external. External objects are moulded by the

> thoughts and feelings, into an infinite variety of shapes and combinations of power. This language is not the less true to nature, because it is false in point of fact; but so much more true and natural, if it conveys the impression which the object under the influence of passion makes on the mind (Hazlitt, V, 4).

In the case of Hazlitt, this type of aesthetic is based on the idea the artist is not distinct from nature. Hazlitt stressed the complexity and variety of nature, and invariably linked this to the individuality of mankind.

Though the effect clearly did not impress Leigh Hunt, other British romantic writers favoured an aesthetic which saw the artistic personality in a similar light to Rousseau. Most notable is Coleridge who wrote: 'poetry without egotism [is] comparatively uninteresting'.[30] It is easy to see the community of interest between Hazlitt's account of the breakdown of any real distinction between subject and object, and Rousseau's suggestion, in Pygmalion, that the artist's work is the artist's re-creation of himself; that the work of art is not an object that can be properly distinguished from the artist. Hazlitt showed his approval of Rousseau's view of the Pygmalion story (that the statue is the creation of another self) in Characteristics (1823):

> It is impossible to love entirely, without being loved again. Otherwise, the fable of Pygmalion would have no meaning. Let any one be ever so much enamoured of a woman who does not requite his passion, and let him consider what he feels when he finds her scorn or indifference turning to mutual regard, the thrill, the glow of rapture, the melting of two hearts into

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[30]The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. by Kathleen Coburn, 4 vols (London, 1957), I, note 62 G.55.

one, the creation of another self in her -- and he will own that he was before only half in love! (Hazlitt, IX, 212, my italics).[31]

Beddoes also used his Pygmalion poem to argue for an identity of subject and object; though he did not believe that Rousseau's self-referential scène lyrique was the way to achieve this identity, agreeing with Leigh Hunt that there was too much 'self' in Rousseau's text. Even so, Beddoes did not suggest, as Hunt did, that a philosophy asserting an identity of subject and object was fundamentally misguided.

As one would expect, there are some obvious differences between Beddoes's early nineteenth-century descriptive, narrative poem and Rousseau's eighteenth-century conversational style which, to use Leigh Hunt's words, is 'declamatory and full of ejaculation' (Hunt, p. 241). It is a style which, Hunt suggests, might not appeal to English tastes (p. 241). The most obvious difference is in the choice of genre. Beddoes wrote a narrative poem and Rousseau a 'Scène Lyrique' (or playlet) which is largely a monologue spoken by the character Pygmalion. (Beddoes wrote that Rousseau's Pygmalion was 'much better because prose'.)

There is, however, one striking stylistic convergence between the two works, a convergence which I see as relevant for this issue of the fusion of subject and object: both Beddoes and Rousseau made use of stark contrasts and the juxtaposition of opposites. Beddoes went further than Rousseau, using antinomy as well. Both writers used contrast

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[31]There are strong overtones of Liber Amoris (1823) in this passage.

and juxtaposition as a way of expressing the possibility of reconciling what is contradictory. This is therefore a stylistic pointer to the climax of the narrative: the transformation of art to life.

The extensive use of antinomy and juxtaposition is not part of Ovid's version of the story. It is therefore very likely that Beddoes's employment of this device was influenced by Rousseau's version. In particular, Beddoes opts for Rousseau's choice of linked images of heat and cold, art and nature, man and goddess, and life and death. These contrasts all point towards a similar end: warmth, nature, man and life are all linked; and cold, art, goddess and death are linked, thus highlighting the difference between the world of the statue, with its added associations of rigidity, sterility, and lack of love; and the world of the artist with its creativity, warmth, movement, and love.

In Allegories of Reading, Paul de Man suggested that Rousseau had produced a 'system of antinomies that confront each other at the beginning of the play' (De Man, p. 178). However, if we look closely at Rousseau's use of images of heat and cold in the play, the contrasts do not necessarily imply a contradiction. This form, therefore, cannot be termed antinomy. For example, Rousseau's Pygmalion says: 'All my fire is extinguished, my imagination is frozen; the marble comes cold from my hands' (Hunt, p. 242).[32]

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[32]'Tout mon feu s'est éteint, mon imagination s'est glacée, le marbre sort froid de mes mains' (Rousseau, p. 7).

> What arrows of fire seem to issue from this object to burn my senses, and to carry away with my soul unto their source! Alas she remains immoveable and cold, while my heart, consumed by her charms, longs to quit my own body to give warmth to hers. . . . Celestial Venus . . . all thy flames are concentrated in my heart, and the coldness of death remains upon this marble (Hunt, pp. 244-245). [33]

Here, the qualities of heat and cold have been attributed to two separate entities. As there is no contradiction implied, the images are being used as contrasts.

Beddoes, unlike Rousseau, uses antinomy in conjunction with contrast. Many of his descriptions imply a contradiction. For example, the statue is referred to as a 'stone bud' (Beddoes, p. 101). Pygmalion calls the statue 'my sweet rock -- my only wife' (Beddoes, p. 102), implying that she is both animate and inanimate at once. The marble slab from which the statue is carved is described in terms of both warmth and cold: 'the cold stone' is 'less porous than a lip which kisses melt / And diamond hard' (p. 100). While pointing out the hardness and the smoothness of the marble, Beddoes compares the texture of the cold surface to the texture of a warm lip which has been kissed.[34] These

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[33]'Quels traits de feu semblent sortir de cet objet pour embraser mes sens, et retourner avec mon ame à leur source! Hélas! il reste immobile et froid, tandis que mon coeur embrasé par ses charmes, voudroit quitter mon corps pour aller échauffer le sien' (Rousseau, p. 12). 'Tous tes feux sont concentrés dans mon coeur, & le froid de la mort reste sur ce marbre' (Rousseau, p. 13).

[34]Hot and cold contrasts in the poem are extended to include the sun and moon, light and dark.

contrasts produce a thematic link with the philosophy of 'self' and 'other' in the poem. Beddoes's use of contradiction, in addition to contrast, looks forward to the more negative result of his version of the narrative.

IV

To conclude, Beddoes's rendering of Rousseau's ideas into narrative poetry exhibits a distancing from Rousseau's attempt to bring the characters to 'life'. The change from conversational style to descriptive narrative reflects an important shift in emphasis within the story on the part of Beddoes. Beddoes shared Rousseau's conviction that the story could be used to explore the fusion of subject and object. Both authors saw the transformation of the statue as an epiphanic moment when boundaries and distinctions could be overcome. However, Beddoes had a different view of the value of the autobiographical in art. This explains some of his alterations to the story. Beddoes's interest in death, a theme which enters much of his work, forces him to restrict the fusion of subject and object to the moment of death.[35] Beddoes accused himself, in the letter to Kelsall (25 April 1825) of having been distracted from his purpose in writing his Pygmalion poem. His digressions are mainly descriptive asides. This spirit of digression,

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[35]For example love and death are linked in The Improvisatore, Romance of the Lily, The Phantom Wooer, and The Bride's Tragedy. Hiram Kellogg Johnson suggests that in Beddoes's work, perfect union between lovers can be found in death. 'This idea adumbrated in his earliest works, reappears repeatedly. Time and again we find lovers bidding their mistresses to that . . . "private place, the grave"'. Hiram Kellogg Johnson, 'Thomas Lovell Beddoes', The Psychiatric Quarterly (New York, 1943), p. 13.

amongst other things, the poem shares with Rousseau's vacillating monologue which wanders here and there, following the moods and thoughts of the hero.

CHAPTER FOUR: ADAM'S DREAM: POST-ROMANTIC RENARRATIONS OF THE PYGMALION STORY

1. Introduction

1.1. Post-Romanticism

At various points throughout the nineteenth century, the Pygmalion story was retold by writers who had an interest in the romantics -- poets whom we could plausibly label 'post-romantic'. Writers who can be identified as having done this are: Arthur Henry Hallam, James Payn, William Cox Bennett, Ernest Hartley Coleridge, William Hurrell Mallock and Frederick Tennyson. I shall also discuss two prose versions of the story: the first is a short story written anonymously in 1838, and the second is part of a novel by George MacDonald. These renarrations of the Pygmalion story are quite distinctive as a group, and have several things in common. All of them change the pattern of the narrative from its Ovidian form, and all of them make some kind of quasi-religious or philosophical point. They each express an interest in the psychological state of the artist, Pygmalion, and emphasize the ideal qualities of the statue. Five of the six poems I shall be discussing in this chapter were written largely as monologues. Instead of a descriptive narrative poem, generally, we are given an introspective exploration of the mind of Pygmalion.

The most striking feature of this group of renarrations is the insertion of a new episode into the story: Pygmalion is described as entering into a dream-state and has a vision of the statue. These poets explored the psychological state of the artist during

this creative vision, and the statue became an embodiment of the dream or vision. This idea of embodying the dream in art is at the heart of romantic philosophy.

According to E. B. Burgum, anyone 'who seeks to define Romanticism is entering a hazardous occupation which has claimed many victims'.[1] The definer of 'post-romanticism' has an equally difficult task. It is well known, for example, that any writer on the romantics has to acknowledge, as A. O. Lovejoy put it, 'the plurality of Romanticisms'.[2] The term 'post-romanticism' also has many definitions. While the term is hard to define, I shall attempt to illustrate the ways in which I think it can be and has been used. It can, for example, be used in a very broad sense to describe all those who came after the romantics. The word is, however, more commonly used to describe two types of reaction to romanticism: that of those who continued to expound the theories of romanticism, but were not part of the first or second phases of romanticism, and that of those who developed romanticism in a significant way. The first type of reaction, that of copying the romantics, is best seen in the juvenilia of poets who later developed romanticism, for example, the early poems of Tennyson and Browning, and in the works of very late romantics such as Thomas Lovell Beddoes.

Donald Thomas, in his recent study of the post-romantics, concentrated on the second reaction, defining post-romanticism as a development of romanticism, rather than mere imitation of romanticism.

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[1]E. B. Burgum in Kenyon Review, 1941, quoted in Lilian Furst, Romanticism. The Critical Idiom (London, 1969), p. 1.

[2]A. O. Lovejoy, 'On the Discrimination of Romanticisms' in English Romantic Poets: Modern Essays in Criticism, ed. by M. H. Abrams (New York, 1960), p. 9.

> The period of post-romanticism was not, after all, to be a mere continuation of the romantic revival of 1798-1824. It was a development in some ways profoundly different and often disturbingly so. . . . It was not a matter of style. The post-romantics were children of a modern world.[3]

Thomas describes this style as one in which 'the imperfect, the inconclusive, the grotesque, and the morally uneasy played an increasing part' (Thomas, p. 7). Thomas confines his study to a discussion of Tennyson, Browning, Arnold, Swinburne and Clough, whom he sees as heirs to the Romantic tradition. The juvenilia of these poets owed a great deal to the romantics: 'if Browning began as a self-proclaimed disciple of Shelley, then Tennyson seemed to owe a good deal to Keats' (Thomas, p. 11). The plurality of post-romanticism(s) is also evident in Thomas's book. He saw Clough as a disciple of Byron, and Arnold of Wordsworth and Keats. Swinburne was not paired with anyone (though Baudelaire is mentioned in connection with him).

Thomas examines what he sees as the main concerns of the post-romantics. One of these concerns was an interest in the human mind and emotions. This category was fairly broad, and included areas such as romantic confessional poetry:

> Of the facets of Victorian poetry that owed most to romantic innovation, the confessional or autobiographical mode of writing

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[3]Donald Thomas, The Post-Romantics (London, 1990), p. 7. Having said that post-romanticism was not a 'matter of style', Thomas does concede later on in his study that post-romanticism was a 'new style' (Thomas, p. 8).

> appeared almost universally. . . . Poetry as mood or state of mind was important (Thomas, p. 8).

Another important part of this main category was an interest in strange or bizarre minds. This he qualified by saying that

> By no means all mental states portrayed in post-romantic poetry were of madness, uncertainty, delusion, or alienation. Yet these seem to be characteristic of the new style as its critics pointed out in the case of Tennyson's Maud, Browning's dramatic monologues, or even the interior debates of Clough's poetry (Thomas, p. 8).

An interest in the mind and self, then, came directly from the romantics; in particular it came from Wordsworth and Rousseau. The post-romantic development of the romantic interest in the mind and the emotions was, according to Thomas, the interest in unconventional or unusual mental states: 'The great subject of the moderns was to be the grotesque, as a rival to the sublime' (Thomas, p. 5). I would argue that it was not only the development of this romantic category into the sublime-rivalling grotesque, but also a concentration on three other things: (i) an exploration of the human mind through dream; (ii) the use of dream as an inspiration for art, a theme which clearly has its origins in the first category; and, to a lesser extent, (iii) the use of the soul as a sensing organ -- a conscious soul.

Pater's description of Leonardo da Vinci's Gioconda, or Mona Lisa (also Thomas's example) is a case in point. For Thomas, Pater was interested in 'the

bizarre, rather the than the beautiful, the grotesque rather than the sublime' (Thomas, p. 6). But Pater's emphasis on dream as an inspiration for the artist cannot be ignored.

> From childhood we see this image defining itself on the fabric of his [Leonardo's] dreams; and but for express historical testimony, we might fancy that this was but his ideal lady embodied and beheld at last. What was the relationship of a living Florentine to this creature of his thought? By what strange affinities had the dream and the person grown thus apart, and yet so closely together? Present from the first incorporeally in Leonardo's brain, dimly traced in the designs of Verrocchio, she is found present at last in Il Gioconda's house. . . . Again, was it in four years and by renewed labour never really completed, or in four months and as by a stroke of magic, that the image was projected?[4]

Thomas recalls the following lines in support of his claim for the importance of the bizarre and grotesque for the post-romantic; I claim, however, that Pater's essay also illustrates the post-romantic interest in the dream-image as an inspiration for art, and the soul as a sensing organ. (I shall underline the part of the quotation which Thomas uses in support of his argument.)

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[4]Walter Pater, Walter Pater. Selected Works, ed. by Richard Aldington (London, 1948), p. 266.

> It is a beauty wrought out from within upon the flesh, the deposit, little cell by cell, of strange thoughts and fantastic reveries and exquisite passions. Set it for a moment beside one of those white Greek goddesses or beautiful women of antiquity, and how would they be troubled by this beauty, into which the soul with all its maladies had passed! (Pater, p. 266).

I do not argue that there is nothing strange or bizarre in Pater's description of the Leonardo, but I do suggest that the dream-image which Pater said the painting embodied, and the suggestion of the sentient soul, are elements which cannot be overlooked. Pater himself identified the importance of dream for the poetry of the post-romantic Dante Gabriel Rossetti: 'Dreamland . . . is to him . . . no mere fancy or figure of speech', dreamland was 'a real country, a veritable expansion of, or addition to, our waking life' (Pater, pp. 92-94). Pater also suggested that Rossetti had an expressive soul.

Having written largely about the importance of dream so far in this section, in support of my claim for the relative importance of the concept of the soul as a sentient organ, I refer to Lothar Hönnighausen's description of what he calls the late romantic use of the word soul. (He regarded the Pre-Raphaelites and the 'Fin de Siècle' writers as 'late romantics'.) Hönnighausen argued that the soul was 'no longer the soul of the Christian mystical tradition but is a specifically late romantic organ which distills a new spirituality from sublimated sensual temptations'.[5] I think that this is partly true

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[5]Lothar Hönnighausen, The Symbolist Tradition in English Literature. A Study of Pre-Raphaelite and 'Fin de Siècle', European Studies in English Literature (Cambridge, 1988), p. 212.

for the post-romantics I discuss here. The soul is certainly not 'the soul of the Christian mystical tradition' (with the exception of E. H. Coleridge's religious version of the Pygmalion story, and the discussion of the monster's soul in 'The New Frankenstein'); it is a specific organ which needs some other definition in the context of this type of poetry. In the texts which I go on to discuss, it is not 'sublimated sensual temptations' which characterize this use of the spiritual discourse. It is, rather, an exploration of the internal and unseen worlds. The soul is rarely tempted. It is either conceived as a part of the body, an organ which can experience, for example, hunger, or it is an extension of the mind and can think and feel. The post-romantic interest in the psychology of the soul is best seen in Arthur O'Shaugnessey's poem 'Death', which is from his Epic of Women and Other Poems (1870).

> I close my eyes and see the inward things:
> The strange averted spectre of my soul
> Is sitting undivulged, angelic, whole,
> Beside the dim internal flood that brings
> Mysterious thoughts of dreams or murmurings
> From the immense unknown.[6]

Though the precise nature of post-romanticism is hard to pin down, I am going to take the interest in psychological states as an important aspect of it, and concentrate largely on this category. I would like to include in this category an emphasis on dream as an inspiration for art, and the soul as a sensing organ. These are elements

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[6]This poem is quoted by Lothar Hönnighausen in The Symbolist Tradition, p. 208.

which I have found to be of particular importance to the post-romantic renarrations of the Pygmalion story. I shall not discuss the strange or bizarre elements of post-romanticism (which Thomas considered to be important) -- without thereby intending to prejudice their inclusion in any complete account of post-romanticism.

1.2. Romantic models

The ideas on dream which this group of writers on Pygmalion produced exhibit some striking connections with the models used by the romantics. One version of the romantic dream is based on 'Adam's dream'. This is an idea which was described by Keats in a letter to Benjamin Bailey written on 22 November 1817.

> The imagination may be compared to Adam's dream -- he awoke and found it truth. . . . Imagination and its empyreal reflection is the same as human Life and its spiritual repetition.[7]

Keats referred here to Milton's Paradise Lost (in the eighth book of which Adam describes a vivid dream given to him by God). In this dream Adam sees one of his ribs being taken from his body and Eve being made from it. When he awakes, he finds that his dream has come true and Eve has indeed been created. Adam says that he

> sought repair

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[7]John Keats, Letters of John Keats, ed. by Robert Gittings (Oxford, 1987), p. 37.

Of sleep, which instantly fell on me, called

By nature as in aid, and closed mine eyes.

Mine eyes he closed, but open left the cell

Of fancy my internal sight, by which

Abstract as in a trance methought I saw,

Though sleeping, where I lay, and saw the shape

Still glorious before whom awake I stood,

Who stooping opened my left side, and took

From thence a rib, with cordial spirits warm,

And life-blood streaming fresh; wide was the wound,

But suddenly with flesh filled up and healed:

The rib he formed and fashioned with his hands;

Under his forming hands a creature grew,

Manlike, but different sex, so lovely faire

. . . .

She disappeared, and left me dark, I waked

To find her,[8]

The dream was invented by Milton; there is no mention of it in Genesis.

The 'Adam's dream' figure has close links with a similar romantic phenomenon called 'unconscious invention'.[9] This feature is also relevant to the Pygmalion

[8]The Poems of John Milton, ed. by John Carey and Alastair Fowler (London, 1968), pp. 838-840.

[9]A term used by M. H. Abrams in The Mirror and the Lamp, pp. 214-217.

renarrations. 'Unconscious invention' entailed the poet being freed from the action of creating poetry by being inspired to write automatically. In Paradise Lost the person from whom the new creation was taken was unconscious, yet passively involved in the act of creation, like the poet experiencing unconscious invention. There is still a connection between the two entities: just as Eve came from Adam, so the poem comes from the poet. This idea is very like Shelley's 'unpremeditated art': a term he uses to describe the song of the Skylark and his poetic ideal in 'Ode to a Skylark'. William Blake was particularly interested in this function of the imagination. He wrote of his poem Milton in a letter to Thomas Butts on 15 April 1803:

> I have written this Poem from immediate Dictation, twelve or sometimes twenty or thirty lines at a time, without Premeditation & even against my Will; the Time it has taken in writing was thus render'd Non Existent, & an immense Poem Exists which seems to be the Labour of a long Life, all produc'd without Labour or Study.[10]

The other romantic idea about dream concentrated more on the visionary side of dreams. This model was described by poets and writers as a powerful force which did not necessarily work like rational thought, but could, nevertheless, be transposed into poetry. This second type of creative, imaginative experience involved closing off some or all of the senses and escaping into a visionary world. The description of the vision was often accompanied by inner sense figures: a vocabulary used to emphasize

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[10]William Blake, The Complete Works of William Blake, ed. by Geoffrey Keynes (London, 1966), p. 823.

the ability of the mind to sense in the way that the ordinary senses do. The inner sense was often described in language which would be appropriate for the external or ordinary senses. Coleridge and Wordsworth made much use of this type of imaginative experience and its accompanying language of inner sense.[11]

Mary Shelley's Frankenstein, provides a good illustration of the way in which romantics used these two dream models together. This text is particularly pertinent here because of its thematic links with the Pygmalion story. In her introduction of 1831, Mary Shelley described the way in which she thought of the story of Frankenstein before going to sleep. She wrote about going into a state in which her creative imagination worked 'unbidden', that is, automatically; this suggests the Adam's dream model. A visionary world is also described in which her inner sense took on the attributes of the outer, thus suggesting the second model -- the dream vision:

> When I placed my head on my pillow, I did not sleep, nor could I be said to think. My imagination, unbidden, possessed and guided me, gifting the successive images that arose in my mind with a vividness far beyond the usual bounds of a reverie. I saw with shut eyes, but acute mental vision, -- I saw the pale student of unhallowed arts kneeling beside the thing he had put together. I saw the hideous phantasm of a man stretched out, and then, on the working of some powerful engine, show signs of life, and stir with an uneasy, half vital motion. Frightful must it be; for supremely frightful would be the effect

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[11]Judson S. Lyon, 'Romantic Psychology and the Inner Senses: Coleridge' Publications of the Moden Language Association, 81 (1966), 246-260.

> of any human endeavour to mock the stupendous mechanism of the Creator of the world.[12]

The story appeared in her mind while she was experiencing a kind of waking-dream (Frankenstein, p. 10). (Whether this was the case in the actual conception of the story is not relevant; we are merely concerned here with the interest which the romantics showed in the two dream figures.) Mary Shelley's ideas on this 'waking dream' are very much a mixture of the two figures outlined above. The use of inner sense figures and the emphasis placed on vision suggests the dream-vision figure; the use of 'unconscious invention' suggests that this passage may have some links with the Adam's dream figure found in Milton and Keats. The story of Frankenstein, Mary Shelley suggests, had been extracted from her like an Eve from her originator. She calls it her 'offspring' and her 'hideous progeny' (Frankenstein, p. 10). Mary Shelley had read Paradise Lost in 1815, and Percy Shelley read it aloud to her in November 1816 (Frankenstein, p. 239). Also, she quotes from the text several times in the novel.

The topic of dreams was much discussed by the romantics; several theories about the topic emerged from their writings. Philip Stevick, writing on the subject of the literature of dreams in his essay in The Endurance of Frankenstein, suggested that

> Literature created out of dream images can either leave the dream images with much of the absurdity intact or transform them into 'made', 'told', fully 'elaborated' works, still with some aspects of the dream

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[12]Mary Shelley, Frankenstein, ed. by M. K. Joseph (Oxford, 1971), p. 9.

> exposed, such as its detachment from empirical reality and its unabashed symbolism, but with the illogic and absurdity neutralized.[13]

Stevick suggested, then, that there were degrees of dream literature, some more akin to narrative than others. It is important to point out that romantic ideas on dreams were extremely varied. Hazlitt and Coleridge, for example, did not agree on the subject. Hazlitt's views on dream, which I shall concentrate on in this section, are mainly expressed in his critiques of Spurzheim and Gall. (Some awareness of the scientific attitudes to dream is important for a renarration of the Frankenstein story which I shall be discussing later.)

The work of these two scientists, Johann Gaspar Spurzheim (1776-1832) and Franz Joseph Gall (1758-1828), who wrote on dreams, topics of psychological interest, and subjects such as craniology, phrenology, anatomy and physiognomy, was popular during the 1820s and 1830s. Gall was a Viennese scientist who invented phrenology in the 1790s. He was forced, by the religious authorities in Vienna, to study in Paris; this was because he had 'rejected a metaphysical approach to his studies' (Dabundo, p. 454). Spurzheim was a student of his who had also gone to Paris, and then established his career in London. Phrenology was a popular science in this period. Sally Shuttleworth writes that 'from the 1820s onwards, phrenology received constant

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[13]Philip Stevick, 'Frankenstein and Comedy', in The Endurance of Frankenstein. Essays on Mary Shelley's Novel, ed. by George Levine and U. C. Knoepflmacher (California, 1974), pp. 221-239 (p. 228).

attention in newspapers and the periodical press, both of a supportive and fiercely condemnatory nature'.[14]

In a renarration of the Frankenstein story, called 'The New Frankenstein', Gall and Spurzheim's work is used as a paradigm against which advancement in their field could be measured. This was a short story which appeared in Fraser's Magazine in 1838.[15] The anonymous author of this renarration wrote that the scientist of 'The New Frankenstein' 'had made a discovery which, alone, in any other planet would have immortalised me. I found out what neither Gall nor Spurzheim ever dreamed of' ('New', p. 24).

In 1826, William Hazlitt wrote an essay 'On Dreams' criticizing the opinions of Gall and Spurzheim. Of the two, Hazlitt concentrated on condemning Spurzheim in particular, in essays such as 'On Dr Spurzheim's Theory'. Sceptical of many of Spurzheim's theories, he called him 'the Baron Munchausen of marvellous metaphysics' and a 'German quack doctor' (Hazlitt, XII, 138). Spurzheim, according to Hazlitt, had suggested in his work, that dreams were creative and that people were capable of reasoning in dreams and of having clearer thought whilst dreaming than when awake. He also suggested that the organs of sense could work when a person was asleep. Hazlitt writes in 'On Dreams':

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[14]Sally Shuttleworth, 'Psychological Definition and Social Power: Phrenology in the Novels of Charlotte Brontë', Nature Transfigured. Science and Literature 1700 - 1900, ed. by John Christie and Sally Shuttleworth (Manchester and New York, 1989), pp. 121-151 (p. 127).

[15]Anonymous, 'The New Frankenstein', Fraser's Magazine, 17 (1838), 21-30. Hereafter, references to 'The New Frankenstein' will be abbreviated to 'New' and included in the main body of the text.

> It is ridiculous to pretend with this author that in sleep some of the organs of the mind rest, while others are active: it might as well be pretended that in sleep one eye watches while the other eye is shut. . . . Whatever ideas we have, instead of being confined to any particular faculty or the impressions of any one sense, and invigorated thereby, float at random from object to object, from one class of impressions to another, without coherence or control. The conscious or connecting link between our ideas, which forms them into separate groups or compares different parts and views of a subject together, seems to be that which is principally wanting in sleep; so that any idea that presents itself in this anarchy of the mind is lord of the ascendant for the moment, and is driven out by the next straggling notion that comes across it (Hazlitt, XII, 20).

In short, Spurzheim suggested that dreams were a creative state. Hazlitt, on the other hand, claimed that ideas in dreams were merely random. Hazlitt did concede, however, that we dream of truth: 'we are not hypocrites in our sleep' (XII, 23). He considered love 'an involuntary passion' and therefore one which, when true, should be dreamt about. Dreams were, he wrote, a test of how much you love: 'I think myself into love and dream myself out of it' (XII, 23). Coleridge wrote on this subject in a letter to Daniel Stuart on 13 May 1816, arguing that in dreams we are not able to reflect on the truth or falsehood of an idea, whereas we can when awake, by means of the will. Hazlitt wrote that he rarely dreamt, whereas Coleridge often did:

> I should have made a very bad Endymion, in this sense; for all the time the heavenly Goddess was shining over my head, I should never have had a thought about her. . . . Coleridge used to laugh at me for my want of the faculty of dreaming (XII, 23).

Obviously, when turning to Coleridge's experience of dreams, one has to acknowledge that he experienced Opium reveries as well as ordinary dreams. The most famous romantic dream of all is the one which produced Kubla Khan. In the preface to Kubla Khan in 1816 Coleridge described his creative reverie, 'brought on by two grains of Opium'. This type of vision is an extreme version of the dream-vision model, and it is a vision which the post-romantic dreamer-poet aspired to have; an instance when the imagination was at its most productive. In his preface, Coleridge referred to states which were akin to 'unconscious invention' and the dream-vision model which entailed the closing off of the external senses to concentrate on the inner.

> The Author continued for about three hours in a profound sleep, at least of the external senses, during which time he has the most vivid confidence, that he could not have composed less than from two to three hundred lines; if that indeed can be called composition in which all the images rose up before him as things, with a parallel production of the correspondent expressions, without any sensation of consciousness of effort. On awaking he appeared to himself to have a

> distinct recollection of the whole, and taking his pen, ink, and paper, instantly and eagerly wrote down the lines that are here preserved.[16]

These dream models occur frequently in romantic literature. I have written at length on the romantic concept of dreams because these ideas occur in the later post-romantic renarrations of the Pygmalion story.

Both dream models emphasized the creativity of dreams. The unconscious invention of the Adam's dream model illustrated the directness of the link between inspiration in dream and the capturing of this on paper, the link being so direct that the poet was rendered passive. The dream-vision model illustrated a process of extreme visionary inspiration which involved the writer more closely. They were contrasting models, but had two major things in common: the importance of creativity and the link between creativity and dream. I shall discuss the post-romantic interest in the ideal nature of the statue, a straightforward concept which I have discussed before, as it presents itself in each renarration. For clarity, each renarration will be discussed here in chronological order.

2. Arthur Henry Hallam

The earliest post-romantic renarration of the Pygmalion story was that of Arthur Henry Hallam (1811-1833). Hallam was a great friend of Alfred Lord Tennyson, an admirer of Tennyson's sister Emily, and the inspiration for In

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[16]Samuel Taylor Coleridge, The Complete Poetical Works Of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. by Ernest Hartley Coleridge (Oxford, 1912), p. 296.

Memoriam. Hallam's Pygmalion poem, 'Lines Spoken in the Character of Pygmalion' (1832), was written in the year before his death.

The poem, written as a dramatic monologue, has the subtitle 'Written on the Occasion of a Represented Charade'. A letter from Hallam to Emily Tennyson, written on 20 November 1832, throws light upon this subtitle. In this letter Hallam described a performance of this monologue in which he had acted the part of Pygmalion and Charlotte Sotheby, a friend, played the statue. At the end of the passage quoted here, Hallam expressed a wish to act out the scene with Emily Tennyson, implying that he would like to place her on a pedestal, a wish reminiscent of Hazlitt's wish to be a Pygmalion to the statuesque Sarah Walker in Liber Amoris or The New Pygmalion.

> My most decided success was in the character of Pygmalion. Charlotte Sotheby was my Statue: she looked it to perfection: when the curtain drew up, & shewed her standing motionless on the pedestal, draped in white, & a white veil concealing all her head except the beautiful features not unlike in truth the work of Grecian art -- when I, dressed as a sculptor, chisel in hand, poured forth a speech (in verse) of my own composition in praise of my supposed statue, ending with a prayer to Venus that she might live, & at the word slowly and gracefully the form began to move, to bend forward, to descend, to meet my embrace -- the room rang with acclamations, & I -- I thought of several things,

> but of none so much, as of the pleasure I should have in describing this to you, & perhaps on some occasion acting it with you.[17]

Hallam is clearly describing a scene in which he has acted out a 'charade' as a parlour-game in the home of his friends.[18]

In order to find out more about this poem, we need to know more about the nature of the charade form at this time. The Oxford English Dictionary defines 'charade' as

> A kind of Riddle, in which each syllable of the word to be guessed, and sometimes the word itself also, is enigmatically described, or (more recently) dramatically represented (acted charade). Extended also to similar sportive trials of skill, as dumb charades, numbered charades.[19]

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[17]Arthur Henry Hallam, The Writings of Arthur Henry Hallam, ed. by T. H. Vail Motter (New York, London, 1943), p. 111.

[18]A slightly different type of charade is acted out in Jane Eyre (1847). See Charlotte Brontë, Jane Eyre, ed. by Margaret Smith (Oxford, 1986), pp. 184-186.

[19]The dictionary gives as examples: '1776 Mrs Boscawen in Mrs Delany's Letters. Ser. II.II. 238, Pray send me some charrades . . . but I shall not guess them as you do. 1777 Sheridan, The School for Scandal, I.i., I back him at a rebus or a charade against the best rhymer in the kingdom. 1848 Thackeray, Vanity Fair (1878), II, xvi, 173, The performers disappeared to get ready for the second charade-tableau. Ibid. li. (1853) 428 The amiable amusement of acting charades had come among us from France. 1878 George Eliot, A College Breakfast Party 87 The Universe, I hold, is no charade, No acted pun, unriddled by a word'.

It is difficult to say when the form was first used. The earliest example of a charade cited by the OED was written in 1776.[20] The charade was certainly not peculiar to Britain.

There is no doubt that the charade in the early nineteenth century was a puzzle game which was acted out with words, rather than the silent game we know today. They were generally written in verse; the shortest were of two lines, the longest were generally of twelve lines, but could be longer. The object of the game was to guess the word which was being described. In a charade, the description of this word, and the nature of the word itself, had to adhere to certain rules. The solution word was generally of two syllables or more; each syllable or part of the word formed a complete word in itself. For example, 'foot' and 'step' made 'footstep'. The description was often divided into sections; each section contained a clue to a syllable of the word. The clue was written in a particular style. The phrasing was usually the same in each charade. Charades were written as if the solution word were addressing the reader or listener, and they generally followed this pattern: 'My first is . . . / My second is . . . / My third is . . . '. Sometimes, a clue to the whole word was given:

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[20]In 1776, a French writer, Rondeaulet, wrote a treatise on the charade. It was translated in 1777 by a writer who called himself Tobias Rigmerole. This treatise claims that the charade was invented in 1776 and was a form which should be respected. 'The Introduction of the CHARADE, that happy Effort of human Genius, has distinguished the Year MDCCLXXVI in a Manner that must be the Envy of all preceding ones. The pleasing Talk I have imposed upon myself is that of explaining and illustrating this elegant Novelty; and I hope the Method in which I shall treat my Subject, will render it clear to all Capacities, and will recommend it to the Wonder and Imitation of future Ages. . . . And notwithstanding the Person who first gave it Birth, may at present chuse to keep his Name an inscrutable Secret, yet there is no doubt but he will soon own it with a rapture'. Tobias Rigmerole (pseud.), A Treatise on the Charade, translated from the French of the Sieur Rondeaulet, member of the Academy of Belles Lettres, at Paris, with Alterations adapted to the English Language (London, 1777), p. 2.

'My whole is . . .'.[21] The solutions to the charades could be almost any polysyllabic word which obeyed the rule that the parts of the word should make smaller words.

So, by examining the puzzle books of the early nineteenth century it is possible to get a good idea of what a charade was and how it differed from other similar puzzles. Hallam's poem did not take the usual format for a charade as it existed in the first part of the nineteenth century. Rather, his poem takes the form of an 'enigma'.[22] As one would expect in the case of a puzzle game, the solution word, 'Pygmalion', is not mentioned in the poem. Though Hallam's poem cannot strictly be called a charade, it is a charade in the sense that the poem was intended to be a love-game, intended to be acted out by himself and Emily Tennyson, though in fact acted out by himself and another friend.

By way of a brief aside, classical names were fairly uncommon as solution words in the puzzle books of the nineteenth century. However, Lewis Carroll wrote a charade (dated 23 January 1879) on the subject of Pygmalion and Galatea, after he

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[21] James Glassford, in a book of charades called Sphinx Incruenta; or 212 Original Enigmas and Charades and published three years after Hallam's poem was written, noted that in some of his 'Charades the term Third is used instead of Whole to express the two parts combined.' A representative example of a charade would be: 'My first is good, my second a snare / My whole is what most ladies wear'. The answer to this charade was 'bonnet'.

[22] The 'enigma', for example, was a charade-like puzzle in which a clue was given to the whole word instead of parts of the word. For example: 'Although I'm a fixture, I move as I stand, / And frequently travel by sea and by land; / My movements are swift, yet sometimes too slow, / And often I tell what 'tis fit you should know'. (The Puzzler, p. 37). The solution to this enigma was a 'clock'. The OED defines 'enigma' as: 'A short composition in prose or verse in which something is described by intentionally obscure metaphors, in order to afford an exercise for the ingenuity of a reader or hearer in guessing what is meant; a riddle'. The OED cites examples of the word being used as early as 1539. 'Conundrums', on the other hand, were usually one sentence, written in the form of a question. These relied heavily on puns and took the format: when is x like y? For example, 'When is a house door like an earthen vessel? When it is a jar' (The Puzzler, p. 58).

had seen Marion Terry in a performance of W. S. Gilbert's Pygmalion and Galatea. The solution word to this charade was 'Galatea', and Carroll split the word into 'Gala' and 'tea' in order to make his charade.[23]

Hallam's poem opens at the moment when Pygmalion has just finished sculpting the statue. He admires the statue and then, as Hallam says in his letter, prays that she be brought to life. It ends with the statue coming to life. I have suggested in my introduction to this chapter that dreams are an important feature of this group of renarrations. In Hallam's poem Pygmalion indicates that he has 'dreamed' of the statue for a long time: 'Lo! now it stands before me, / Even as long years ago I dreamed of it' (Hallam, p. 111). Venus, who performs the miracle, is described as the 'Queen of my dreams', and when Pygmalion starts to see the statue-woman coming to life he thinks that he is dreaming (Hallam, p. 112). Dream seems to be most important when the transformation is taking place.

> I dare not look again -- my brain swims round --
>
> I dream -- I dream -- even now methought she moved.
>
> If 'tis a dream, how will I curse the dawn
>
> That wakes me from it! There -- that bend again --
>
> It is no dream -- Oh speak to me and bless me (Hallam, p. 112).

Dreams are, here, associated with the creation of the ideal statue and the statue's metamorphosis. The statue is also referred to by Pygmalion as 'this creature of my

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[23]The Magic of Lewis Carroll, ed. by John Fisher (Harmondsworth, 1975), pp. 128-130.

soul' (Hallam, p. 111). The artist's soul is involved in her creation; it is the place from where she came. Pygmalion's affinity with his statue is emphasized by this close association.

3. 'The New Frankenstein'

The earlier of the two prose examples of the post-romantic Pygmalion story stems from the renarration of another tale, that of Frankenstein. 'The New Frankenstein', a short story written anonymously, appeared in Fraser's Magazine in January 1838, though the story itself is dated January 1837. This renarration picks up on the hints of the Pygmalion story which are found in the original, though the exact nature of the influence of the Pygmalion story on Mary Shelley's Frankenstein has been disputed. Though Frankenstein is a romantic text, a brief discussion of the work which has been carried out on the source of the Pygmalion influence on the novel is necessary as a context for a discussion of the Pygmalion renarration in 'The New Frankenstein'.

Several critics have pointed out that Mary Shelley knew of the Pygmalion story before she wrote Frankenstein. Though she did not mention the story in her novel, the overtones of the Pygmalion situation are evident. Burton R. Pollin, in his article 'Philosophical and Literary Sources of Frankenstein', explored the possible sources for the influence of the Pygmalion story on Mary Shelley's Frankenstein.[24] He suggested that a French play by Madame de Genlis and Ovid's Metamorphoses were the primary

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[24]Burton R. Pollin, 'Philosophical and Literary Sources of Frankenstein', Comparative Literature, 17 (1965), 97-108.

sources for the Pygmalion theme in this text. Pollin's evidence for this conclusion came from Mary Shelley's journal. A misreading of the title of the work in an edition of the journal had caused this fact to be kept in the dark for a long time (Pollin, p. 100). Pollin found a reference in the journal which suggested that Mary Shelley had read Madame de Genlis's play. The play, Pygmalion et Galatée; ou La Statue animée depuis vingt-quatre heures, was printed in a collection called Nouveaux Contes Moraux et Nouvelles Historiques by Stéphanie-Felicité Ducrest de Saint-Aubin, Marquise de Sillléry and Comtesse de Genlis (1746-1830) and was first published in Paris in 1802 -1803. Pollin noted that the play had a prefatory note which

> indicated that the Pygmalion was written to be played after the 'scène lyrique' on the same theme by Rousseau. . . . she filled her dozen and a half short scenes with criticism of the composition of society, delivered through a conversation between the pure, ingenuous Galatea and an old servant. They discuss the cruelties and injustices of the world. Galatea is shocked at slavery, tyranny, the extremes of poverty and wealth, hunting, and deception. . . . The play Pygmalion helped to suggest the device of awakening and the actual injustices of society with which both naive intellects become acquainted (Pollin, p. 101).

From this note it is evident that Madame de Genlis knew of Rousseau's version of the story. She, like Rousseau, took the name Galatea for her statue. (The writer of 'The New Frankenstein' did not.) The play has many similarities with the social criticism in W. S. Gilbert's later play, Pygmalion and Galatea (1871).

Mary Shelley started writing Frankenstein in June 1816 and completed it in May 1817. Pollin argued that her journal references to Nouvelles Nouvelles were in fact references to Nouveaux Contes Moraux et Nouvelles Historiques which contained the Pygmalion play.

> I assume that Mary had read the work before the evening of her inspirational 'nightmare', described in her preface of 1831. After Mary's journal resumes on July 21, 1816 she records two interlinked items during the famous trip to Chamonix: 'I read Nouvelles and write my story'; she mentions the completion of the reading on August 23 (Pollin, p.100).

On the subject of the influence of Ovid's Metamorphoses on Mary Shelley's Frankenstein, Pollin refers us to the journal entries of April and May 1815 in which she writes of studying the work under the tutelage of Percy Shelley. The subtitle, 'The New Prometheus' must have come from here too. Pollin suggested that Mary Shelley's memories of Ovid from the year before may have been stimulated by the Pygmalion play.

Once Pollin had isolated the possible sources for Mary Shelley's knowledge of the Pygmalion story, other critics tried to work out how the story manifested itself in Frankenstein. David Ketterer, in Frankenstein's Creation: The Book, The Monster, and Human Reality, using the evidence which Pollin had discovered, suggested that it was possible that the consideration of the animation of the female monster in Frankenstein may have specifically been inspired by the Pygmalion story because 'there is no

evidence of Prometheus playing a part in the animation of a female figure'.[25] Christopher Small, in Ariel Like a Harpy, argued that the Pygmalion story could not have influenced the creation of the male monster because

> There is a difference to be seen here between the act of Prometheus and that of Pygmalion, whose overwhelming desire for the woman he has made as a work of art brings her to life (or causes Aphrodite to do so in pity for him).[26]

According to Small and Ketterer, the Pygmalion story could not have influenced the creation of the male monster. I would argue that the only thing we can be sure about, if we do accept that the Pygmalion story had a direct influence on Frankenstein, is that it must have inspired an animation of some kind; whether this was the male monster's animation or the aborted animation of the female monster is impossible to prove given the evidence we have.

Though we can only speculate on the nature of the influence of the story on Frankenstein, what is important here is that before the evidence from Mary Shelley's journal came to light, another writer made a connection between the Frankenstein story and the Pygmalion story: the anonymous writer of 'The New Frankenstein'. 'The New Frankenstein', dismissed by Chris Baldick in Frankenstein's Shadow as 'a rather inept story', is interesting here because of its handling of the Pygmalion story, its use of

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[25]David Ketterer, Frankenstein's Creation: The Book, The Monster, and Human Reality, English Literary Studies, 16 (Victoria, Canada, 1979), p. 20.

[26]Christopher Small, Ariel Like a Harpy. Shelley, Mary and Frankenstein (London, 1972), p. 50.

dream, and its acknowledgement of the popularity of Spurzheim and Gall as mentioned above.[27]

The narrator of the story recounts the tale of how he met a German man (unnamed throughout the story) in Genoa who was travelling to the Vatican in search of palimpsests. Whilst they are in quarantine they amuse each other by telling stories. The narrator retells the story which the German, a man who had in his eyes 'a wildness, and a glassiness, that bespoke if not alienation of mind, at least eccentricity', had told ('New', p. 21). The German first told him how he had become acquainted with the poet Hoffman. (Chris Baldick mistakenly attributed the acquaintance with Hoffman to the narrator instead of to his German friend (Baldick, p. 141).) The German recounted his personal history; he had been sent to the University of Leipsic [sic] at twelve, and was a master of the dead languages at fifteen. His favourite author had been Apuleius and he fully believed in 'all the wild traditions, the fantastic fables and visions' contained in the Golden Ass. The German showed an interest in dreams and sleep: he

> divided the life of man into two sets of sensation, but not of equal value in my eyes -- a waking sleep, and a sleeping sleep; for it seemed to me that no one could dispute the superior advantages of the latter in perceiving the only world that is worth perceiving -- the imaginary one ('New', p. 21).

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[27]Chris Baldick, In Frankenstein's Shadow. Myth, Monstrosity, and Nineteenth-Century Writing (Oxford, 1987), p. 141.

The German told him that he had been given a private tutor called Starnstein who spoke all languages fluently and had acquired all his learning mysteriously. He 'was attracted to him by a kind of resistless impetus' ('New', p. 22). After taking his degree, the German went to study in Paris at the anatomical school. He was only interested in the dissections of the brain, which opened to him 'a new world of speculations' ('New', p. 22). He recounted, briefly, what he had learnt there about science and said that he had found a German translation of Frankenstein which he had read as non-fiction. 'The part, however, that most interested me was the creation; the scene that riveted me most, the creation scene' ('New, p. 23). When reading the novel one night, the German saw Starnstein enter the room with a monster and then exit leaving the monster behind. So powerful was the galvanism with which the monster was charged, that when he touched the monster he was thrown across the room by the electricity. He quickly ascertained that the monster had no mind and resolved to give him one: '"I shall create a mind for you, and such a mind as man, till now, never possessed!"' ('New', p. 23). The creation in this renarration is not of a living body, but of a thinking mind.

He then learnt all he could about phrenology, craniology and animal magnetism discovering a gas in the brain, which he called 'cerebral afflatus' ('New', p. 24). The German befriended Goethe, 'the author of Faust', and sought to extract some of his imagination in the form of this brain gas. Amusingly, Goethe quickly filled up the largest bottle he had. However, he needed more gas, and as Kant and Swedenborg were unfortunately dead, he sought out Shelley at 'the baths of Lucca'.

> The great poet's animal magnetic sensibility is well known, and it had been, if possible, increased by a late visit to the Prato Fiorito, where he had fainted with the excess of sweetness of the jonquils that carpet that enamelled mead. He was, at that moment, full of the conception of his Ode to Intellectual Beauty ('New', p. 25).

The German extracted cerebral afflatus from him, from Coleridge and others, then went back to his laboratory in Mannheim with his bottles of romantic imagination to apply to the contents to the monster's brain. Though the idea of romantic imagination being transported in gaseous form is humorous, the pouring of the gas into the monster's brain is symbolic of romantic influence being poured into art.

While the German waited to see what would happen to the monster when plied with this romantic gas, he remembered seeing a painting of Pygmalion and his statue by an unamed French painter, in a Paris exhibition:

> The artist had chosen the moment when the intensity of the sculptor's passion, which is impassable to Love, warmed the marble statue into life. As the Italians said to one of their school, the French painter had made use of carne macerato instead of colour. We might almost see the roseate light of life and youth, as through an alabaster vase, gradually illuminating the perfect form of the nympholept's creation; and the creator himself contemplating, with delight and wonder, the object of his adoration ('New', p. 26).

The bringing of Pygmalion's art work to life is linked, then, to the pouring of romantic genius into the monster's brain. The German described how he continued to stand, 'all eyes and ears intently fixed on my phenomenon', waiting for something to happen; then, the 'fire of intelligence' showed in the monster's eyes ('New', p. 26). He expected that the monster's first impulse would be to fall down and worship him, but 'far from this, what was my vexation and disappointment to mark the look of unutterable scorn and hate with which he regarded me' ('New', p. 27). At length, the monster acquires the ability to speak; his first sounds are like an infant's, and when he manages to formulate words, he cannot talk. The romantic gas had caused his 'merciless Imagination' to fly 'with the speed of thought from subject to subject, from topic to topic' in a perpetual 'flux and reflux'. The mind of the monster is like a post-romantic text crammed full of romantic philosophy:

> It was a labyrinth inextricable -- an ill-linked chain of sentences the most involved, parentheses within parentheses -- a complication of images and figures the most outré. In short, imagine to yourself the mysticism of Kant, the transcendental philosophy of Coleridge, the metaphysics of Shelley and Goethe, the poetry of Lycophron, mingled and massed together in one jargon, compounded of Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, German and English, not to mention tongues known and unknown ('New', p. 27).

The whole episode reads like a critique of the post-romantic text.

The German calls what he had done, 'Phrengenesis' -- mind-creation. Immediately, he realised that he had done wrong: 'Its very creation weighed upon me like remorse upon the guilty' ('New', p. 27). He concludes that

> the Theosophs were right in separating the mind from the soul, in considering them diametrically opposite relations -- as different principles, as the physic and the phrenic. And I became satisfied that my paradox had no soul. What was to be done now? Should I leave the work imperfect, or endeavour to create one? Was it impious? ('New', p. 27).

The importance of the soul in creativity is also shown in the other post-romantic texts discussed in this chapter.

The story is interrupted by one of the listeners in the quarantine party who suggests that if the German had known the secret of Cornelius, the violin maker of Leipsic, then he would have been at no loss for a soul. Cornelius, he says, once bought a Stradivarius by accident.[28] Cornelius, jealous of Stradivarius's talent as his own violins were far inferior, took the Stradivarius apart to discover its secret; but he could not find it. One night, in a dream, he had a revelation. He took the wood of a coffin and made the case of a violin in the same proportions as the Stradivarius. Cornelius's wife was on the point of death, so he invented a device, not unlike the German's, which could extract her soul and place it in the instrument. When, after he had done this, he tried the violin in a concert, the music sounded like the cries of her

[28]The text spells the name 'Stradvarious'.

soul in agony. The violin was bought by a German prince, and Cornelius was struck with remorse and died in a madhouse. When he breathed his last, his wife's soul was released and the violin became ordinary again.

The narrator suggests that the German would have known of the story, but was not influenced by it. He continued the story, saying that the German found a palimpsest in a book which had come from the Alexandrian library. This made him realise that it was in Osiris that the Egyptians thought the souls of men resided, and so he set off for Egypt with the monster. They visited a sarcophagus in the city of the dead. Around this tomb there were twelve statues holding lamps. He saw on the sarcophagus what he had seen on his palimpsest, a triangle of rubies. Opening the tomb, he saw the corpse of the 'Adamite king', wrapped up except for the face, and with open eyes. The whole necropolis then shook, and a multitude of chanting fiends appeared. All the tombs opened and the dead rose; the earth opened beneath his feet and a red spiral flame burned, 'which by degrees assumed a form. It was, yet it was not, my old tutor' ('New', p. 30). After reaching this pitch of suspense, the story concludes, 'Then I awoke, and found it was a dream' ('New', p. 30).

As in the introduction to Frankenstein which Mary Shelley had added in 1831, the importance of the creativity of dreams in romantic literature is recognised here. The whole story, it seems, is attributed to unconscious invention. The story exhibits a cluster of ideas on the nature of romantic influence on a text (the monster standing for a work of art). It takes major signposts from Mary Shelley's text to point towards its influences. For example, the appearance of Starnstein, who is clearly Frankenstein, and his galvanized monster is one point of reference to the earlier text. The story then explores the nature of the post-romantic text: the romantic influence is poured into the

brain of the monster (a monster who has stepped out of Mary Shelley's story and into this one). The monster then becomes the post-romantic text: his brain is a confusion of influences, his thoughts, a 'labyrinth inextricable' ('New', p. 27). Dream is used as a structure which envelops the narrative.

4. James Payn

One of the most striking interpretations of the Pygmalion story as a variation on the romantic theme of 'Adam's dream' was by James Payn (1830 -1898). Payn is largely remembered for his novels; he wrote around a hundred of them. The most famous of these is Lost Sir Massingberd (1864). Payn was a well known figure in the literary world of the nineteenth century. From 1859 to 1874, he was the editor of Chambers Edinburgh Journal and was a regular contributor to Household Words, a periodical started by Charles Dickens in 1850. From 1882 to 1896, he edited The Cornhill Magazine which serialized novels. As well as the novels and poems, Payn also published several volumes of his essays; most of these had previously been published in newspapers and periodicals.

Payn's 'Pygmalion' is an early piece, published in a collection of poems in 1853 when he was twenty-three years old, and had just left Cambridge. Payn later became scornful of the use of classical subjects for poetry. He went as far as to say that he believed that the position of classical authors in British education was unjustified.

> For what is very curious, the advocates of the classical authors -- those
> I mean whom antiquity has more or less hallowed -- instead of pitying

> those unhappy wights who confess their want of appreciation of them, fly at them with bludgeons, and dance upon their prostrate bodies with clogs.[29]

One wonders if the 'unhappy wight' was Payn himself, who is recorded as having been a poor classical scholar at Eton.

Payn's 'Pygmalion' has much more descriptive detail than Hallam's, though Pygmalion, when he speaks, speaks in long monologues. The scene is set in Cyprus, as in Ovid's version of the narrative. The first stanza is an address to the sea by the narrator of the poem. The warm sea is described as wooing the 'virgin Isle' of Cyprus. The narrator describes the distress of the sea which can never rest near its beloved: 'thou couldst not lay thy panting breast / On Cyprus' dreamy loveliness and rest!'[30] In stanza three the island is linked, as it was traditionally, with the goddess of love, Aphrodite: 'all her thoughts are love, / And all her deeds' (Poems, p. 6-7). The narrator next describes a festival which is held in honour of Aphrodite. After the long introduction, the young Pygmalion appears in the midst of the festivities and says that he is sated with life. He asks that the women of the island seek other lovers and not him. He brushes off the women of the island, but he is no hater of women. There is no mention of him being a king or any mention of the Propoetides. Pygmalion is, however, a sculptor. He tells us that the women of the island have distracted him and that in giving them attention he has neglected his career as a sculptor. Once hailed as the 'New Prometheus' (the sub-title of Mary Shelley's Frankenstein), he is now praised

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[29]James Payn, Some Private Views (London, 1881), p. 43.

[30]James Payn, Poems (Cambridge, 1853), p.5.

with less enthusiasm. In order to remedy this, Pygmalion builds himself a home in 'the hollow of a vine clad hill' (Poems, p. 9). Here he prays to Aphrodite, offering a prayer which is very different from the one given by Ovid's Pygmalion. In the sequence of events, the prayer in Payn's poem comes before the statue has been made. Pygmalion falls asleep whilst he prays. When he wakes up, there is a statue of a woman standing in front of him:

> Too bright for life, too warm for sculptor's hands,
> A Goddess or a Dream, before him stands
> Perfected Maidenhood; from foot to face
> As fair and flawless as the lily's grace;
> The lips are parted, but she will not speak,
> Nor draw the breath; the roses on her cheek
> Nor fade nor glow (Poems, pp. 10-11).

Pygmalion prays again to Aphrodite asking for the statue to come to life. The poem ends with the narrator joining in with Pygmalion's request.

As indicated above, Payn's poem, about Pygmalion 'the New Prometheus', has a new scene: a dream or sleep scene. Pygmalion, like Adam, has woken up to find his wishes come true. Whilst there are no dream images described, as there are in Paradise Lost, the narrator compares the nature of Pygmalion's dream with the dreams of others. I think that at this point in the poem, the word 'dream' is ambiguous; it suggests both a wish which might be fulfilled and the images which appear when asleep. The narrator compares Pygmalion's joy at seeing the statue with the joy of

several people whose dreams have come true; a young man who dreams that a 'thronèd maid' whom he cannot have 'wakes to find / That fair, won wife within those arms entwined' (Poems, p. 10); the homesick school-child who has 'visions' of his home and wakes to see his mother tending him; the 'pent-up dweller in the breezeless town', who, like Coleridge's 'gentle-hearted Charles' (who in 'This Lime-Tree Bower My Prison', 'pined / And hunger'd after Nature, many a year, / In the great City pent'),[31] dreams of meadows and mountains every night. Payn's city dweller wakes to find himself listening to a brook, birds, waving trees, and distant herds of wild animals. The narrator suggests that the happiness of these people is no greater than Pygmalion's. The comparisons with the love-lorn man, the school-child and the town-dweller are all drawn while Pygmalion is sleeping. We can assume, at this point in the poem, that Pygmalion is dreaming of the statue-woman, since he wakes and finds her in front of him.

When this happens, the narrator offers another comparison. Pygmalion's joy and puzzlement at seeing the statue is compared to the reaction of the poet who has experienced 'unconscious invention':

As Poet with his poem, to last line
Complete in harmonies and thoughts divine,
Self-certain of th'inexplicable power
That shook from out his soul the silver shower,
So joys Pygmalion at the marble base

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[31]Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Coleridge, Poems and Prose ed. by Kathleen Raine (Harmondsworth, 1986), p. 35.

Of his rare Statue, carved by Venus' grace (Poems, p. 11).

By association then, we could assume that Pygmalion the sculptor has performed some sort of 'unconscious invention' and has at the same time experienced the 'Adam's dream' scenario. We are not told directly that Pygmalion dreams of the statue, but we are told that his dream will be fulfilled through the comparisons with the love-lorn man, the school-child and the town-dweller. There is also evidence of the inner sense being referred to, though this is fairly minor here. The brooding Pygmalion, closing off his senses and withdrawing into himself says: 'now my ears grow dull / To unseen music jubilant and full' (Poems, p. 8).

As in Hallam's version of the story, the soul is also linked to creativity. Payn's Pygmalion has a 'thirsty sculptor soul' which looks for an ideal (Poems, p. 9). In the fifth stanza of the poem, Pygmalion refers to his previous sculptures as 'the born children of my soul' (Poems, p. 7). The soul is also something which feels: Pygmalion's 'soul grows weary' and he experiences 'soul-sorrow' (Poems, p. 7 and p. 13).

5. George MacDonald

George MacDonald (1824-1905) was a Scottish-born writer and lecturer who made his living in England. He is best remembered for his fantasy stories and fairy tales such as The Princess and The Goblin (1872). MacDonald's treatment of the Pygmalion story is to be found in his novel, Phantastes (1858). Phantastes, 'a fairy tale for adults', was written 'over a period of two months' after the recent deaths of his

father and two brothers.[32] C. S. Lewis, who was greatly influenced by MacDonald's novels, suggested in the introduction to his edition of Phantastes that the novel was a great work of 'mythopoeic art' which baptized his imagination.[33] W. H. Auden also wrote an introduction to the novel in which he pointed to MacDonald's interest in myth and dreams:

> For the writing of what may comprehensively be called Dream Literature . . . the primary requirement is the gift of mythopoeic imagination. . . . George MacDonald is pre-eminently a mythopoeic writer. . . . His greatest gift is what one might call his dream realism, his exact and profound knowledge of dream causality, dream logic, dream change, dream morality: when one reads him, the illusion of participating in a real dream is perfect.[34]

As stated above, I see dream as an important element of the post-romantic renarrations of the Pygmalion story.

MacDonald was also a poet. Several of his poems explored the subject of dream; a series of poems called 'A Book of Dreams', printed in Poems (1857), is of

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[32]George MacDonald, Phantastes, ed. by Derek Brewer (Woodbridge, 1982), p. x. and p. viii.

[33]George MacDonald, Phantastes and Lilith, ed. with an introduction by C. S. Lewis (London, 1962), p. 10.

[34]The Visionary Novels of George MacDonald: Lilith, Phantastes, ed. by Anne Freemantle, with an introduction by W. H. Auden (New York, 1954), pp. v-vii.

particular interest here. This was published a year before Phantastes came out.[35] Each poem in the series started with a description of a different type of dream. For example, the fourth poem in the first part of the sequence describes a dream in which the soul has a role:

> Our souls, in daylight hours, awake
> With visions sometimes teem,
> Which to the slumbering brain would take
> The form of wondrous dream (Poems, p. 82).

The sixth poem in the second part suggests the possibility of controlling dreams: 'Now I will mould a dream, awake, / Which I, asleep, would dream' (Poems, p.107).

Many of MacDonald's poems were religious. In 'My Room', the description of which is remarkably like the description of the room at the beginning of Phantastes, the importance of the soul is stressed. MacDonald argued that the soul was more important than the body, and form was less important than content.

> 'tis not appearing
> Makes a book fit for revering;
> To distinguish and divide
> 'Twixt the form and soul inside;
> That a book is more than boards,
> Leaves and words in gathered hordes,

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[35]George MacDonald, Poems (London, 1857).

Which no greater good can do man

Than the goblin hollow woman,

Or a pump without a well,

Or priest without an oracle.

Form is worthless, save it be

Type of an infinity;

Sign of something present, true,

Though unopened to the view (Poems, p. 272).

MacDonald also wrote several poems which mention sculpture. For example, in the first of 'Eighteen Sonnets, About Jesus', he supposed what would have happened if Jesus had been a sculptor (Poems, p. 287). Also, a ballad called 'The Unseen Model', which was published in MacDonald's poetical works of 1893, took as its subject the sculpting of a statue of Psyche. Like several of the other post-romantic Pygmalion stories the sculptor (who is unnamed in this poem) is inspired to sculpt by a vision: 'In my brain last night the vision arose, / To-morrow shall see its birth!'.[36] The man sculpted a statue and called her Psyche, the soul. When day comes, the sculptor realises that, 'in the flickering lamplight', he has been sculpting someone else (Poetical Works, II, 102).

Backward he stept to see the clay:

His visage grew white and sear;

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[36]George MacDonald, The Poetical Works of George MacDonald, 2 vols (London, 1893), II, 101.

> No beauty ideal confronted the day,
>
> No Psyche from upper sphere (Poetical Works, II, 102)

It transpires that the statue was of a girl he had once loved and forgotten, and who had since died. Sculpting in the dark shadows has caused him to sculpt from his dim memories.

> He had blown out the lamp of the trusting child,
>
> And in the darkness she died;
>
> Now from the clay she sadly smiled,
>
> And the sculptor stood staring-eyed (Poetical Works, II, 102).

The sculptor is doomed to love the inanimate statue, and from then on, whenever he carved a statue of woman it took the same form.

MacDonald's Phantastes was a work which, critics agree, was influenced by both German and English romanticism. We need only look as far as the epigraphs to each chapter to acknowledge this influence. In particular, Roderick McGillis, in his reading of the novel, suggested many connections between Phantastes and the work of the romantics. He writes: 'Shelley's Epipsychidion comes to mind as a work close to Phantastes, not only in incident, but also in mood'.[37] Michael Mendelson suggested that the novel had been modelled on the German romantic Märchen (or artistic fairy tales for adults):

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[37]Roderick McGillis, 'The Community of the Centre. Structure and Theme in Phantastes', in For the Childlike. George MacDonald's Fantasies For Children, ed. by Roderick McGillis (New Jersey and London, 1992), pp. 51-65 (p. 53).

> Phantastes also marks the first appearance in MacDonald's work of the kunstmärchen, or artistic fairy tale developed by writers such as Tiecke, Novalis, La Motte-Fouqué (the author of Undine), and E. T. A. Hoffmann. . . . The Romantic authors of the Kunstmärchen were fascinated by the mysteries of experience, the dark places of the mind, and the world beyond the finite; as such, they found in the inherent enchantment of the fairy tale a perfect vehicle for exploring our confrontation with the unknown.[38]

George P. Landow agreed with Mendelson, and indicated further that MacDonald was following the German Märchen in employing

> a dream or a dream-like structure, revealing that to him the world of the spirit must be seen in terms of human psychology, the human inner world. In fact a great many Victorian and later fantasies employ such a dream structure, for the movement into the subjective world of the mind is the first step into fantasy.[39]

Other critics have been interested in MacDonald's handling of dream. Frank. P. Riga, for example, in his analysis of MacDonald's use of and discussion of dream argued

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[38]Michael Mendelson, 'The Fairy Tales of George MacDonald and the Evolution of a Genre' in For the Childlike, pp. 31-49 (p. 32).

[39]George P. landow, 'And the World Became Strange: Realms of Literary Fantasy' in The Aesthetics of Fantasy Literature and Art edited by Roger Schlobin (Notre Dame, 1982), p. 127.

that MacDonald's concept of dream was more expansive than Freud's, who said that dreams tell us about ourselves and our adjustment to our environment.[40] MacDonald's concept was 'more expansive, embracing not only the self and phenomenal reality, but also a transcendent reality that enlarged human spiritual possibilities' (Riga, p. 84).

The Pygmalion episodes in Phantastes are complex because they occur in the context of a dream and because they constitute not so much a series of episodes as a thread which runs throughout the novel and through its hero's dream. The main action is taken up by Anodos exploring the new dream land he has found. His journey, as in many Kunstmärchen, is a journey in search of knowledge in which the protagonist finds himself back home again when he has reached his destination. Despite the complexity of MacDonald's exploration of dream and dream allegory, the two post-romantic dream models under discussion are evident in his novel. Firstly, a kind of Adam's dream scenario is suggested, in that the hero, Anodos, finds a marble statue of a woman which has already been made for him. His skill is only employed in the transformation of the statue. Secondly, and from a broader standpoint, the novel can be said to employ the imaginative dream vision model in which the ordinary senses are closed off and a visionary world is evoked. This model, as mentioned earlier, was usually accompanied by the language of the inner senses. This language is certainly present in Phantastes. All of the sensations which Anodos feels in the inner world of his dream landscape can be regarded as inner senses. The way in which Anodos enters and leaves the world points to this language being used. He enters by falling

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[40]Frank. P. Riga, 'From Time to Eternity: MacDonald's Doorway Between' in Essays on C. S. Lewis and George MacDonald. Truth, fiction and the Power of the Imagination, ed. by Cynthia Marshall, Studies in British Literature, 11 (Lewiston, Queenstown, Lampeter, 1991), pp. 83-100 (p. 84).

asleep and dreaming that he has woken to find the external objects of his room transformed. His wash basin has become a stream, the flowers on his carpet he now perceives as real, the foliage carved on his dressing table has become real foliage. When Anodos leaves the dream world, he describes the return of his ordinary senses: 'A pang and a terrible shudder went through me; a writhing as of death convulsed me; and I became once again conscious of a more limited, even a bodily and earthly life' (Phantastes, p. 164).

The first reference to Pygmalion is in the hero's dream. Anodos comes upon a cave in which he finds a 'time worn bas-relief on the rock opposite' him (Phantastes, p. 29). The scene represented

> Pygmalion, as he awaited the quickening of his statue. The sculptor sat more rigid than the figure to which his eyes were turned. That seemed about to step from its pedestal and embrace the man, who waited rather than expected (Phantastes, p.29).

Anodos thought that the story was 'lovely' (p. 29), and might have taken place in a cave like the one in which he was standing. In this cave, Pygmalion could have chosen to 'set up his block of marble and mould into a visible body the thought already clothed with form in the unseen hall of the sculptor's brain' (p. 29). This brief retelling of the story is inspired by the carved flat surface of the bas-relief sculpture. This is a simple and flat renarration of the story in bas-relief, a relatively unrealistic art-form. A relief sculpture is one which is not free from its background; its subject, unlike free-standing figure sculpture, is totally confined to the realm of art.

Anodos's dream-imagination is inspired by this bas-relief depiction of the Pygmalion story and, exploring the cave further, he finds another Pygmalion thread: a block of marble 'white enough and delicate enough for any statue, even if destined to become an ideal woman in the arms of a sculptor' (p. 29). The block of marble, when its moss covering is removed turns out to be an alabaster statue of a beautiful, reposing woman with her hair 'fallen partly over her face' (p. 30). The Pygmalion subject has moved from the confines of the artistic world of the bas-relief to the free-standing world in which the statue and Anodos share the same background. This gives what could be called a literary découpage effect. By this I mean, that the first use of the Pygmalion story seems to be a simple one in which the background and subject are one; the second use of the story is one in which the statue is free-standing and therefore could be seen as more realistic and participating in a realistic background. The statue, if you like, has been raised one stage beyond its original picture. MacDonald pursues this line by going on to discuss further transformation scenes which echo the Pygmalion story and therefore add to his portrayal of the Pygmalion theme.

The recreation of the alabaster statue, in a more realistic art-form, affects Anodos more and he falls in love with it. The part of her face which he could see appeared to him 'perfectly lovely; more near the face that had been born with me in my soul, than anything I had seen before in nature or art' (p. 30). The scene brings to his mind 'numberless histories' in which substances had been transformed, or people

imprisoned like the alabaster figure. In connection with this scene, Sleeping Beauty, the half marble prince of an enchanted city, Ariel, and Niobe are remembered.[41]

The marble woman is described as a 'reposing woman' (p. 30), who, he adds in the song, is 'vainly sleeping / In the very death of dreams' (p. 31). Anodos describes her as like an 'alabaster tomb' (p. 30), a 'pale coffin' (p. 31), an 'antenatal tomb' (p. 31), a 'stony shroud' (p. 32), a 'pearly shroud of alabaster' (p. 36), and to link with the other stories about confinement, a 'marble prison' (p. 37). She comes to life when Anodos sings. It is an art-form, poetry and song, which brings her to life, rather than prayer. (Music is also heard during the transformation of Beddoes's statue.)

Obvious references to the divine are omitted in this fantasy. Many writers have suggested that Phantastes is an elaborate allegory. This, it seems, is very likely. Rolland Hein suggests that the marble woman was symbolic of the ideal:

> The marble lady appears to symbolize the spirit of the Ideal, or the Perfect, and, as such, is in MacDonald's thought a surrogate for the divine Presence. . . . These deep longings toward the Ideal which men feel have often been prime motivations for artists and much of what

[41]Niobe was mentioned by Beddoes in his version of the Pygmalion story. One of the chapter epigraphs in Phantastes is a quotation from Beddoes's 'Pygmalion': 'And she was smooth and full, as if one gush / Of life had washed her, or as if a sleep / Lay on her eyelid, easier to sweep / Than bee from daisy' (Phantastes, p. 27). The reference to Beddoes is interesting because, like Beddoes, MacDonald has made death an important element of the story and has enlarged on Beddoes's reference to sleep.

> MacDonald is saying in Phantastes intrigues those who are interested in a Romantic theory of art.[42]

Much of the rest of the novel is taken up with Anodos chasing the ideal woman, until he relinquishes his obsession and humbly comes to terms with the fact that she loves another man. Hein suggests that the ideal was, then, 'fleeting and elusive. One is compelled to follow it by the love he feels for it, but the way is beset with spiritual pitfalls' (Hein, p. 62).

In general, MacDonald's Phantastes is a novel which explores the interchangeability of art and life, a major Pygmalion theme, and the transformation from illusion to reality. For example, Anodos catches up with what he thinks is his fleeing newly-transformed woman. The woman he has caught up with is, however, the disguised and dangerous Maid of the Alder. The Maid takes him to another cave, in which he falls asleep. When he awakes, the Maid has dropped her disguise and has transformed herself from a beautiful woman to an evil and ugly shell; a transformation reminiscent of Keats's Lamia:

> The damsel had disappeared; but in the shrubbery at the mouth of the cave, stood a strange horrible object. It looked like an open coffin set up on one end; only that part for the head and neck was defined from

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[42]Rolland Hein, The Harmony Within. The Spiritual Vision of George MacDonald (Michigan, 1982), p. 61. Hein saw the major theme of the novel as addressing 'the problem of man's search for satisfactions for his personal desires and longings. The Christian concern arises because the natural process of seeking satisfactions for human desires is self-centred, and self-centredness is spiritually destructive' (Hein, p. 55).

> the shoulder-part. In fact it was a rough representation of the human frame, only hollow, as if made of decaying bark torn from a tree. . . . it had for a face and front those of my enchantress, but now of a pale greenish hue in the light of the morning, and with dead lustrous eyes (Phantastes, p. 39).

There is another important transformation from the world of artifice or illusion to reality later in the novel. Whilst in the Fairy Palace, Anodos reads the story of Cosmo von Wehrstahl, a student at the university of Prague, who fell in love with a beautiful princess who appeared to him only in a mirror. The princess tells Cosmo that he must break the mirror in order to free her, but she could not be certain whether they could be together once he had done this. Cosmo is torn between his love for the imprisoned mirror-woman and his fear of losing her if he freed her. The real princess, whose apparition is trapped by the mirror, meanwhile, is very ill in another part of the city. To emphasize the connection between the Pygmalion story and this story of the transformation from mirror image to life, the narrator describes the ill princess as 'more like marble than any other woman. The loveliness of death seemed frozen upon her face, for her lips were rigid, and her eyelids closed' (p. 90). Once again we have an image of imprisonment and death, as in the episode with the marble lady. Finally, Cosmo breaks the mirror and the princess regains her liberty; however, Cosmo is wounded and dies in the arms of his princess. Hein pointed out that at the

> point when Cosmo's fascination for the princess turns to passion, MacDonald quotes, without comment, this line: 'Who lives, he dies;

> who dies, he is alive'. The climax of the tale neatly works out this paradox (Hein, p. 69).

Hein noted that this line did not appear in the early editions of the novel, and appeared for the first time in the 1905 edition. Evidently this line neatly illustrated MacDonald's theme of the interchangeability of contrary states, a theme relevant for Beddoes's 'Pygmalion'.

MacDonald turns to the Pygmalion theme again in the novel. The chapter which comes immediately after the story of Cosmo and the princess opens with a quotation from Shakespeare's The Winter's Tale, a text in which a statue comes to life. The Pygmalion episode which follows involves several stages in which the statue passes from art to life and back again. Once again, dream is important to this episode.

One of the most striking Pygmalion episodes occurs while Anodos is in the Fairy Palace. He experiences a vision in which 'a succession of images of bewildering beauty. . .passed before my inward eye' (p. 93). This vision causes him to remember that 'only in the marble cave, before I found the sleeping statue, had I ever had a similar experience' (p. 93). The Pygmalion story is, again, linked with a dream-vision experience. In the palace, Anodos finds a corridor which contained 'various statues, of what seemed both ancient and modern sculpture' (p. 95). That night, he dreamed that he had looked behind the curtains which concealed them and caught them moving: 'All the statues were in motion, statues no longer, but men and women -- all shapes of beauty that ever sprang from the brain of sculptor, mingled in the convolutions of a complicated dance' (p. 95). Standing apart from these statues, motionless, he sees the 'marble beauty who sprang from her tomb or her cradle at the

call of my songs' (p. 95). Taking the dream to be a prediction of what would happen, once awake, Anodos started to look amongst the statues for his marble woman. Pausing in front of a vacant pedestal, he tries to conjure her form onto it with a song. The woman appears gradually:

> As I sang the first four lines, the loveliest feet became clear upon the black pedestal; and ever as I sang, it was as if a veil were being lifted up from before the form, but an invisible veil, so that the statue appeared to grow before me, not so much by evolution, as by infinitesimal degrees of added height (p. 99).

The woman appears as a woman and not as a statue, though he says that it was difficult to tell whether she looked 'more of a statue or more of a woman; she seemed removed from that region of phantasy where all is intensely vivid, but nothing clearly defined' (p. 103). When the song is finished, the woman changes back into a statue.

> At last, as I sang of her descending hair, the glow of soul faded away, like a dying sunset. A lamp within had been extinguished, and the houses of life shone back in a winter morn. She was a statue once more -- but visible, and that was much gained (p. 103).

However, when Anodos lifts her from the pedestal, ignoring a sign saying 'Touch Not!' (p. 94), the statue comes to life again and runs away from him. Once again he has tried to possess the ideal, and failed. Anodos pursues her through a door and into

another landscape, and down a hole. While he is down the hole, a group of goblins inform him that the woman he is chasing belongs to another man. Ultimately, Anodos gives up his prize, saying that if the other man was 'a better man, let him have her' (p. 107). Anodos, when he meets the man says that he 'could have thrown' his 'arms around him because she loved him' (p. 152). Anodos's experience, then, has ultimately led to some kind of maturity.

In Phantastes MacDonald explored a world in which several important transformations take place, where illusion and reality, art and life are not clearly defined. The Pygmalion story sparks off a series of transformations between these contrary states, transformations which are closely linked with his initial renarration of the story. Just as the novel builds up a network of levels, with its dreams within dreams, so do these further transformation scenes build upon the initial conception of the Pygmalion story. The result is less of a collage (which implies that these stories are unconnected), and more of a découpage, in which each layer (or each transformation story) enhances the significance and meaning of the whole, building from the depiction in bas-relief and Anodos's delusion that the ideal woman was purely there for the taking, to the realism of the hero's loss of the ideal woman.

6. William Cox Bennett

William Cox Bennett's (1820-1895) renarration of the Pygmalion story was published in his collection of poems of 1862. The Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature describes him as the 'son of a Greenwich watchmaker' who 'carried on his

father's business, but wrote much for the papers and became famous as a song-writer'.[43]

Bennett later showed an interest in the Prometheus story as well. This theme had been popular during the romantic period. The primary source for the Prometheus story was Aeschylus's Prometheus Bound. In Prometheus Unbound (1820), Shelley rewrote the lost ending to Aeschylus's play in which Prometheus is freed from his torment. He uses the story as a metaphor for release from oppression. Bennett offers us what he calls, 'an attempted restoration of the lost first part of the Promethean Trilogy of Aeschylus' in 1877. The story of Prometheus links with that of Pygmalion, as we have seen in Payn's poem, because it is a story about the creation of man. Prometheus made a clay man, and, in order to bring him to life, he stole fire from heaven. Zeus punished Prometheus by chaining him to a rock and sent an eagle to consume his liver, daily. So, Prometheus suffered ceaseless torment. Prometheus was ultimately released by Hercules, who killed the eagle. Mary Shelley was more interested in the creation aspect of the story. The subject was also popular in the Victorian period.[44] Adrienne Auslander Munich argues, in her work Andromeda's Chains, that Prometheus was 'the myth that the second generation Romantics embraced as a heroic sign'.[45] Mary Shelley's version of the theme in Frankenstein, she says, is

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[43]The Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature, ed. by David Patrick, 3 vols (London, 1938), III, 548.

[44]Elizabeth Barrett Browning made a translation of Prometheus Bound in 1833, Hopkins did the same in 1862-3. Longfellow wrote a version in 1843, Robert Bridges wrote Prometheus The Fire Giver in 1883. Prometheus Bound was read to Mordecai in George Eliot's Daniel Deronda (1876).

[45]Adrienne Auslander Munich, Andromeda's Chains, Gender and Interpretation in Victorian Literature and Art (New York, 1989), p. 8.

'critical of the narcissistic male ambition fuelling male overachievement' (Andromeda's Chains, p. 10). Frankenstein portrays a modern Prometheus 'failing due to grand audacity in attempting to imitate creation, whether women's ability to give birth or divine power to create life from clay' (Andromeda's Chains, p 10). Prometheus and Pygmalion were significant for the post-romantics, though the Pygmalion story was less important for the romantics.

Bennett's 'Pygmalion', like Frederick Tennyson's, which I shall discuss later, concentrates on exploring the vision which Pygmalion has of the statue before he sculpts it. As Pygmalion retires to his visionary world, more and more inner sense figures are used to emphasize his heightened imaginative state. The poem is written as a monologue spoken by Pygmalion. Pygmalion has a 'white vision' of the woman he goes on to sculpt. He hungers for the image he sees, but is not sure what it looks like because it is undefined. After much trial Pygmalion sees it more clearly in his mind's eye. He then sets about reproducing it in marble. When he has finished, he declares the statue to be perfect and imagines that it speaks. Pygmalion offers a prayer to the gods asking that the woman-statue be brought to life in return for his devotion to them. The prayer takes up most of the poem. He argues that the gods do not understand human suffering because they only experience heavenly bliss and suggests that his craving for the statue is the fault of the gods. Pygmalion then appeals to the gods on the grounds that they too have experienced love. In remembrance of their own hours of passion, he argues, they should turn the statue into a woman in order that Pygmalion could know love. He addresses Venus, reminding her of her passion for Adonis, and says that he will worship only her if she favours him. Pygmalion offers to sculpt her, naked, so that all of Cyprus would worship her.

Pygmalion completes his prayer, and, as the morning turns to night, the statue comes to life. A soul 'dreams' from her dewy eyes, and she is described as a 'new Pandora'. Her various attributes are compared to those of other classical beauties. Her lips are as red as Hyacinthus's blood, and she had long tresses are 'nets of gold, / Fit as lorn Ariadne's streaming hair/ To catch flush'd Dionusus' [sic].[46]

Bennett's poem, like the other versions influenced by the romantics, contains the dream-vision scene. The 'white vision' which Pygmalion has in the first part of the poem is described in typically mystical terms: 'so through me did that mystic spirit pass, / Till all my being vibrated with love' (Bennett, p. 106). Likewise, the introductory poem to Bennett's collection of poems of 1862, in which we find the Pygmalion poem, elaborates on the the quasi-mystical nature of the type of inspiration which Bennett saw as important for poetry, or indeed art in general; because of its links with the ideas expressed in 'Pygmalion', I think it is worth quoting at length.

> Forms beyond my vision fleeting,
> Shadowy phantoms, O how fair!
> Let your shapes these eyes be meeting,
> That would lure you down through air;
> Unsubstantial as the moonlight
> Or the sunshine, whence ye come,
> Let your radiant shapes the noon light,
> Be not to night's visions dumb!

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[46]William Cox Bennett, Poems (London, 1862), p. 109.

O unseen, now floating o'er me,

Airy nothings, drawn to birth,

Grow to living words before me,

With a fairness not of earth;

On my mortal vision stealing,

O, ye hungered-for, descend,

To my love your charms revealing,

Loveliness no more to end!

Lo, my thoughts through unknown spaces

Strain their sight your forms to see,

Strive to gaze upon your faces,

All your beauty yet to be;

O obey her weird dominion,

Fancy's, who should rule you here!

Glide to sight on noiseless pinion!

Softly, as sweet dreams, appear!

(Poems, p. 1).

This introductory poem, not quoted here in full, describes the poet being inspired by 'fleeting visions' as the sculptor is in 'Pygmalion'. The poet strains his sight, like Pygmalion, in order to make the visions more substantial. Conceiving the inspiration for the statue as a vision seems to express a need for a new way of seeing art. If the relationship between the eye and the object is perceived as inadequate, then the image

or subject of art could then be conceived solely in the imagination and therefore seen in a new way. In Bennett's poem, the artist sees the vision as a creative one, shaping his thoughts. It is, however, an intangible image, and one which is not easily defined or retained in the mind. The image Pygmalion describes in the poem is not a sense impression. He could not find it 'in solitude -- in cities -- 'mid the hush / Of forests -- 'mid the throng and crush of men' (Poems, p. 105). It is an image which appeared only in a dream and only to the inner senses: 'I knew its presence, though I saw it not' (Poems, p. 105). Pygmalion fights to make the image more visible in his mind. First it is as 'faint as a rainbow', then 'misty and vanishing', and then it becomes a 'haunting shape before my actual sense' (Poems, pp. 105-106). The movement of the image from impermanence to permanence is not a gradual one. It happens suddenly:

> Yet seems it not with gradual growth it grew,
> But in one golden moment leapt to light
> . . . in a breath
> The veil was rent (Poems, pp. 105-6).

The improvement in the quality of Pygmalion's vision of the image is signposted by the image being referred to as 'she', rather than 'it'. Pygmalion's first action, when the image appears to his 'actual sense', as he calls it, as opposed to his inner sense, is to worship her.

Activity of the soul is linked to the sighting of the vision in this renarration of the story, also. Pygmalion, while he strives to make the vision in his mind clearer, describes 'how even to agony my soul was wrought, / To tears and frenzy' (Poems, p.

105). The image, at this point, in the narrative has a great effect on Pygmalion's soul: 'I felt its glory flooding through my soul' (Poems, p. 105). Later on, Pygmalion says that he listens to the statue with his soul. This idea is linked with the inner sense figure:

> Silent, and yet how tuneful with sweet speech,
> Utterance divine, that from the listening soul
> Drew echoes, though the dull ear heard it not! (Poems, p. 106).

Like the 'soft pipes' of Keats's 'Ode on a Grecian Urn', the sounds are not heard by 'the sensual ear' because they 'pipe to the spirit ditties of no tone'.[47] Pygmalion's yearning for the statue to be brought to life is described as 'hunger for the soul' (Poems, p. 107).

There are several qualities in 'Pygmalion' which point to its author's having been influenced by the romantics. Bennett is clearly interested, like other post-romantics, in psychology and visions as an inspiration for art. One need only go as far as Coleridge's 'Kubla Khan' to confirm that this interest was one which was shared by the romantics. Bennett also showed an interest in the solitude, or isolation of the artist. This seems to be connected with his interest in the introspective and visionary. There are also a few romantic niceties added which suggest, conclusively, that the poem was influenced by the romantics. Inner sense figures are used, there are references to a rainbow and an æolian harp, and, importantly, there is a brief excursion

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[47]John Keats, The Poetical Works of John Keats, ed. by H. W. Garrod (Oxford, 1958), p. 261.

into the philosophy of the 'One Life', the philosophy expressed by Coleridge in his poem 'The Eolian Harp':

> O! the one Life within us and abroad,
> Which meets all motion and becomes its soul,
> A light in sound, a sound-like power in light,
> Rhythm in all thought, and joyance everywhere --
> Methinks it should have been impossible
> Not to love all things in a world so filled
> (Coleridge, p. 101).

Pygmalion describes the concentration of his desire for the statue to come to life and his love for her into 'one thought -- one throbbing hope'.

The poem is, then, an exploration of the romantic creative vision which uses a quasi-mystical discourse and inner sense figures. These features often accompany this kind of vision in post-romantic poetry.

7. Ernest Hartley Coleridge

Ernest Hartley Coleridge (1846-1920), the son of Rev. Derwent Coleridge and grandson of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, wrote a version of the Pygmalion story in 1865 called 'Pygmalion's Bride'.[48] E. H. Coleridge is best known as the editor of The Letters of Coleridge (London, 1895), the Poetical Works of Lord Byron in 1905 and

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[48] Ernest Hartley Coleridge, Poems (Chertsey, 1881), pp. 1-7.

The Complete Poetical Works of S. T. Coleridge (Oxford, 1912) which is still thought to be one of the best editions of Coleridge's works. He was also a contributor to Andrew Lang's Poet's Country (1907), biographer of Lord Chief Justice, John Drake (Lord Coleridge), and of the banker Thomas Coutts.

Coleridge's Pygmalion poem first appeared in a collection of poems which was printed privately in 1881. It was published again, with a few minor alterations in punctuation, by The Bodley Head in 1898.[49] The 1898 collection contained several poems about Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Derwent Coleridge and others of his family. Though Ernest Hartley Coleridge clearly had some romantic connections, it is still important to establish that his own poems engaged with romanticism. For example, in a poem called 'To Derwent Coleridge', he discussed his romantic legacy and his own role as a post-romantic poet:

Father, thy father was a poet! Dew
Of Heaven was shed on him:
Thou, and thy brother and thy sister grew
By Hippocrene -- ye lipped its brim!

Thy friends were poets. In thy mindful ears
What melodies must ring!
Nor didst thou fail in battle with thy peers,
When thou didst venture forth to sing.

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[49] Ernest Hartley Coleridge, Poems (London, 1898).

Mine is a pale and imitative age,

No purple robe for me --

Thy name, and this poor verse my heritage,

Which here I dedicate to thee (Poems, 1898, p. 43).

As a poet, Coleridge was extremely aware of his romantic predecessors. His poems drew heavily on the mystical side of romanticism and he had an interest in dreams. In the poem 'Dreams', in Poems (1898), the poet recalls his childhood as a dream:

Last night I had a vision of my youth!

We were together in some dreamland place,

A dreamland Grasmere, and a dreamland inn . . . .

O blessed visions, whatsoe'er ye be,

By what material impulse of unrest,

Or poor inheritance of lordlier soul,

(Derived from him the Lord and Slave of Dreams)

Ye haunt my rest -- I hail your visitings

With humble thankfulness. Good are good dreams

(Poems, 1898, pp. 71-74).

E. H. Coleridge also wrote a poem on pantheism called 'The Highest Pantheism'.

'Pygmalion's Bride' is a religious poem written in the style of a medieval allegorization of a classical story. The first stanza of the poem is a five-line verse summary of the main points of the narrative. The narrator says that the story is to be

taken as an allegory: 'I trow it is an allegory' (Poems, 1881, p. 1). The narrator says that Pygmalion will converse with his new-born bride and the reader or listener must hide behind a bush and overhear their conversation. The main body of the poem is taken up by a monologue spoken by Pygmalion. Pygmalion tells the statue-woman that she has no name because love was her only parent, but that he will call her Love. He then describes the events which lead to her animation. Pygmalion recognized that he had been given some wonderful gifts by God: his kingdom, the people's love, his strength, wisdom, and humility. In spite of all of this, he was unhappy because he was the only person on the island of Cyprus who was not in love. As a result of his unhappiness, Pygmalion began to sculpt a tusk of ivory which had been sent across the sea by an Ethiopian prince.

The two dream models, unconscious invention (or Adam's dream) and the vision, are present in 'Pygmalion's Bride'. When he sculpted the statue, Pygmalion says that he was guided by a supernatural influence. The supernatural influence at this point is not Aphrodite, but God. Coleridge is so emphatic in his description of the guidance of Pygmalion's hand that the episode could, I think, be seen as an instance of unconscious invention, where the artist is assisted with his task.

as I chipped
Scarce knowing what I did, the ivory
Beneath my chisel seemed to make a form,
As 'twere by some chance, and shape itself;
At first a rough and soulless mockery
Of man, GOD's image. Then I know not how,

Thought kindled thought, and thought and hand were one,

And will absorbed by GOD's (or as men say,

I could not help it), lo! the human shape

Beneath my hand, or as I say, GOD's will,

Wore gentler look, and ever more and more

Its loveliness outmatched its other strength (Poems, 1881, pp. 3-4).

As we can see from these lines, the artist is clearly being assisted in his task. This feature does not occur in Ovid's version of the story.

Pygmalion goes on to call the statue 'this strange creation of my seely hands' (p. 4). The word 'seely' has many meanings, several of which would be appropriate here. The first meaning given by the Oxford English Dictionary is 'observant of the season, punctual'. It is unlikely that this meaning is being conveyed here. The second meaning, however, is 'happy, blissful; fortunate, lucky'. This meaning is more likely as the statue could easily be thought of as being made by the hands of the fortunate sculptor. This would be a description which would not bring out the sense that the sculptor's hands were guided in any way, but would bring out the suggestion of randomness contained in the line 'as 'twere by some blind chance' (p. 4). The third meaning of 'seely' suggests a religious context: 'spiritually blessed, enjoying the blessing of God'. This definition is also a strong contender. There are other relevant definitions, such as 'pious', and 'innocent'. The word also means 'deserving of pity', 'trifling' and 'foolish'. In the light of the evidence which suggests that Pygmalion received assistance in his sculpting of the statue, another closely related word is also

worth considering when looking for a definition of the word in this context. The word is 'to seel', and the OED suggests that it means:

> 1. To close the eyes of (a hawk or other bird) by sticking up the eyelids with a thread tied beneath the head; chiefly used as part of the training process in falconry.
> 2. To close (a person's eyes).

Pygmalion's hands could be seen as blind because they are not being directed by the sculptor. This interpretation could be supported by my reading of the previous lines as an instance of unconscious invention, and by the reference to 'blind chance'.

After this episode, Pygmalion tells the statue that he had kissed her lips, but the kisses were as insignificant as kisses in the air because they were not given to a live woman. He recounts his prayer to Aphrodite in which he asked for the statue to be brought to life. Aphrodite, he says, granted him his wish and performed a 'miracle' (p. 5). The poet then describes the statue-woman's Ovidian blush. The animation of the statue is described in religious, or even mystical terms:

> had the soulless ivory
> Been transubstantiated into life?
> Thou art my living Yea: I need no more,
> The end and the beginning of my love,
> The maker and the made, the child and sire
> Of that great love which God hath sealed to me! (pp. 5-6).

The 'transubstantiation' of the statue, as in the Christian Eucharist, would entail the conversion of the substance of the statue into something more sacred, such as life. To see the statue's animation in terms of transubstantiation is interesting because it suggests that the statue will retain her appearance, or accidents, and yet gain a soul and be alive.

The main interpretation of the story put forward by the narrator is that the ivory statue symbolized someone who did not believe in God; their transformation or 'transubstantiation' is caused by God and they experience a new kind of life. The second dream model, the vision, is referred to in the narrator's summing up of the story.

> for though
>
> We be as cunning as was Phidias
>
> And conjure up a vision glorious,
>
> And worship it ourselves -- earthly of earth
>
> Will such love be, and all our kisses fall
>
> As vainly as on lips of ivory,
>
> Unless we pray like king Pygmalion
>
> To Him 'whose nature and whose name is love',
>
> To breathe upon the clay the breath of love (pp. 6-7).

The narrator suggests that even if we were as cunning as the sculptor Phidias, 'and conjure up a vision glorious, / And worship it ourselves' our worship would be in vain unless we asked for God's help. The poet begins by talking about a vision, but later

describes the same thing to which he is referring as a 'clay' statue. The distinction between the worship of the vision and the worship of a clay statue is unclear. It seems that the vision and the statue are to be seen as one entity; inspiration, and the object created as a result of that inspiration, are inextricably linked. By making the distinction between vision and sculpture so blurred, the importance of the vision to the sculpture is emphasized.

8. William Hurrell Mallock

William Hurrell Mallock (1849-1923), writer of the conversation novel The New Republic (1877), the characters of which are thinly disguised portraits of Matthew Arnold, Walter Pater, Ruskin and others, also wrote a poem on the subject of Pygmalion. The poem was written in 1869, when the author was aged twenty. Mallock went on to win the Newdigate prize for poetry in 1871, while he was at Balliol College Oxford, a prize later won by Oscar Wilde in 1878.

Mallock's Pygmalion poem is in his volume of poems published in 1880.[50] In the proem to the book, Mallock described his thoughts as coming from the soul:

> Fair flocks of rainbow-plumed imaginings,
> Flown hitherward from some untrodden dell
> In the soul's mid forest, scarce accessible! (Poems, p. 3).

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[50]William Hurrell Mallock, Poems (London, 1880).

This illustrates the point that Mallock, a post-romantic at this early stage in his development, had an interest in the creative and sensitive soul. Mallock also had an interest in dream. In 'A Boy's Dream', he tells the story of a boy who prefers to dream of ancient Greece rather than live in his own time.

> Yes, let me here forget my life, my home,
> In a rapt dream o'er these hypastral seas,
> Charmed by the luminous fall of silver foam
> . . . . Oh, dreamy, foamy moonlight! dreamy shore!
> Oh, dreamy ecstacy! (Poems, pp. 11-12).

In his dreams the boy explores the ancient land as his 'soul goes forth' across it (Poems, p. 13). The boy delights in his dream of his ideal. Finally, his 'bubble bursts', and his dream 'falls away' when he falls in love and kisses a beautiful woman, and is forced to return to his own world (Poems, p. 19). This poem exemplifies Mallock's interest in dreams which embody the ideal, an interest which is also shown in his version of the Pygmalaion story.

Mallock's poem, 'Pygmalion's To His Statue, Become His Wife', is a monologue spoken by the character Pygmalion to the transformed statue. Pygmalion, like the boy in 'A Boy's Dream', is a lover of the ideal. When the statue comes to life, he says, that his love for it has disappeared and he longs again for the ideal. The live statue-woman does not, it seems, fulfil his longing for the ideal. Pygmalion describes his ideal situation, that is, the apprehension of the ideal, as dream-like:

Ah, one dear dream, wherein I had hoped to snare

The love I chase for ever! oh, ultimate

Rest, as I dreamed thee (Poems, p. 130).

Pygmalion is, however, doomed to love the unattainable. He loves the statue, the dream, and the virginal. The only thing which can be dear to him is 'mute ivory, that can never be amorous' (Poems, p. 130). He says that 'The Love we follow is cruel -- a mystery; / Upon the horizon only doth he dwell' (Poems, p. 130). This image is similar to that used by Tennyson in 'Ulysses', when Ulysses talks about all experience being as

an arch wherethrough

Gleams that untravelled world, whose margin fades

For ever and for ever when I move.

How dull it is to pause, to make an end.[51]

Pygmalion also describes his yearning for love as like the longing of a blind man standing on the sea shore, listening to the waves and longing for another glimpse of the sea. His love is, however, for the unattainable and therefore impossible. In this poem Pygmalion prefers to be in the state of yearning for his ideal; his ideal, unusually, is not the transformed statue, but the statue itself. A dream scenario is the only one in which Pygmalion could capture his ideal.

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[51] Alfred Tennyson, The Poems of Tennyson, ed. by Christopher Ricks (London, 1969), p. 563.

9. Frederick Tennyson

Frederick Tennyson (1807-1898) was the less famous elder brother of Alfred Tennyson. He contributed four poems to one of Alfred Tennyson's early collections, Poems By Two Brothers [sic] (1827), along with his other brother Charles. Frederick Tennyson's first volume of poems, Days and Hours was published in 1854. He published nothing after this until 1890, when he produced two volumes of classical verse: one is called The Isles of Greece (1890) and the other, Daphne and Other Poems (1891), contains a renarration of the Pygmalion story.

Like some of the romantic poets before him, Tennyson was interested in mysticism and metaphysics. He was particularly interested, like Blake, in the thought of Emanuel Swedenborg. Frederick Tennyson's poetry has been rarely discussed by critics: but those who do discuss his work have agreed that Swedenborg's ideas are fundamental to it, and some have criticized him for his extensive use of Swedenborgian theology. It was from 1860 onwards, when the poet lived in Jersey, that he came under the influence of the teachings of Swedenborg:

> He took up spiritualism and Swdenborgianism: 'the supernatural and the Future Life . . . have occupied my whole soul to the exclusion of almost every subject which the Gorillas of this world most delight in, whether scientific, political, or literary'.[52]

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[52]Letters to Frederick Tennyson, ed. by Hugh J. Schonfield (London, 1930), p. 132.

A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller suggest, in The Cambridge History of English Literature, that Frederick Tennyson

> was deeply interested in metaphysical problems. He retells old myths with the purpose of making them messengers of his own thought on immortality and the unseen world. But his message is a little indistinct. Occasionally, as in Psyche, he loses himself in a Swedenborgian quagmire. . . . Nature and love and death and immortality are the foci round which his thought, as that of his greater brother, moved, and on each he has written occasional haunting lines.[53]

Charles Tennyson, the poet's brother, in his introduction to an edition of Frederick's shorter poems, described the poems in Daphne and Other Poems as 'long tracts of Swedenborgian philosophy, for the introduction of which the poet seems to have used the classical stories as a rather perfunctory excuse'.[54] Douglas Bush, in Mythology and the Romantic Tradition, suggested that parts of The Isles of Greece and Daphne and Other Poems

> volatilized into a dense and sometimes Swedenborgian mist. The myths which formed the subjects were frequently lost in the enveloping

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[53]The Cambridge History of English Literature, ed. by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller, 15 vols (Cambridge, 1916), XIII, 47-48.

[54]Frederick Tennyson, The Shorter Poems of Frederick Tennyson, ed. by Charles Tennyson (London, 1913), p. xxx.

> sermons. The romantic faith in beauty and truth, in the 'One Life, but one, that rolls through All' is set forth with a vague and earnest diffuseness which includes bits of genuine poetry, though they may not be an adequate reward for the search (Bush, p. 471).

The influence of Swedenborg on Frederick Tennyson has also been noted by The Dictionary of National Biography, and by Keen in her thesis (p. 195).

The Pygmalion text in Daphne and Other Poems is 'Cyprus, Pygmalion'. The titles of some of the poems in this volume incorporate the name of a Greek island. Daphne's story is associated with the island of Delos; Pygmalion's story is naturally associated with Cyprus, as it is in Ovid's version, though the goddess referred to in the poem is Urania rather than Aphrodite. Lemprière noted in his classical dictionary that Urania was surname which could be used of Venus, Aphrodite's Roman counterpart.

The poem is divided into ten untitled parts. In the first part the scene is set. The main speaker, Pygmalion, tells us that it is a fresh May morning and that he is standing near the sea. Pygmalion yearns for a quiet spot away from the people where he can worship Beauty undisturbed. He says that none of the women from the island could distract him compared with the one 'Form', a vision he experiences, which he claims is invisible to the sight yet visible to the soul. Pygmalion thought about this form day and night, until it grew more real than all external things, and he could see more with his inner sight than with his eyes. He appears to be nurturing an internal Swedenborgian spiritual world. This visionary world, like the second important post-

romantic dream model, involves the closing off of the ordinary senses to concentrate on the inner world.

In part two Pygmalion says a prayer to Urania, the goddess of the isle. He says that if he turns less towards her altars than to the lovely image in his heart, then he must be excused because he sees unmatched beauty in it. It was as fair as any goddess on Olympus. He suggests that the 'spirit-picture' had probably been made by some unconscious influences, and that it is in his 'soul' and that it is 'but a dream' (Daphne, p. 40).

In the third part, Pygmalion, still praying, questions what has happened. Has a God made a heaven inside him and given him such a clear image of beauty which makes him lose all thought of human beauty? He again asks the goddess for forgiveness, as he has been withholding his heart from her and giving it to the image. Her consolation is to be that he is impregnable to human influences and only influenced from things within him. Pygmalion continues to worship the image, which he calls 'a glorious dream', at 'that inner Shrine / Where She is glorified', in the fourth part of the poem (Daphne, p. 42). He says that he will not sleep until he has prayed for a dream of the image. This dream, he says, will enable him to impress the image on his 'inner sense' (Daphne, p. 42). When he awakes, he says, he will transfer this image to 'dead marble' and make external what is internal (Daphne, p. 43).

The fifth part of the poem opens with Pygmalion in the act of sculpting the statue. The creation of the statue is associated with religious imagery. She is described as an 'incarnation of the dream'. Pygmalion's intention is to make 'the metaphysical an ultimate in nature' (Daphne, p. 44). As soon as he has begun to do this a marvellous change comes over him. He is no more an adorer of the internal and

immortal image. With every stroke of his hand the invisible becomes real. His next impulse is to want to give it life. Could not desire, patient toil, and strong will make her live, he asks? He begins to feel that his dream will come true, and that she will come to life. He compares his creation to that of a god: even if the cold marble, he says, had been sculpted by a god, without the fire of love which had guided Pygmalion's own hand, the statue would be as unlike the image as the moon is unlike the midsummer sun.

Several days go by and, in part six, we see that Pygmalion has finished the statue. Suddenly, a 'delirium of phantasy' comes over him and he imagines that it has come to life (Daphne, p. 45). Whilst engrossed, or 'drown'd' in this dream, Pygmalion takes a red robe and a gold chain and throws it around the statue's neck (Daphne, p. 45). It now seems perfect to him, like life itself. He realizes, however, that the statue is not alive; weeping with sadness he falls into a swoon and lies there, 'lost to all knowledge of the world without / And the world within' (Daphne, p. 45). Suddenly, his 'inner eyes were open'd, and I saw / Round me, as in a dream, heroic men' who were as tall as gods (Daphne, p. 46). He hears them speak of profound things which are hidden from people. They describe the nature of mankind, and the place people have in the scheme of things.

The voices depart in section seven, and Pygmalion, still dreaming, appears to be by the seashore wandering through some trees. Through a roselaurel bush he sees a live woman with the face of the marble statue. Pygmalion then wakes up, crying, in his chamber. Whilst he has been asleep night has fallen and the chamber is very dim. The statue looks like the rising moon in the twilight. Suddenly, a dazzling golden radiance lights up the chamber. Pygmalion thinks that this light might give the

statue life. He makes sure that he is not dreaming: 'I smote my brow, that I might know for sure / That I was not adream' (Daphne, p. 53). He hears the voice of Urania saying that Pygmalion's prayer has been heard because his 'heart was fix'd upon a godlike dream, / A pure white image of a purer thought' (Daphne, p. 54).

In part eight, Urania explains to Pygmalion that his dream of the beautiful face had been sent to him, and that it was the face of someone he had seen once in the past. Although time had passed since he had seen this face, and he had forgotten it, the marble statue was a replica of the woman he had seen. The voice continues in part nine, saying that the woman he had seen had also been given a dream, a dream of Pygmalion, though she has not created a statue. Pygmalion is sceptical, saying that the woman could be anywhere or already married. What he really wants is for his statue to be brought to life. Urania replies that she will bring the statue to life. More golden light pours into the room, and the statue comes to life. She steps off the pedestal and throws off her veil. The goddess invites Pygmalion to 'take her', adding that her heart is a mirror which will reflect all of his love. The maiden lays one hand on Pygmalion's shoulder and the other on her heart. Pygmalion then claims that he has learnt the difference between beauty born of 'phantasy' which is 'imperfect, unsubstantial, insecure' and beauty born of nature (Daphne, pp. 60-61).

In the last part, the golden light vanishes and Pygmalion and his statue-woman are left alone listening to the sound of roseleaves rustling. Pygmalion worries for a moment that the whole experience had been a dream. However, the statue-woman is standing in the twilight. Her first words to Pygmalion are 'My own', to which Pygmalion replies, 'My own!' (Daphne, p. 63).

That Pygmalion has an internal and an external nature becomes apparent in the first section of the poem where Pygmalion experiences a form of internal vision. He describes his devotion to the vision in religious terms. This idea of the importance of the internal world came straight from Swedenborg, who had several theories about the internal nature of mankind. For example, he believed that 'Man's nature is such that he must have the Divine within him as a creative source'.[55] In addition, and importantly for Tennyson's poem, Swedenborg wrote in Heaven and Hell that

> a man whose moral life is spiritual has heaven within himself, but he whose moral life is merely natural does not have heaven within himself. . . . And yet heaven is not the same in one as in another. It differs in each one in accordance with his affection for good and thence for truth (Stanley, pp. 56-57).

Pygmalion's concentration on this internal image brings with it, naturally, the inner sense figures which accompany the second dream model. Pygmalion says: 'I saw / More with an inner sight than with mine eyes' (Daphne, p. 30). (There is also some indication that the image is in or connected with the soul.) Pygmalion is uncertain at first as to what the internal image represents. At times, because of the beauty of the image, Pygmalion thinks that it is of Urania, the goddess of the island:

> at times I dream

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[55] Emanuel Swedenborg: Essential Readings, ed. and trans. by Michael Stanley, (Northamptonshire, 1988), p. 59.

> that such a radiant image can be nought
>
> Except thine own -- thus mirrored in my soul (Daphne, p. 40).

However, he concludes that this cannot be the case, because this would indicate a type of love which could not be experienced between mortals and immortals. Pygmalion decides that the vision is a 'dream', or a 'spirit-picture', or an 'Ideal', which has been produced from unconscious memories (Daphne, p. 40). However, he conjectures that one of the gods had

> made a heaven
>
> Within me, that I see, with such clear sight,
>
> The peerless brow beneath the golden hair,
>
> The blue eyes, and the parted crimson lips (Daphne, pp. 40-41).

We can conclude from this that at least prior to the sculpting of the statue, Pygmalion regards his Swedenborgian internal experience as more important than anything else. However, though the image is bright, it is unsatisfying, and he prays for a dream of the 'phantasy, that it may be / The more impress'd upon my inner sense' (Daphne, p. 42). In creating the statue Pygmalion tries to mirror the inner world and in doing this, his goal changes. When 'the invisible became a real thing', he neglects his internal vision of it (Daphne, p. 43). His new goal is to make 'the metaphysical an ultimate / In Nature' (Daphne, p. 44). Pygmalion's 'inner eyes' are opened again when he falls into a swoon and hears the speeches of heroic men (Daphne, p. 46), one of whom tells him that in years to come people will discover pantheist philosophy: that 'there is One

Life, but one, that rolls through All' (Daphne, p. 46; we might note here the influence of some Coleridgean concerns). Another tells him that mankind is deluded if he thinks that 'what is outward is Reality, / The Inward but a Shadow' and that 'the Form / Is the true Man, and not his Minister' (Daphne, p. 48). Tennyson stresses the importance of inner states and the irrelevance of outer. This, again, is based on Swedenborgian theology. There is also an interesting discussion of what would happen if the statue were brought to life: the heroic man suggests that she would come into the world uneducated, and being captive, she would crave her liberty.

At the end of the narrative, Pygmalion rejects the internal vision, preferring the external projection of the internal in the form of the statue. This projection of the image onto a marble statue, Urania says, suggests that Pygmalion's 'pure Ideal was Immortal Love, imperishable essence' (Daphne, p. 54). The statue is a 'type' of Pygmalion's 'Eternity' within. The act of creating the statue symbolizes

> the life to be,
> When inner states shall mould the outward shows
> Which shall react upon the inner state
> And multiply all joys to manifold (Daphne, p. 55).

Frederick Tennyson's poem, the last of the post-romantic renarrations of the story to be considered in this chapter, is a poem in which we can see that the dream vision has become very important to Pygmalion as his inspiration for the sculpture of the statue, and this is, again, accompanied by inner sense figures.

10. Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter I pointed to some characteristics which I considered to be important for identifying a post-romantic writer. Using these I identified the writers of Pygmalion stories who could be regarded as post-romantics, and the post-romantic qualities which were evident in their renarrations of the story. Like the influence of the romantics, these versions spanned a great deal of time; the earliest was written in 1832 and the latest in 1891. The texts had much in common with each other, and with the dream models which can be traced back to the romantics. For reasons of clarity, I wished to separate these post-romantics from the post-romanticism that was Pre-Raphaelitism, and later, Decadence. The writers discussed here had a different agenda from those more cohesive groups of writers.

In this case it is impossible to prove whether any of the writers discussed here had been influenced by each other in their interpretations of the Pygmalion story. However, what we can see from this assessment is that a story which previously had no dream element in it, has metamorphosed into a story in which dream played a large part. This, I think, was due to the influence of the romantics.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE PRE-RAPHAELITE PYGMALION AND THE FLESHLY DEBATE

I

The 1870s were marked by spectacular controversy, sparked off by Robert Buchanan's essay 'The Fleshly School of Poetry' (1871). At issue in this controversy was the relative importance of the concepts of 'flesh' and 'spirit' in that art and literature which was influenced by the ancient Greeks.[1] In his essay Buchanan set out, in very strong words, his reasons for disliking the poetry of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Algernon Charles Swinburne, William Morris and other similar contemporary poets. Rossetti replied to this attack in the Athenæum with an article entitled 'The Stealthy School of Criticism'. These two articles are at the centre of what is known as the 'Fleshly Controversy'.

An important way of contextualizing this controversy is to examine related aspects of the literary output of the main protagonists. In the case of the Fleshly Controversy, the whole debate is mirrored in different narrations of the Pygmalion story written by the some of the participants in the Controversy. This parallel literary phenomenon provides the most important single way of looking at the context of the Controversy, and indeed opens the Controversy out into a wider aesthetic debate. The

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[1]Robert Buchanan, 'The Fleshly School of Poetry', The Contemporary Review (1871), pp. 334-350. Extracts are reprinted in The Victorian Poet: Poetics and Persona (London, New York and Sydney, 1987), ed. by Joesph Bristow, pp. 139-145. Buchanan published this article under the pseudonym of Thomas Maitland. In 1872, Buchanan published an expanded version of the article under his own name (Robert Buchanan, The Fleshly School of Poetry and Other Phenomena of the Day (London, 1872)). References made to the 1871 article are to Bristow's edition.

fact that the Pygmalion story fulfils this function is perhaps the result of the provocative nature of the story itself. Pygmalion's statue, as a living work of art, becomes a typological representation of what is fleshly or spiritual in art.[2] The Pygmalion story was important in this context for another reason: even though it is in Latin in its most influential version, in Ovid's Metamorphoses, the story is set in Greece and was therefore used as an example of Greek excesses -- an important issue in the Fleshly Controversy.

At issue, initially, was the value of Swinburne's verse. Buchanan's main criticism -- once disentangled from its emotive and insulting garb -- was that Swinburne's work was too 'fleshly'. The term 'fleshly' basically means that the work it described emphasized the flesh or the human body at the expense of morality.[3] This lack of moral content manifested itself in several ways.

One of the main accusations made by Buchanan against the above-mentioned poets was that they supported the idea that 'poetic expression is greater than poetic thought and by inference that the body is greater than the soul' (Bristow, p. 141). By this inference, Buchanan was suggesting that this particular type of poetry, written in the mid to late 1860s and the early 1870s, concentrated on the representation of

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[2]In this context the word 'spirit' should be clearly distinguished from the way in which the Victorians used the word 'ideal': the former was used to pinpoint one of the components of human nature; the latter was used to describe the epitome of beauty, be it bodily or spiritual.

[3]One famous use of the word 'fleshly' occurs in W. S. Gilbert's Patience (1881). Reginald Bunthorne is described in the dramatis personae of the play or libretto as 'a Fleshly Poet'. W. S. Gilbert, The Savoy Operas, 2 vols (London, 1957), I, 160. William D. Jenkins argues that Bunthorne is a caricature of Swinburne. William D. Jenkins, 'Swinburne, Robert Buchanan and W. S. Gilbert: The Pain that was All but a Pleasure', Studies in Philology, 69 (1972), 369-387.

physical or bodily details to the exclusion of the spiritual. This distinction is of extreme importance in the Fleshly Controversy.

Buchanan's accusation was not a new one. There was a more general interest, from the 1850s, in the relative value of the physical and the spiritual in art (not just in verse). For example, the Prior in Robert Browning's 'Fra Lippo Lippi' (Men and Women, 1855) suggested that expression in art should disregard the body and concentrate on the spiritual. (This is partly Buchanan's theme.) The Prior says:

> Make them forget there's such a thing as flesh.
> Your business is to paint the souls of men --
> Man's soul, and it's a fire, smoke . . . no, it's not . . .
> . . . It's . . . well what matters talking, it's the soul!
> Give us no more of body, than shows soul.[4]

In this discussion of how the Pygmalion story relates to the Fleshly debate, I shall use the term 'Fleshly Controversy' to describe the well documented personal attacks made by Robert Buchanan on the Pre-Raphaelites and the replies the Pre-Raphaelites made. I use the term 'Fleshly debate' to describe the more general issues raised by the Controversy. Since the various Pygmalion narratives are themselves the vehicle for a debate that developed as time went on, it is clearest to look at the different Pygmalion stories in chronological order. In the course of this discussion, we shall see just how important these versions of the Pygmalion story are for our

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[4]Browning's Poetry and Prose, ed. by Simon Nowell-Smith (London, 1950), p. 241.

understanding of the physical / spiritual debate, and consequently for our understanding of the Fleshly Controversy.

Discussions of the physical / spiritual dilemma appear to cluster around three important and related questions: Can art represent the spiritual? Should art represent the spiritual? Can art which has a Greek influence or theme represent the spiritual? The first two questions are about the nature of art. The third question is to do with the Victorian reaction to Greek art. In the context of the Pygmalion story, the question naturally asked by these writers was: does the statue have a soul? That is, could Greek art represent the spiritual? The portrayal of Pygmalion's obsession with the statue is also noteworthy. These elements of the story relate to the period's preoccupation with the portrayal of the human figure in art. For some writers, the beautiful statue-woman was seen merely as a body; Pygmalion's love merely the obsession of the artist with the body. Within the broader context of the discussions of the suitability of the Greek theme for art, the portrayal of this classical statue was particularly important.

II

> Two kinds of dilettanti, says Goethe, there are in poetry: he who neglects the indispensable mechanical part, and thinks he has done enough if he shows spirituality and feeling; and he who seeks to arrive

at poetry merely by mechanism, in which he can acquire an artisan's readiness, and without soul and matter.[5]

The details of the development of this controversy have been outlined in some depth by John A. Cassidy in his article 'Robert Buchanan and the Fleshly Controversy'.[6] In this article Cassidy examined Robert Buchanan's 'career before, during and after the Controversy in order to throw some light upon the role he played in that melee and to show that his attack, while reprehensible, was not made without some provocation' (Cassidy, p. 65). Cassidy noted that the Fleshly Controversy may have arisen because of 'a mutual antipathy experienced by Robert Buchanan and Swinburne' (Cassidy, p. 65). His research established that the groundwork for the Controversy had been laid between 1862 and 1866; and that the 'printed war begins properly with the publication of Swinburne's Poems and Ballads near the end of July 1866' (Cassidy, p. 66).

The Fleshly debate was essentially about the suitability of certain subjects for art. There were two main opposing factions in this debate: those who believed that ancient subjects were 'eternal' subjects which could, when handled correctly, be made relevant to the modern world; and those who believed that ancient subjects, in particular subjects which had an ancient Greek theme, had no relevance for modern

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[5]Matthew Arnold, 'Preface to Poems 1853', The Complete Works of Matthew Arnold, ed. by R. H. Super, 11 vols (Michigan, 1960-1977), I (1960), 15.

[6]John A. Cassidy, 'Robert Buchanan and the Fleshly Controversy', Publications of the Modern Language Association, 67 (1952), 65-93.

life, and were handled by poets in such a way as to encourage fleshliness, or too much emphasis on the physical to the exclusion of the spiritual.

Though the Fleshly Controversy began properly with the publication of Swinburne's Poems and Ballads in 1866, there is much evidence of a fleshly debate going on before then. In this section I shall explore two important discussions of the Pygmalion theme which, although they were published before 1866, were directly relevant to the Fleshly debate. Both texts came to the conclusion that the Greek ideal had no spiritual element. Pygmalion's love for his statue amounts to little more than an obsession with the body, or physical element.

The earliest treatment of the Pygmalion subject by a Pre-Raphaelite sympathizer was by William Bell Scott (1811-1890). Scott, was a poet and painter who also lectured on art. Christopher Wood described him as an 'an important peripheral figure'.[7] In 1861, while he was the head of the Government School of Art and Design in Newcastle, Scott published a series of lectures on aesthetics entitled Half-Hour Lectures on Art.[8] In the seventeenth lecture of this series, 'Terms in Art. Principles--The Conventional--The Ideal', Scott outlined some general thoughts on the governing principles of art (Scott, Half-Hour Lectures, pp. 299-321).

When discussing the nature of the expression of the spiritual element in art, Scott focused the debate on Greek art. The Pygmalion story is used, within this context, as an example to illustrate Scott's more general views on the nature of the moral content of Greek art. In this lecture, Scott tackled, if only in part, the issue

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[7]Christopher Wood, The Pre-Raphaelites (London, 1981), p. 73.

[8]William Bell Scott, Half-Hour Lectures on the History and Practice of the Fine and Ornamental Arts (London, 1861).

raised by Matthew Arnold (and Goethe) above: the danger of making the physical more important than the spiritual. He stated categorically that the Greek ideal in art lacked a spiritual element. Greek art placed too much emphasis on the beautiful body and ignored moral beauty: 'the ideal of the Greeks' he says, 'is not spiritual but material' (Scott, Half-Hour Lectures, pp. 312-313 (my italics)). Scott thought, then, that the Greeks had a defective ideal theory.

Though he attacked the Greek ideal, Scott was very much in favour of ideal theories in general. His ideas on the artist's purpose prove to be strongly neo-classical. He suggested that it was the job of the artist to produce an ideal of some kind.

> Can we not improve upon nature as it commonly presents itself? If we could not the artist's occupation would be gone. . . . But the soul is superior to the body, mind to matter, our longings and aspirations superior to any circumstances, and our sense of possible beauty greater than the real. We select, rearrange, harmonise, and combine; if we are not to do so, the functions of the intellectual man, and especially of the artist are paralysed (Scott, Half-Hour Lectures, p. 307 (my italics)).

Scott's version of the ideal theory is based around the necessity to produce the soul (or spiritual) in art rather than what is merely bodily or natural. He undermined the idea that beauty necessarily had to be something tangible. This picture of an intellectual ideal is contrasted with the Greek ideal which was centred on the body. The Greek ideal in art, according to Scott, did not separate the beautiful and the good: 'The art of ancient sculpture was the natural man approaching to the gods by the

perfection of the body' (Scott, Half-Hour Lectures, pp. 308-309). The Greeks, then, created in art physically ideal men and women.

Having established that Greek art at its best could only represent the physical, Scott then applied this information to the Pygmalion story. He advised his contemporaries that if they followed the example of the Greeks and worshipped the body in art they would be at fault:

> If by a paganish love of the body, or a peculiar cultivation, we apprehend and feel fully the beauty of the antique, we are in danger of sharing the infatuation of Pygmalion, or of losing reason; of being lost in the admiration, amounting to worship, expressed by Winckelmann of the Apollo (Scott, Half-Hour Lectures, p. 309 (my italics)).

Pygmalion is used here as an example of a man who is too interested in the perfection of the body in art. Whilst contemplating Greek art, the observer must not forget that 'we know moral goodness and intellectual greatness to be often inhabitants of mean and even ugly bodies' (Scott, Half-Hour Lectures, p. 309). Scott criticized Winckelmann (one of Pater's subjects) for this same fault. Winckelmann's descriptions of the Apollo are described as a form of worship of the body in art.

Scott's reference to Pygmalion is brief but it describes succinctly the Greek obsession with the body. This lecture is important for two reasons. Firstly, it placed the issues of the physical / spiritual debate within the context of a discussion of Greek art. Secondly, it placed the debate within the context of the Pygmalion story for the first time in the nineteenth century.

As we have seen the physical / spiritual debate which was at the heart of the Fleshly Controversy was already gathering momentum in the early 1860s. Scott portrayed the Pygmalion story in an unfavourable light because it represented to him the over-emphasis on physical perfection that he found in Greek art. He did not discuss what would happen if the beautiful fleshly statue with which Pygmalion is infatuated was brought to life. This question, however, was asked and answered by Robert Buchanan, the originator of the Fleshly Controversy, two years later. Scott's views on this subject did not appear to be very Pre-Raphaelite. His opinion of the Pygmalion story had more in common with that of Robert Buchanan than William Morris. As we shall see, however, Scott had more to say on the subject of Pygmalion after William Morris published his version of the story.

The earliest of the major poems on the subject of Pygmalion to be considered here is that of Robert Buchanan. 'Pygmalion the Sculptor' in Undertones (1863), a slim volume of classical verse, was written before the Fleshly Controversy and before his attack on poets who used classical subject matter. It was however written during the period which Cassidy claimed was when the groundwork for the Controversy was laid. Buchanan's poem is of interest because of the way in which he tries to tackle what he sees as the problems of the story from a moral perspective. Though the poem is very early it clearly exhibits the doctrine which Buchanan later stated in 'The Fleshly School of Poetry': that in art, the body is not greater than the soul and that art must have a spiritual element.

The main problem with studying this poem is that there are several versions of it. Jane M. Keen based her reading of the poem, in her thesis on Perseus and Pygmalion, on the 1901 edition of The Poetical Works of Robert Buchanan without

acknowledging that there were several versions of the poem.[9] The 1901 edition of The Poetical Works, which Keen used, gave the date of Undertones incorrectly as 1864. Undertones was never published in 1864. The first edition of the poems came out in 1863, and the second edition in 1865. It is possible to prove conclusively that the '1864' (1901) edition is a rogue edition by using evidence other than the apparent absence of the text with this date on it. The '1864' (1901) version of Undertones contains the poems 'The Syren', 'The Swan Song of Apollo' and 'Proteus'. However, these poems were published for the first time in 1865. A note to the 1865 edition of Undertones confirms this:

> Of the following poems, The Syren and The Swan-song of Apollo are printed for the first time; Proteus is almost entirely new and the others are more or less altered or revised.[10]

So, it is safe to conclude that this date must have been a mistake. Incidentally, the '1864' (1901) version was identical to the 1884 version which also dated it incorrectly as '1864'.[11]

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[9]Jane Michèle Keen, 'The Perseus and Pygmalion Legends in Later Nineteenth-Century Literature and Art with Special Reference to the Influence of Ovid's Metamorphoses' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Southampton, 1983).

[10]Robert Buchanan, Undertones (London, 1865). There are no page numbers for the preface in this volume.

[11]I have listed all of the volumes which contain the significant versions of the Pygmalion story (with their publishers) below: Robert Buchanan, Undertones (London: Edward Moxon and Co., 1863); Undertones (London: Alexander Strahan, 1865); The Poetical Works of Robert Buchanan, 2 vols (London: Henry S. King and Co., 1874); Undertones (London: Chatto and Windus, 1883); The Poetical Works of Robert Buchanan (London: Chatto and Windus, 1884); The Complete Poetical Works of

Buchanan organized the narrative as a series of poems in movements or acts, each act with its own title. Edward Burne-Jones also depicted the story as a series in his Pygmalion paintings a few years later. This enabled Burne-Jones to outline the main dramatic developments of the story sequentially and still use a static medium, painting. Buchanan did not have the problem of the frozen scene, yet he chose to divide his poem into sections. Several writers on Buchanan have pointed out the dramatic quality of his poems. These divisions could work in the same way as an act of a play. The titles of the various sections of the poem were arranged in this way:

1863 text	1865 text (1883, 1884)
i) In Death's Shadow	i) Shadow
ii) The Marble Life	ii) The Marble Life
iii) A Voice in Heaven Sings	iii) The Sin
iv) The Sin	iv) Death in Life
v) Death in Life	v) Shadow
vi) A Voice in Heaven Sings	

Robert Buchanan, 2 vols (London: Chatto and Windus, 1901). The version of 'Pygmalion, the Sculptor' contained in the 1863 edition was divided into seven sections. The second edition, printed in 1865, contained many revisions of the earlier version, including a reduction in the number of sections to five. The version of the poem in the 1874 edition of the poetical works was different again. In this version Buchanan removed all of the titles to the sections and reduced the number of lines considerably. The title of the poem was changed to 'Pygmalion. An Allegory in Art'. The 1883 edition of Undertones is identical to the 1865 edition, and it seems that the 1874 edition was not printed again. The 1884 version of the poem in The Poetical Works is based on the revisions of 1865, with a few minor alterations. This edition is identical to the 1901 version. In my discussion of the poem I shall use the 1863 version and note any significant later alterations. The 1863 text is the most useful as it is the longest version of the poem and the later omissions in the other versions make the text harder to read.

vii) Ichabod

We can see from the 1865 titles (also used in 1883 and 1884) that the story is expected to finish in the same place in which it started. As Keen states in her thesis: 'Buchanan saw the story as a kind of cycle, beginning and ending in the same way' (Keen, p. 208). The 1863 version does not work in the same way. In both texts, however, 'The Sin' is in an emphatic middle position. 'Death in Life' and 'The Marble Life' became linked symmetrically in 1865, and the songs were dropped. There were also changes made to the body of the poem.

In the preface to Undertones (1863), Buchanan indicated that the myths put forward in this volume were interpretations: 'Faults may be found with certain liberties taken with old theories, certain tentative interpretations of ambiguous myths' (Buchanan, Undertones (1863)). We can conclude from this that it was Buchanan's intention to change the narratives or at least render them freely. If we take Ovid as our model in our discussion of the narrative, it is apparent, by comparison, that Buchanan has digressed from the original story considerably.

Buchanan's Pygmalion poem is a monologue spoken by the character Pygmalion. The function of this version of the narrative is to yield a warning by example. In the first section, Pygmalion tells us that on the morning of his wedding day, his bride-to-be died. After her death Pygmalion hears her voice telling him to take a block of marble and sculpt a statue of her. This action, she says, will purify him and heal his grief. It will also enable her to have some influence over him. Pygmalion then locks himself away in a tower with his tools and a block of marble, and performs this task. In section two, Pygmalion finishes the statue and falls in love

with it. Psyche, the soul, praises Pygmalion's work in section three. In section four, it is night-time and Pygmalion starts to imagine that the statue has come to life. He loves it passionately, and prays for it to be softened into flesh. When dawn comes, the statue actually comes to life. In the fifth section, Pygmalion prays to the statue thinking that she is Psyche, with a human soul. He asks her to speak. She cannot speak, but she screams when she is approached. Pygmalion realises that the statue does not have a soul. In part six, Psyche says that Pygmalion has done wrong in desiring that the statue should come to life. The last section, called 'Ichabod' (which means 'departed glory', OED), tells of a plague which breaks out in the city. Pygmalion attributes the cause of this to his sin. Shrieking, he flees from the statue and is condemned to wander around, like an ancient mariner figure, telling others his story.

Pygmalion starts off being the ideal, chaste lover about to marry. Once he has sculpted the statue-woman, he turns into the obsessive lover of the physical, described by William Bell Scott. Buchanan's Pygmalion is caught up in the physical / spiritual dilemma. He has created a beautiful statue that has no soul, an art which has no spiritual element: 'To the glorious windows of the eyes / No soul clomb up to look at the stars' (Buchanan, Undertones (1863), p. 177). The awakening of the statue presents a temptation for Pygmalion.

The role of Venus is taken by Psyche in this version of the story. This points to the important emphasis on the statue's lack of a soul. This lack of a soul is described as being like a void. Pygmalion's concentration on the beauty of the statue produced a statue without a spiritual element. Another aspect of this is revealed in

Buchanan's stress on the statue's long golden hair. According to Bram Dijkstra, during this period 'long hair was virtually synonymous with mental debility'.[12]

> and the hair
>
> Unloosening fell, and brighten'd as it fell,
>
> Till gleaming ringlets tingled to the knees
>
> Veiling her nakedness like golden rain,
>
> And cluster'd round about her where she stood
>
> As yellow leaves around a lily's bud (Buchanan, Undertones (1863), p. 173).

Ovid's statue-woman is not described as having yellow hair. Buchanan may have described her in this way in order to suggest that like Coleridge's 'Life-in-Death', his 'Death in Life' character would prove to be nightmarish. Later versions of the Pygmalion story by E. H. Coleridge (1865) and G. E. Lancaster (1880) also give the statue woman yellow hair and long tresses. Bram Dijkstra suggests in Idols of Perversity that descriptions of women with long golden hair were common in mid-to late Victorian literature.

> The manner in which women's hair was fetishized in the late nineteenth century is a perfect example of the process of 'cultural entrapment'. The mid-century cult of the super-feminine female had led to an ever greater emphasis on golden tresses (Dijkstra, p. 229).

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[12]Bram Dijkstra, Idols of Perversity. Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture (New York and Oxford, 1986), p. 229.

When the statue comes to life she is likened to an animal. She expresses 'the terror of a new yean'd lamb', she is 'tamer than beast', and 'like a glorious beast'. The reduction of the statue-woman to the status of an animal points towards Buchanan's conclusion that she has no soul.[13]

Like the monster in Mary Shelley's Frankenstein, the statue-woman is created, realistically, without speech. In most versions of the story the statue can speak at birth. There is however a suggestion that she can think: 'she wonder'd at herself, / She flushed to see her naked loveliness'. Like Frankenstein's monster the statue-woman listens to speech and tries to emulate the sounds. She 'murmur'd sounds like prattled infants' speech' (Buchanan, Undertones (1863), p. 178). Buchanan made his statue-woman a super-feminine female weighed down by her long golden tresses. She is also described as being like a flower, an unopened lily, the golden leaves of which trap her. This image of the imprisoned woman occurs throughout Buchanan's poem. When she is half-sculpted, the statue is described as being imprisoned by the stone and when she comes to life, she is kept in the dark and shown only a thin ray of sunshine. Pygmalion, the creator, controls the light and the space around her. She is startled by Pygmalion and is forced to cower in the corner of the room, having no freedom to leave. Their relationship at this point is seen in terms of predator and prey. When Pygmalion lets the light into the room, he clothes the statue-woman. After subduing her, he ties a cord around her waist. This is symbolic of her captivity.

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[13]John Hooley depicted the statue as having no soul in his later work 'Pygmalion' (1874). The statue is described as 'verily / Work of supremest statuary, / but soul was lacking thereunto, / And knowledge of the good and true'. Hooley's Pygmalion abandons the statue-woman and sails out to sea. (John Hooley, Pygmalion and Other Poems (Calcutta, 1874), p. 123.) As so little about this author is known, and he was not part of the British literary scene, his poem is not included in any depth here.

Buchanan's Pygmalion creates an 'unliving' soulless being, which is physically alive, but spiritually dead. The result is that Pygmalion runs away from his creation, 'shrieking, I fled' (Buchanan, Undertones (1863), p. 182). Buchanan depicted Pygmalion as a lover who became conscious that he had created art which had no spiritual element. The statue is depicted as a typical Victorian beauty, but without a soul.

III

The Fleshly Controversy began after this in 1866 with the publication of Swinburne's Poems and Ballads. The work attracted many scathing reviews and caused a great scandal. The three reviews which appeared on 4 August 1866 show how the literary world reacted. Robert Buchanan, writing anonymously in the Athanæum, based his objections on what he saw as the poet's lack of sincerity (Athenæum, 4 August 1866, pp. 137-138). He did not attack the use of Greek subject matter, as he was later to do in his essay 'On My Own Tentatives' (1868) and in 'The Fleshly School of Poetry' (1871 and 1872). Buchanan also accused Swinburne of blasphemy in this article.

It was John Morley in the Saturday Review who criticized Swinburne for his handling of the Greek theme. He suggested that there was

> an enormous difference between an attempt to revivify among us the grand old pagan concepts of Joy, and an attempt to glorify all the

> bestial delights that the subtleness of Greek depravity was able to contrive.[14]

Morley saw the collection as one which laid too much emphasis on the physical. Swinburne, he said, expressed the 'feverish carnality of the schoolboy over the dirtiest passages in Lemprière' (Stanford, p. 46). Morley asked whether there was really nothing in women worth singing about except 'quivering flanks' and 'splendid supple thighs . . .' (Stanford, p. 48).

Swinburne was criticized by another anonymous writer in the London Review for

> taking pains to shock in the highest degree, we will not say English conventional morals, but the commonest decencies of all modern lands. . . . Mr. Swinburne deliberately selects the most depraved stories of the ancient world.[15]

This piece acknowledged Swinburne's reconsideration of the relationship between the body and soul: 'He seems to have some idea of a heaven; but he tells us in plain language, and in several places, that it is a poor matter compared with a courtesan's caresses' (Hyder, p. 36).

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[14]Pre-Raphaelite Writing. An Anthology, ed. by Derek Stanford, Everyman's Library (London and Melbourne, 1973), p. 47.

[15]Swinburne. The Critical Heritage, ed. by Clyde K. Hyder (London, 1970), pp. 35-36.

On 15 September 1866, an anonymous poem, later correctly attributed to Robert Buchanan, appeared in the Spectator. 'The Session of the Poets' was a satire about those poets who were interested in Greek subject matter. He described Swinburne as a 'naughty young gentleman' (Hyder, p. 41). As in the later Fleshly School of Poetry, Buchanan described his own role amongst these Fleshly poets:

> Buchanan,-- who, finding, when foolish and young,
>
> Apollo asleep on a coster-girl's barrow,
>
> Straight dragged him away to see somebody hung (Hyder, p. 40).

Even in dissimulation Buchanan found it necessary to define his own position.

Swinburne wrote a reply to these criticisms called 'Notes on Poems and Reviews'. In this defence, Swinburne talks about the art of sculpture. He supported the use of the Greek theme wholeheartedly and relished its beauty and physical nature.

> I knew that belief in the body was the secret of sculpture, and that a past age of ascetics could no more attempt or attain it than the present age of hypocrites; I knew that modern moralities and recent religions were, if possible, more averse and alien to this purely physical and pagan art than to the others; but how far averse I did not know. There is nothing lovelier, as there is nothing more famous, in later Hellenic art, than the statue of Hermaphroditus.[16]

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[16]The Complete Works of Algernon Charles Swinburne, ed. by Edmund Gosse and Thomas James Wise, The Bonchurch Edition, 20 vols (London and New York, 1925-1927), XVI, 366.

William Michael Rossetti, whose defence of Poems and Ballads so angered Buchanan, thought differently. He suggested that the beautiful body and the soul were at one in Greek art, particularly in Greek sculpture.

> Everything Greek has become to us a compound of beauty and of thought, a vestige and an evidence of human soul infused as into Parian marble, marble-like in its purity of appeal to us (Hyder, p. 65).

These two issues: whether or not it is the duty of the artist not to give offence, and whether the Greek subject is suitable for art because of its physicality, are central to the debate. When discussing these issues Swinburne recognized the importance of the appreciation of the classical statue. The art of sculpture to him was 'purely physical and pagan', and ought to appreciated for these qualities. This was the start of the great Controversy.

IV

With the Fleshly Controversy now firmly under way, it was left to William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones to recapture the Pygmalion story for the Pre-Raphaelites. Morris's retelling of the story formed part of his epic The Earthly Paradise (1868-1880). 'Pygmalion and the Image' formed part of the first volume which was published in 1868. Burne-Jones also took up the theme, completing a series of sketches on the subject in 1867, a small set of paintings in 1870, and four larger paintings in 1879. These pictures were done in a medieval style.

'Pygmalion and the Image' written in Chaucerian stanzas, is a mixture of medieval and classical. The poem followed Ovid's version much more closely than Buchanan's 'Pygmalion the Sculptor'. As the poem has been discussed in detail by J. M. Keen in her thesis, I shall limit my discussion of it here (Keen, pp. 146-167).

Scott's lecture and Buchanan's poem both define the Pygmalion story as a narrative about the obsessive love of the body by an artist. The nature of Pygmalion's love, to them, was the same both before and after the statue had been transformed into a woman. Morris changed this feature. He saw a difference between the kind of love Pygmalion gave to the statue and the kind of love he gave to the woman-statue. Ovid did not have this problem. He was, as Keen notes, content for the love to be transferred from the statue to the woman and still be a desirable love.

The love which Pygmalion felt for the statue before its transformation is portrayed as an obsessive desire of the body, or empty shell. It is the kind of love which was described by Scott and Buchanan. Pygmalion, Morris's narrator, says that he had 'nothing in his heart but vain desire, / the ever-burning unconsuming fire'.[17] He was a 'madman, kneeling to a thing of stone'. However, just before the transformation of the statue, Pygmalion starts to calm his obsession with the physical beauty of the statue. He murmurs to himself: '"Ah, life, sweet life! the only godlike thing!"'. Pygmalion, on his way home from the temple, starts to regret having been too interested in the work of art: 'Yet did he loath to see the image fair / White and unchanged of face, unmoved of limb' (Morris, IV, 201). When he arrives at his house,

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[17] The Collected Works of William Morris, ed. by May Morris, 24 vols (London, 1910-1915), IV, 194.

he finds that his obsessive love has gone:

> on his heart there streamed
>
> Cold light of day -- he found himself alone,
>
> Reft of desire, all love and madness gone (Morris, IV, 202).

Pygmalion then falls in love with the living woman he finds at home. Importantly, the statue-woman has a soul: '"My new-made soul I give to thee today"' (Morris, IV, 203).

So, in this case, an interest in the purely physical is portrayed as an obsession, and an interest in the physical and the spiritual together (i.e. the beautiful statue-woman with a soul) is to be lauded as love. Morris solved the physical / spiritual dilemma posed by the Pygmalion story by transforming Pygmalion. Pygmalion's transformation is caused by him thinking rationally about his love in the 'cold light of day'. He does not run, screaming, away from the statue; instead, he is allowed to appreciate the spiritual as well as the physical nature of the statue.[18]

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[18]Keningale Robert Cook's 'Pygmalion' (written in 1866, though published in <u>Purpose and Passion</u> (London and New York, 1870)) also allowed the statue a soul: 'the ivory marble of her eyes / Softening to Psyche's hidden ether-dews / Reveals the influence of the unveiled soul' (p. 26), and 'The gods have given a soul' (p. 28). Though Cooke was not part of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, his poem is noteworthy here because of its devotion to the Greek subject and its emphasis on the soul question. His preface to <u>Purpose and Passion</u> asks us to 'revel and rest awhile with the fairy and the Greek' (p. xii). Interestingly, the poet writes in the notes to the volume that he 'was unaware of the existence of any English rendering of the legend [of Pygmalion] . . . . By Beddoes and Morris the legend is so tenderly and sweetly conceived, that had I earlier seen their versions, I should never have dared, or had room, myself, to attempt one' (p. 317). The poet also quotes from a letter written to him by Edgar Allan Poe which discusses this poem. Poe writes: 'Your Pygmalion has interested me greatly, and has given me many hints about the link between the ideal and the real, and how the pursuit of that which appears to be a criterion of ours, may

V

Some five years after he had written 'Pygmalion the Sculptor' and two years after his attack on Swinburne's poetry, not surprisingly, Robert Buchanan distanced himself from his classical poems. In 1868, Buchanan found that in order to expose the lack of a spiritual element which he found in poems with a Greek subject, he had to attack the use of Greek subject matter in general. Buchanan's new intentions were set out in an essay entitled 'On My Own Tentatives'.[19]

In this essay, Buchanan noted that in his works prior to 1868, 'excluding Undertones', 'I have been doing my best to show that actual life, independent of accessories, is the material for poetic art' (Buchanan, David Gray, p. 290). He referred here principally to the London Poems of 1866. Buchanan attacked the Greek subject on the premise that sympathy with a subject is restricted by a distance in time.

> The further the poet finds it necessary to recede from his own time, the less trustworthy is his imagination, the more constrained his sympathy, and the smaller his chance of creating true and desirable types for human contemplation (Buchanan, David Gray, p. 290).

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become a passion. It is a very deep subject, deeper than I can fathom. You seem to me [to] have approached it reverently, and yet with a glowing sympathy (p. 319). Cook acknowledges that the title of his book of poems has come from Poe's preface to his poems. Poe's preface of 1853 reads: 'With me poetry has been not a purpose, but a passion; and the passions should be held in reverence; they must not -- they cannot at will be excited, with an eye to the paltry compensations, or the more paltry commendations, of mankind' (Edgar Allan Poe, The Poetical Works of Edgar Allan Poe (London, 1853), p. xxxii).

[19]Robert Buchanan, 'On My Own Tentatives', in David Gray and Other Essays Chiefly on Poetry (London, 1868).

Buchanan's view, here, is diametrically opposed to that of Matthew Arnold. Perhaps he had Arnold in mind when he argued that Hellenic poetry belonged to academics and the cultural elite?

> Gentlemen from the universities shake their heads over me sadly, and complain, somewhat irrelevantly, I think, that I am not Greek. . . . Views of contemporary life, to please them, must be greatly idealized or subdued to the repose of Greek sculpture. . . . they confine their sympathy to tradition, and care most for statuesque woes and nude intellectualities moving on a background of antique landscape (Buchanan, David Gray, p. 291 (my italics)).

The modern poet was not to be a writer who was stuck in the past with 'statuesque' and 'antique' scenes which could only be 'intellectualized'. (Intellectualized because it was reinvented and informed by learning rather than by sympathy.)[20] The ideal poetry, for Buchanan, was about modern subjects: but only modern subjects which could be spiritualized:

> every fragmentary form of life is not fit for song, but that every form is so fit which can be spiritualized without the introduction of false elements to the final literary forms of harmonious numbers. . . . Truth,

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[20]'Insensibly, as has been shrewdly remarked, we derive our notions of Greek art from Greek sculpture, and forget that although calm evolution was rendered necessary by the requirements of the great amphitheatre, it was no calm life, no dainty passion, no subdued woe that was thus evolved' (Buchanan, David Gray, pp. 26-27.)

> then, to hit the sense of hearers, was to be strangely spiritualized -- spiritual truth being truth seen through the peculiar medium of a man's own individual soul (Buchanan, David Gray, pp. 299-300).

Buchanan complained that Christianity was no longer an inspiration for poets, and neither were things which were British. He wrote that 'actual national life is the perfectly approven material for every British poet' (Buchanan, David Gray, p. 290). The most important element in poetry was sincerity. If the poet was sincere, he could not be immoral.

Two things emerge from this essay which are also important features of Buchanan's attack on the Fleshly School in 1871: firstly, the emphasis on the sincerity of feeling and truthfulness of the poet, and secondly the importance of the spiritual element in poetry. The importance of the spiritual element in art is also emphasized in 'The Poet or Seer' in David Gray and Other Essays.

> The specific aim of art, in its definite purity is spiritualization; and pleasure results from that aim, because the spiritualization of the materials of life renders them, for subtle reasons connected with the soul, more beautifully and deliciously acceptable to the inner consciousness (Buchanan, David Gray, p. 17).

These new and forcefully expressed principles provide the context within which 'The Fleshly School of Poetry' was written. We can safely conclude that in Buchanan's mind, from this point on, the Pygmalion story would have failed on several accounts.

It had a Greek subject rather than a British one, it was fleshly, non-spiritual, and un-Christian. Buchanan's interpretation of the story in 1863 has been crystallized here in his aesthetics.

Despite the opposition, the Greek interest was still being aired by Swinburne and others. In the same year as Buchanan attacked Greek subject matter (1868), Swinburne wrote a review of George Frederick Watts's painting, 'The Wife of Pygmalion: A Translation from the Greek' (Swinburne, XV, 197). For Swinburne, the painting is of the exciting moment when the statue is brought to life: 'the soft severity of perfect beauty might serve alike for woman or statue, flesh or marble' (Swinburne, XV, 197). This is very much Swinburne's own interpretation. He found that sculpture and painting went hand in hand in the picture: 'without any forced alliance of form and colour, a picture may share the gracious grandeur of a statue, a statue may catch something of the subtle bloom of beauty proper to a picture' (Swinburne, XV, 197). The relationship between the contrary states fascinated him as did the relationship between the body and soul. The Pygmalion painting had led Swinburne to a discussion of the melting of marble into flesh, the interchangeability of art and life. He agreed with the 'intellectualized' and aestheticized concept of Greece:

> So it seems that a Greek painter must have painted women, when Greece had mortal pictures fit to match her imperishable statues. Her shapeliness and state, her sweet majesty and amorous chastity, recall the supreme Venus of Melos (Swinburne, XV, 197).

Buchanan consolidated his views on the physical / spiritual dilemma in his essay 'The Fleshly School of Poetry' which appeared in the Contemporary Review in October 1871. In this article Buchanan criticized in particular the work of Dante Gabriel Rossetti. His attack on Rossetti was fierce. Rossetti, like Swinburne, had an unusual concept of body and soul. In 'The House of Life', which first appeared in 1870, Rossetti had suggested the fusion or confusion of the two: 'Thy soul I know not from thy body, nor / Thee from myself, neither our love from God'.[21]

In 1871-2, Buchanan expanded this article into a small book of seven chapters entitled, The Fleshly School of Poetry, and Other Phenomena of the Day. It is this version of the attack which I shall be looking at here. The issues Buchanan discussed in this pamphlet were centred around the physical / spiritual dilemma: the dilemma which was so evident in the Pygmalion story and the discussions of Greek art at the time. In this critical work, Buchanan detailed all of his pet hates in contemporary poetry. He accused Swinburne of trying to emulate Baudelaire, calling 'Fleurs du Mal' a 'dunghill' (Buchanan, The Fleshly School of Poetry (1872), p. 22). Baudelaire, one of the 'French Scrofulous School', as Buchanan described him, did not appreciate the 'subtle nuances of spiritual life' (Buchanan, The Fleshly School of Poetry (1872), p. 29). The fourth and fifth chapters of this work were devoted entirely to criticism of the poetry of Dante Gabriel Rossetti. 'He is fleshly all over, from the roots of his hair to the tip of his toes . . . never spiritual, never tender; always self-conscious and aesthetic' (Buchanan, The Fleshly School of Poetry (1872), p. 45). Buchanan suggested that Rossetti had concentrated too much on the outward trappings of poetry, ignoring

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[21]Dante Gabriel Rossetti, 'The Heart's Hope', in The Poetical Works, ed. by William Michael Rossetti (London, 1898), p. 179.

the spiritual. 'A poem is a poem, first as to the soul, next as to the form. The fleshly persons who wish to create form for its own sake are merely pronouncing their own doom' (Buchanan, The Fleshly School of Poetry (1872), p. 52). This accusation had also appeared in the 1871 essay. In reply to it Rossetti wrote 'The Stealthy School of Criticism' (1871) which argued that he had not ignored the spiritual element of poetry. Many of his poems had in fact explored this subject. Buchanan conceded in the fifth chapter of the enlarged work of 1872 that Rossetti must have had some concept of the spiritual in art, but that it was not a very sound one.

> No one can rejoice more than I do to hear that Mr. Rossetti attaches a certain importance to the soul as distinguished from the body, only I should like very much to know what he means by the soul; for I fear, from the sonnet he quotes, that he regards the feeling for a young woman's person, face, heart, and mind, as in itself quite a spiritual sentiment. In the poem entitled 'Love-Lily' he expressly observes that Love cannot tell Lily's 'body from her soul' -- they are so inextricably blended. It is precisely this confusion of the two which, filling Mr. Rossetti as it eternally does with what he calls 'notorious longing', becomes so intolerable to readers with a less mystic sense of animal function (Buchanan, The Fleshly School of Poetry (1872), p. 69).

Buchanan accused Rossetti of ignoring the separate categories of physical and spiritual, and replacing them with a kind of physical spirituality in which the soul was sought or appreciated through the body. Swinburne was also guilty of this practice.

According to Buchanan the fleshly school claimed that it was time for 'the body' to be in the limelight, 'as if the simple and natural delights of the body had not been occupying our poetry ever since the days of the Confessio Amantis' (Buchanan, The Fleshly School of Poetry (1872), p. 84). Buchanan proclaimed that it was the turn of the spiritual element instead:

> Perhaps, after all, since so many centuries of Sexuality have done so little for poetry, it might be advantageous to give Spirituality a trial, and to see if her efforts to create a literature are equally unsuccessful (Buchanan, The Fleshly School of Poetry (1872), p. 85).

In The Fleshly School of Poetry, Buchanan had established that art should not merely represent the physical and that there was a physical / spiritual debate going on. He observed that some poets were confusing the two spheres. Buchanan felt that the physical / spiritual dilemma could not be solved by fusion.

VI

Before the Controversy, in 1861, William Bell Scott had decided that Pygmalion's love for the statue was the obsessive worship of the body in art. Having read William Morris's version, Scott changed his mind and came down in favour of the story and importantly in favour of the pre-Raphaelite version of the story. In The British School of Sculpture (1871), Scott praised Morris's version of the story, calling

it 'tender and human'.[22] In the introduction to this work, he made several important pronouncements about the art of sculpture, before going on to discuss the Pygmalion story. Sculpture, he said, could 'elevate' the human body to 'perfection'. The sculptor's art was like that of God: 'We seem to feel, with a sort of mysterious surprise, that the third step will follow, and the image become the thing itself' (Scott, British School, p. 3).

Scott attributed his change of mind directly to William Morris's poem, explaining that 'one poet after another has essayed the history of Pygmalion till Morris has succeeded in clothing it in fitting verse. How beautiful is this description of the finished but as yet unvitalised marble' (Scott, British School, p. 3). Morris's version had shown him that contemplation of the beauty of sculpture, like Winckelmann's contemplation of the Apollo Belvedere, was not wrong. He said of the 'worship and adoration of the work of our own hands' that

> we find something like it in the enthusiasm of the critic, in whom learning and the love of art unite with an imaginative temperament.... The statue of the Apollo seems to be animated with the beauty that sprung of old from the hands of Pygmalion (Scott, British School, pp. 4-5).

Scott tackled the Pygmalion subject again in 1875. In his book of Poems, he opened the section titled 'Occasional Sonnets' with an etching and a sonnet on the subject. The etching depicted the moment of statue's transformation. Pygmalion, on

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[22]William Bell Scott, The British School of Sculpture (London, 1872), p. 3.

his knees, clutches the cloak of the newly-transformed statue and gazes into her eyes. She, naked to the waist, lifts up her long wavy hair as if to loosen it. Pygmalion's tools lie on the floor in the foreground.

The sonnet 'Pygmalion' is divided up into an octave and a sestet. The prayer for the statue's transformation is given in the octave and Venus's response to the prayer and the transformation of the statue are described in the sestet:

Venus inclin'd her ear, and through the Stone
Forthwith slid warmth like spring through sapling-stems,
And lo, the eyelid stirr'd, beneath had grown
The tremulous light of life, and all the hems
Of her zon'd peplos shook. Upon his breast
She sank, by two dread gifts at once oppress'd.[23]

The poem is a glorification of the classical subject with its 'myrtle rod' and 'zon'd peplos'. It is a straightforward renarration of the important parts of the Pygmalion story. In the last two lines of the poem, Scott referred to two unnamed 'dread gifts' which affect the statue on her transformation. In the light of Scott's previous interests expressed in 1861, these gifts could be read as the beautiful body (the physical) and the soul (the spiritual). Morris had solved the mid-Victorian physical / spiritual dilemma by giving the statue these attributes and Scott had greatly admired his version of the story. These were 'dread gifts' because of the difficulty and seriousness involved in reconciling the two.

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[23]William Bell Scott, Poems (London, 1875), p. 193.

VII

To go back to my earlier question: what place does the Pygmalion story have within the context of the Fleshly Controversy and the Fleshly debate? The Fleshly Controversy was, in part, a debate about the portrayal of the spiritual (and physical) in art. In fact, as we have seen, the debate is wider than the Fleshly Controversy and we find the same issues debated in the Pygmalion stories of the time. Renarrations of the classical myth were an arena in which fleshly debates took place: debates which had extreme relevance for the Fleshly Controversy. The link with the Fleshly Controversy is shown not only in the way the Pygmalion story was interpreted, but also in the fact that the main protagonists in the Controversy wrote Pygmalion stories. There was a great deal of interest in the story as it passed between the members of a literary group and their critics. This was because ultimately it illustrated a major debate of mid-nineteenth century poetry: the problem of how to portray the body and the soul in art.

Excursus

The Pre-Raphaelite sculptor-poet, Thomas Woolner, wrote a twelve book Pygmalion poem in 1881 which does not fit comfortably in to the general pattern I have outlined in this chapter.[24] Woolner's separateness from other Pre-Raphaelite poets is noted by Richard Jenkyns in Dignity and Decadence: 'Woolner, the only sculptor among the seven founders of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood' shows 'no trace of

[24]Thomas Woolner, Pygmalion (London, 1881).

Medieval influence. Instead he plainly descends from the neo-classical school' (Dignity and Decadence, p. 104).

In a letter to W. E. Gladstone (20 December 1881), Woolner acknowledges that he saw the Pygmalion story quite differently from his contemporaries . He writes that the subject of Pygmalion has 'not been understood as an artist understands it';[25] and in a letter to Henry Adams (4 December 1881) he writes that 'I never yet met with an individual who understood the story'.[26] As the artist-poets William Morris and William Bell Scott, and the artist Edward Burne-Jones, had already interpreted the story, this might constitute a criticism of their work. Unlike the work of Morris and Burne-Jones, Woolner's poem shows no influence by the Medieval. As just noted, his poetic style has been described as 'sculpturesque', and owes much to neo-classicism.[27] There are statements in Pygmalion which can be seen as neoclassical. Pygmalion, for example, is 'bound up by those rule of Art / The Wise had found inexorably fixed' (p. 24). The link between the style of Woolner's sculpture and that of his poetry can be seen in one of his letters. Woolner saw his classical poetry as a substitute for sculpture; it occupied him when he could not get a commission. Writing on 26 December, 1881, he explains:

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[25]Amy Woolner, Thomas Woolner. His Life in Letters (London, 1917), p. 311.

[26]John F. Cox, 'Thomas Woolner's Letters to Mr. and Mrs. Henry Adams (II), Journal of the Pre-Raphaelite, 2 (1981), 1-21 (p. 1).

[27]Benedict Read notes that this term was first applied to Woolner's poetry by Coventry Patmore. Benedict Read, 'Was there Pre-Raphaelite Sculpture?', in The Pre-Raphaelite Papers, ed. by Leslie Parris (London, 1984), pp. 97-110 (p. 98).

> As I can get no chance of doing poetic sculpture it is pleasant that my poetry is so much liked; for one must get the poetry out somehow, or else feel very much disgusted with the world in general (Cox (II), p. 3).

Woolner was particuarly pleased with the favourable responses to the poem made by classical scholars and literary men.[28] Cardinal Newman called it 'very beautiful, though not so severe perhaps as would suit the taste of the old classics' (Amy Woolner, Thomas Woolner, p. 310).

The poem pursues two themes. Firstly it explores the relationship between the artist, his model and the work of art. Secondly, the poet is concerned with the issue of public opinion in the art world. The narrative suggests that rumours can destroy a good reputation; Pygmalion's reputation is ultimately regained. Woolner's main concern, in Pygmalion, is to make the story credible. He looked at the Pygmalion story as a kind of problem which could be solved. He wrote in a letter on 18 October, 1881:

> I shall be anxious to know what you think, and if you think I have solved what seems to be an almost impossible problem, how a statue in marble came in legends to be turned into a live woman![29]

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[28]'I have had most gratifying praises of my poem, and I am told that literary men are especially pleased. The very great scholars such as the Master of Trinity, Munro (editor of Lucretius), Aldis Wright, cardinal Newman, and Mr Gladstone have sent me the most charming letters' (Cox, (II), p. 3).

[29]John F. Cox, 'Some Letters of Thomas Woolner to Mr. and Mrs. Henry Adams (I)', The Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies, 1 (1981), 1-27 (p. 22).

This is confirmed by the introduction to the poem in which the narrator says that he or she will

> venture into days remote and old,
> Till I the mystery unfold
> How passion deep, and Aphrodite's aid,
> Resolved to life that wondrous Maid,
> Pygmalion wrought in marble (Woolner, p. 2).

Woolner's solution to the problem of the statue's metamorphosis is to change the narrative dramatically. The transformation scene is omitted, and is replaced with a more tame scene in which the sculptor realises that he is in love with Ianthe, the model for the statue.[30]

Woolner's solution did not, however, suit the taste of poet Richard le Gallienne:

> Strange to say that the poem from which one would naturally expect most really gives us least. The radical artistic flaw of Mr. Woolner's 'Pygmalion' seems to me in treating the story historically instead of as a symbolic myth. Galatea therein appears but as the model of Pygmalion, and Mr. Woolner seeks to explain the old story away by

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[30]Benedict Reade and Joanna Barnes suggest that Woolner changed this element for a different reason: 'In the matter of the statue coming to life and being married to the sculptor, Woolner evades the issue that could have embarrassed a man who felt so strongly in favour of the Deceased Wife's Sister Act which Holmon Hunt ventured to disregard that Woolner never spoke to his brother-in-law again'. Pre-Raphaelite Sculpture. Nature and Imagination in British Sculpture 1848-1914, ed. by Benedict Reade and Joanna Barnes (London, 1991), p. 10.

> attributing its origin to a playful remark of Pygmalion's, who, bringing Galatea down from his work-room one day after the statue had been finished and admired, said to his mother, 'Behold the statue has found breath, and I am going to take it to wife'. A bystander hearing this took it for a miracle, and the story was speedily running through the town. Hence the legend, says Mr. Woolner. Maybe, but all its significance as a symbol is absolutely lost in so domestic an interpretation.[31]

For the other Pre-Raphaelites and Richard le Gallienne the issue was not how to make the story more probable, nor to suggest a possible reason for its origin, but to restore the Pygmalion story as a significant symbol for contemporary literary and aesthetic concerns.

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[31]The Poets of the Century, ed. by Alfred Miles, 10 vols (London, 1879), V, 265-266.

CHAPTER SIX: PYGMALION PLAYS

I

The Pygmalion story was dramatized on the nineteenth century British stage only through comedy. The earliest, Pygmalion; Or the Statue Fair by William Brough, was first performed in 1867; this was followed by W. S. Gilbert's Pygmalion and Galatea of 1871; finally Henry Pottinger Stephens's collaboration with W. Webster produced Galatea; Or Pygmalion Re-Versed (1883). There were, however, three plays on the subject of Pygmalion which did not reach the theatre. These were The New Pygmalion. Or The Statue's Choice by Andrew Lang (1883); Edgar. Or The New Pygmalion by Ronald Ross (1883), and Agnes Rous Howell's Euphrosyne; Or The Sculptor's Bride (1886).

The three earliest plays mentioned above owe much to the genre of comic play known as the burlesque. As John D. Jump notes, in Burlesque, there were two principal species of this type of play: high and low.[1] High burlesque involved a trifling subject being elevated through the style of the presentation; low burlesque depended on the degradation of a high-blown subject (like the classics, or Shakespeare) by using an inappropriately low style. The Pygmalion burlesques of the century fall into the latter category. Using Jump's classification, Brough's and Gilbert's plays can generally be defined as 'Hudibrastic', that is, low burlesque which does not parody a specific text. Stephens's play is, on the other hand, a travesty.

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[1]John D. Jump, Burlesque (London, 1972), p. 1.

The burlesque was an extremely popular form of theatre in the nineteenth century.[2] The form was subject to certain legal restrictions which dictated the subject of the plays.

> Burlesque in the English theatre had been severely limited when in 1737 the Licensing Act virtually excluded political matters from the stage. . . . Perhaps this curtailment fostered the development of mock-classical burlesques, in which the figures and fables of Ancient Greece and Rome were turned to up-to-date and usually ludicrous ends.[3]

James Robinson Planché (1796-1880) is credited with being the inventor of the 'modern' (that is, nineteenth century) burlesque.[4] Planché was also the first 'to use mythology and the classical world as a subject for burlesque (Davenport Adams, p. 44). These mythological or classical burlesques were heavily dependent on ridicule and puns.

> Such mock-classical burlesques earned their laughs simply -- with the audience at the minor theatres there was probably no choice. The joke derived from the grandeur of the figure represented -- Greek hero or

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[2]Jump writes that 'early and mid-Victorian audiences . . . preferred low to high burlesque' (p. 71).

[3]George Rowell, The Victorian Theatre 1792-1914. A Survey (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 66-67.

[4]William Davenport Adams, A Book of Burlesque, Sketches of English Stage Travestie and Parody (London, 1891), p. 44.

> Roman god -- and the bathos of his lines and antics. No doubt the acting of such pieces was often as crude as the writing . . . . In these classical burlesques Planché, like his colleagues, relied mainly on putting irreverent sentiments into revered mouths. . . . His audience's taste insisted on punning as a principal source of laughter (Rowell, pp. 67-68).

Gilbert's mythological plays, Rowell suggests, 'owe something to Planché's handling of mythology (Rowell, p. 94). Harley Granville-Barker argues that by the time Gilbert came to the form, however, burlesque had 'punned and rioted itself to death'.[5] Though Gilbert's Pygmalion play is significantly lacking in puns, it must be noted that burlesques (and their puns) were still being written after Gilbert came to the form.

An important aspect of the burlesque was its use of song. It was, effectively, an early form of musical. Rowell asserts that from the 1860s 'the emphasis of traditional burlesque turned increasingly from the 'travestie' of the title to incidental song and dance' (Rowell, p. 72). As well as comprising songs and drama, the typical burlesque formed part of a structured evening of entertainment. It

> was the affair of an hour, not more, split into five or six scenes for variety's sake. . . played through without any interval -- this was most important -- for reflection. At the Strand there would be at least two, but more probably three plays in the programme, which began at seven;

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[5]Harley Granville-Barker, 'Exit Planché -- Enter Gilbert', in The Eighteen-Sixties. Essays by Fellows of the Royal Society of Literature, ed. by John Drinkwater (Cambridge, 1932), p. 120.

> that meant a comedy and a farce besides. The burlesque would come at the end or in the middle (Granville-Barker, p. 138).

At their best, burlesques were interested in playing with language through puns, though often in a predictable way.

The first three Pygmalion comedies of the nineteenth century made much of the role of the statue. The three statues share common features: the principal one being her characterization as a naive new-born person, and the exploitation of this characterization for humorous ends.

II

The first burlesque on the subject of Pygmalion was written by William Brough (1826-1870). William Brough, was a 'prominent figure in the Victorian theatre' (Rowell, p. 66). Like other Victorian burlesque writers, William and his brother Robert (who was also a successful writer of burlesques) 'were content to make pun their principal weapon', but 'that did not preclude their using it with a great deal of skill and variety' (Rowell, p. 71).

Brough's classical burlesque was intended to be a visual spectacle. According to review of the play in The Times:

> Judged according to the standard set up by the Strand Theatre, Pygmalion is most excellent; in almost every line we find a pun, and all the accompaniments of the modern extravaganza abound in it. The dresses of king Astyages and his court are grotesquely classical; the

Grecian key pattern appears in all sizes, and the head-dress of the princess is a masterpiece.[6]

The play was written in rhyming couplets, a device commonly employed in burlesques for humorous effect. The couplets often provide a unit in which the audience can expect the second line to provide a pun on the first. For example:

Pygmalion Your sculptor amorous implores you madly

Statue Yes! Sculptors (h)ammer-us poor statues sadly.[7]

Statue A chop and a tater, say at eight -- not later.

Pygmalion Thus ends our tête-à-tête at eight a tater (Brough, p. 22).

Statue Me, from a marble block did this man hew,

Though hew'd by man, I've become hew-man, too

(Brough, p. 31).

Pygmalion; Or the Statue Fair, was first performed in the Royal Strand theatre on 20 April 1867. Brough directed the play himself, with the help of a Mr. Parselle. Initially, it ran along side J. Kenny's Sweethearts and Wives and F. Hay's The French Exhibition. The former was described in the advertisement in The Times as 'a popular

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[6]The Times, 20 April 1867, p. 8.

[7]William Brough, Pygmalion; or The Statue Fair. An Original Burlesque (London, 1867), p. 21.

comedietta in two acts', and the latter as 'a new and original farce' (The Times, 20 April 1867, p. 8). In Brough's play, the part of Pygmalion was played by a woman, Miss Raynham, and in true pantomime style, the part of the princess Mandane, whom Brough describes as 'an Old Maid, whose pater is anxious to mate her', was played by a man -- Mr Thomas Thorne.[8]

This play is significant in the development of the Pygmalion story in that it was the first time the vivification of the statue was portrayed as a punishment, inflicted on Pygmalion by Venus because of his dislike of women. This development of the story is picked up later by certain classical dictionaries, and taken to be part of the original story (see appendix 1).

Pygmalion; Or the Statue Fair, a play in six scenes, is set on the island of Cyprus. In the first scene Venus and Cupid discuss Pygmalion. They vow to make the sculptor fall in love, as he has sworn to love no woman. In the second scene we are introduced to Pygmalion's apprentice, Cambyses, who yearns for a more fulfilling role than that of a chisel sharpener. Cambyses wins the love of Mopsa, a maid employed by a neighbour. While the king and princess are visiting the sculptor's studio, the princess falls in love with Cambyses and they agree to marry. Cupid then wounds Pygmalion with an arrow and Pygmalion falls in love with his statue (who is unnamed throughout).

The third scene is set near the temple of Venus, where a festival is in progress. Mopsa has agreed to meet Cambyses here, but he spurns her as he now loves the princess. The princess arrives and spurns Cambyses. Cambyses, who is now left with no one to love, complains to Venus. Pygmalion then enters the temple and asks Venus

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[8]The part of Cupid was played by a woman, Miss Elsie Holt.

for a woman who is like his marble statue, or 'if the world has no such maid to give, / Then bid my peerless statue move and live' (Brough, p. 20). Venus grants his request.

Scene four takes place in a landscape with a cave, where the lovers Cupid and Psyche meet. Venus enters declaring that she has given the statue life but not love. Pygmalion confirms this, saying that the statue woman thinks more of her stomach than her heart. He suggests that the monster made by Frankenstein did not cause as much woe as the statue woman. The princess and Cambyses are reconciled. Psyche, disguised as a beggar, meets the statue. With a kiss, Psyche gives the statue woman a 'human mind' and she falls in love with Pygmalion at once.

The fifth scene takes place in the throne room of the palace. Cambyses and the princess are celebrating their marriage. It becomes apparent that it was foretold that the king would be usurped by his son-in-law. The celebrations are interrupted by Mopsa, who arrives saying that she had a prior claim to Cambyses. She, however, sees general Harpagus and instantly falls in love with him, and so releases Cambyses from any obligation to her. The statue woman arrives looking for Pygmalion. She leaves as Pygmalion enters and asks for the princess's hand. He is too late. The king directs Pygmalion to his statue woman, and they are united. In the final scene, Venus expresses her anger over Psyche's conduct:

Venus — My old foe Psyche's been at work, I find
She's to that statue given a human mind.
I aim'd at punishing the sculptor's pride;
She's given him a loving bride (Brough, p. 34).

The play ends with Venus, appeased by Cupid, calling 'everybody for the last scene! / A final tableau's now all we require' (p. 35). Pygmalion's relationship with his statue is characterized as a success. The statue says: 'I am satisfied -- in fact I am delighted. / To my sculptor-lover I'm at length united'.

The Pygmalion plays of this century are an exciting forum for the exploration and development of the character of the statue (and of the story in general). The initial concern for the playwright was the expansion of this role into a significant part for an actress. Rousseau's Pygmalion play had virtually ignored the character of the statue, using the story purely as a medium for exploring the nature of the artist.

A concern for poets writing about Pygmalion in the 1860s and 1870s was, as is discussed earlier, the problem of whether or not the new-born statue had a soul. This aspect of the story enters into play in Brough's version of the tale. In the first instance, the statue is brought to life without a soul.[9] She is a woman who can think only of bodily things. This is indicated by the statue's interest in her appetite (rather than by anything morally dubious in her nature). She is concerned with how her body feels. The statue describes her own transformation as feeling like an itch ('straight I felt an itching' (p. 21)). At this stage, importantly, the statue is incapable of falling in love. In scene four, Psyche, who was important in Robert Buchanan's 'Pygmalion', breathes a 'human mind' into the statue (p. 29). The statue gains a soul and the ability to love. She tells how

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[9]Psyche's gift to the statue is described as a 'human mind' throughout the play. However, it is clear from the statue's actions that before Psyche kisses her she already has a human mind. She can talk and acts in a human way. I would suggest that Psyche's gift is the soul, an essential human quality, and the only human quality that the statue lacks. She is described as breathing it into the statue. The direct result of her gift is that the statue can fall in love.

New feelings through my form in every part arise,

Thrill through my veins, and likewise in my heart arise,

Till now stone cold, with human love now burning,

The sculptor's passion I'm, I feel, returning (Brough, p. 29).

So, the question of the need for a soul in order to love is important for this 1867 version of the Pygmalion story. The play is also significant in that it set the mould for the characterization of the statue on the stage as a woman with a certain deficiency. In the Pygmalion plays of this century sometimes the inadequacy is made up for, sometimes it is not. In Brough's play, the statue's deficiency lies in her inability to love; this ability is later given to her by Psyche, the soul. In the next play to come to the stage, the deficiency is famously (and influentially) characterized as a lack of knowledge and experience.

III

W. S. Gilbert's play, Pygmalion and Galatea was first performed at the Haymarket theatre on 9 December 1871.[10] It was revived at this theatre on 20 January 1877 and was so successful that it ran at the Lyceum in 1883, 1884 and 1888. The

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[10]While Pygmalion and Galatea was running, the Haymarket was being managed by John Buckstone. During his career, Buckstone had been a great comic actor, manager and playwright. In earlier years he had worked with Planché at the Haymarket. Rowell says of him: 'English comic acting in the early Victorian era centred very largely on the Haymarket, of which two successive managers, Benjamin Webster and John Baldwin Buckstone, seemed to personify that acting in their own jovial personalities' (Rowell, p. 26). Harley Granville-Barker pointed out a connection between Planché's work and the plays of Gilbert's early years. Not only had both worked with Buckstone, but in 'Exit Planché -- Enter Gilbert', Granville-Barker implies that in terms of comic theatre Gilbert took up where Planché left off.

play was performed at the Savoy theatre and the Comedy theatre in 1900, His Majesty's theatre in 1916, the Coliseum in 1917, and in 1919 the play was produced (for the last time) at the Scala theatre.

Gilbert's play was immensely successful. Written before his partnership with Arthur Sullivan, it was Gilbert's first major financial success. A glance at the salaries of the actors confirms this. Russell Jackson's article, 'The Lyceum in Irving's Absence: G. E. Terry's letters to Bram Stoker' records details of some of the salaries.[11] Jackson reproduces letters written by Terry which confirm the high salaries of the actors, and the great numbers of people who flocked to see the play.

> Business is very good. Miss Anderson takes her merry little £500 and odd a week and has ever since the second week of her engagement. The Press on the whole speak well of her as Galatea but the thing that is drawing London (Monday night £325.18.6) is the statue it certainly is good (Jackson, p. 30).[12]

The letter is dated 10 December 1883, and therefore refers to the third production of the play.

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[11]Russell Jackson, 'The Lyceum in Irving's Absence: G. E. Terry's Letters to Bram Stoker', Nineteenth Century Theatre Research, 6 (1978), 25-33. The article examines letters from the Victoria and Albert Museum which are called the 'Lyceum Accounts'.

[12]Jackson notes that 'on 18 December he [Terry] reports the previous week's receipts as a prodigious £2000; on 20 December the average is £325 a night. . . . On saturday 29 December Terry records his astonishment at the full house: "The house is full today cant [sic] understand it! must be a craze same as when Mrs Langtry appeared"' (p. 30).

The reason for the play's popularity was not its burlesque heritage. Gilbert's Pygmalion is not easily categorized as a burlesque. Rowell writes that Gilbert's early plays

> show traces of his struggle to find an individual style which would commend itself to the new theatre public. Thus Pygmalion curiously combines an arch Victorian humour with an undertone of genuine passion and despair (Rowell, p. 94).

Pygmalion and Galatea is described by Gilbert himself as a 'mythological comedy'. It is longer than the average burlesque being in three acts rather than one. Like Brough's play it was written in verse, but Gilbert avoids rhyming couplets (which were used for comic effect in the burlesque). The play lacks puns, and the comedy is restrained. The difference between Gilbert's play and other mythological comedies of the time was noticed by a reviewer in The Times. We are told that Gilbert

> started with extravaganzas, differing from his many competitors by his temperance in the employment of buffoonery. Soon burlesque in his hands lost nearly all its attributes, and we had in the Princess a piece not assignable to any recognized class. . . . In his newest work [Pygmalion and Galatea] he assumes a classical tone, considers the antique unities, plunges into the depth of Greek mythology, and aims at a result altogether unique on the modern English stage. In Paris, especially at the Odéon, the public is more or less habituated to

> mythological comedies, but even these are usually in one act, and occupy a subordinate position in the evening's programme. The very attempt to make the simple myth of the enamoured sculptor and the vivified statue fill three acts shows much audacity on the part of the author.[13]

It was a formula which Gilbert tried to repeat. His first collaboration with Arthur Sullivan spawned the operetta Thespis (1871).[14]

In Pygmalion and Galatea, Pygmalion is, this time, a married sculptor whose wife, Cynisca is the model for the statue Galatea.[15] Pygmalion complains that his art is not good enough because he cannot bring stone to life. When his wife goes away for the day, he reiterates this complaint, causing the statue to come to life. Galatea, now alive and inexperienced, causes problems with the relationship between Pygmalion's sister Myrine and Leucippus; then she disrupts the marriage of Chrysos, the art-patron who comes to purchase her, and his wife Daphne. Finally, when

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[13]The Times, 12 December 1871, p. 4.

[14]Isaac Asimov writes that 'Gilbert's mind was full of Pygmalion and Galatea in 1871, and that meant it was full of Greek mythology. He therefore decided to do another mythological piece and that turned out to be Thespis'. Isaac Asimov, Asimov's Annotated Gilbert and Sullivan (New York and London, 1988), p. 3. Asimov notes, further, that Thespis was produced at the Gaiety theatre, a theatre known for its burlesques. The opera flopped, possibly as a result of the choice of venue. George Rowell notes that after the unsuccessful Thespis Gilbert steered clear of classical subjects (Rowell, p. 93).

[15]The review of 12 December 1871 suggests that the original story of Pygmalion was a shapeless one which needed some attention. The writer regards it as a problem which needed a solution. The solution is Cynisca (the jealous wife). Gilbert is described as being like Pygmalion in shaping the story and bringing it to life: 'What the gods did for the sculptured figure, Mr. Gilbert has done for the myth' (p. 4).

Cynisca arrives home early to find the statue alive, she accuses Pygmalion of being unfaithful to her. This accusation, because of a gift Cynisca had been given by the goddess Artemis, causes Pygmalion to go blind until he is forgiven. Pygmalion is forgiven when Galatea teaches Cynisca the meaning of pity. Galatea, now much more experienced, is capable of more complex thought, and the play ends with her changing back into stone.

Pygmalion and Galatea was produced ten times in London in the period from 1871 to 1919. Many of the reviews and some of the programmes and production ephemera still remain.[16] It is possible to glean from various reviews of the play that different interpretations of the characters were given in the different productions. A close examination of these reviews, some of which are positive, some negative, shows that Pygmalion and Galatea was received as a problematic, though successful, play. The difficulties were largely concerning the portrayal of the major characters. Of particular interest here is the interpretation of the character of Galatea by the actresses who played her and the reception of these Galateas by contemporary critics.[17]

The major problem, according to the critics, for all of the productions was the way in which Gilbert had drawn the character of Galatea. Gilbert, like most narrators of the Pygmalion story, gave Galatea the power of speech. However, in order to convey the idea that Galatea had just been born, he decided to give her a vast, though

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[16]The Theatre Museum Library (hereafter T. M. L.) in Covent Garden has a collection of photographs, programmes, playbills and cuttings of reviews (many of which are, unfortunately, unidentified) of Gilbert's play.

[17]The character Pygmalion posed less of a problem for critics, though some of them commented on the unpleasantness of his character. One review called him: 'a selfish and cruel egotist who ruins the life of the being he has created' (T. M. L., Haymarket, 1877). Another review claims that 'Pygmalion treats poor Galatea very shabbily indeed' (T. M. L., Haymarket, 1877).

selective, store of innate knowledge. Though few of the transformed statues in the history of the Pygmalion story say a great deal, it is usually the case that the newly-transformed statue has no difficulty speaking: indeed she certainly does not seem to lack anything as major as knowledge. Her first words are usually an expression of the love she has instantly conceived for Pygmalion. The interest in the problem of how a grown person can learn to speak and to understand the world can be traced, in the literary tradition, back to Mary Shelley's Frankenstein. Indeed, this connection is made by one of the Times's reviewers. The Times (12 December 1871) suggests that Gilbert did not succeed in achieving a truly psychological study of the Pygmalion story, but implies that this was his intention.

> To pourtray [sic] the mental condition of this full-grown child, who is thus shot into the world, accompanied with the gift of speech, is now the business of the author. . . . In achieving the psychological study, which is suggested by the myth, Mr Gilbert has scarcely succeeded, and perhaps success in this respect was impossible within the narrow limits of a play. Mrs Shelley, in her romance of Frankenstein, could explain, by an application of Locke's theory of experience, how the mind of the Monster, at first so perfectly blank, was gradually brought to a quasi-rational condition. But this sort of development is not to be effected by dramatic dialogue, and Mr Gilbert cannot but help making Galatea start into life with a much larger stock of worldly knowledge than is consistent with this sudden burst into consciousness. Indeed, the reflective speaker, who, at different points of her discourse, asks

> himself why she knows just this, and is ignorant of just that, will find that he has proposed questions somewhat difficult to answer. [18]

The review saw Gilbert's interpretation of this aspect of the story as a reasonable amplification which was needed if the story was to succeed on the stage, though its inconsistencies were noted. Though there are glaring inconsistencies in the varying range of knowledge and experience Galatea is allowed to show, the device is one which, at times, emphasizes her innocence, at others shows her to be (unwittingly) wise, and is a source of humour. As a device, it was not universally condemned. An unidentified review of the first production suggests that the effect given by Galatea's selective knowledge is that

> Galatea (Miss Robertson) thus comes to life with no more knowledge than suffices to establish the impression that she was stone a few minutes previously. A woman, perfect in her loveliness, she knows nothing in her new-born life of the world to which she is introduced.[19]

The reviews of the second production (Haymarket, 29 January 1877) showed less preoccupation with the inconsistencies in the play. Of ten reviews, only two mention them. The theatre critic for The Standard newspaper commented that

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[18]The Times, 12 December 1871, p. 4.

[19]T.M.L., Haymarket, December 1871.

> Some inconsistency is unavoidable if Galatea is to speak at all. She knows a great deal when she first comes to life, and the question is why she does not know a great deal more. Hearing that Leucippe is a soldier she asks, 'What is that?' On being told, she declares that he is 'a paid assassin!' and one is inclined to inquire how it comes about that if she knows what an assassin is she does not know what a soldier is? This, however, is perhaps, analysing too deeply, and simply for the sake of gaining consistency we certainly would not be without Galatea's naive deductions and arguments.[20]

Another paper suggested that a statue which had been brought to life should speak no language at all, and takes the play to task on its lack of realism.

> Very considerable indulgence has to be extended by an audience which sees a being brought from marble to life, and finds it, knowing perfectly well how to use one class of words and yet in absolute ignorance concerning the other. A statue endowed with life, were such a thing possible, would speak, of course no language at all. Mr. Gilbert presents her, however, as a master of English (or assumably Greek), presents her, too, as addressing the sculptor at once by his name and then using correctly such words as soft and warm. A being who knew

[20]T. M. L., Haymarket, January 1877 (The library attributes this to The Standard, 22 January 1877, but gives no page number).

> these things might just as well know what was a woman and what a man.[21]

On the question of selective knowledge, this is by far the least sympathetic of the reviews.

There were further difficulties with the characterization of Galatea. These relate more directly to the wider context of the mid-Victorian conception of the Pygmalion story in poetry. The two opposing ideas of the story in this period involved the statue being seen as an embodiment of spirituality and classical serenity or as an embodiment of physicality and classical immorality. The question for the productions of Pygmalion and Galatea was: how should the part of the Galatea be acted? Was the transformed statue to retain the dignity and classical poise of the original statue, or was she to become a real woman with real passions?

The first production of the play boasted Miss Madge Robertson as Galatea. Her acting of the role was considered to be 'ethereal and naive'.[22] It is this ethereal and other-worldly quality which removed Galatea from what could be perceived as an indelicate situation. If Galatea was more like a work of art than like a living woman, then the play could cause no offence.[23] The play is after all socially daring. Pygmalion

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[21]T. M. L., Haymarket, 1877.

[22]The Times, 12 December 1871, p. 4.

[23]A review of the first production notes that a real statue was used for the untransformed Galatea. This was not the case for the later productions. The statue was made by the Royal Academy sculptor J. B. Phillips. 'The statue which plays such a prominent part in the business of the comedy has been modelled by no less skilful a hand than that of Mr. J. B. Phillips, the Royal Academician and sculptor of the Albert Memorial' (T. M. L., Haymarket 1871).

(usually an unmarried man) is, here, a married sculptor who is ostensibly, for a part of the play, in love with Galatea, who is not his wife.

> The beauty of the situation is beyond question, the author, by his perfectly ideal treatment, avoiding all suspicion of immorality, where a less delicate and poetical writer would have given room for offence. Galatea is not the subject of a possible liaison, but merely the embodiment of an artist's devotion to art, and thus Pygmalion's dilemma has nothing in common with those social perplexities which we find in such variety on the stages of Paris (The Times, 1871).

The fact that the statue has become a real woman (and has lost the purity of her statue state) presented problems for the mid-Victorian audience. These were problems which could be exacerbated by the style of acting chosen.

Marion Terry's interpretation of the role elicited the most varied response. She played the role of Galatea at the Haymarket in January 1877. Terry played the role very tamely. She was criticized by some for being passionless, and lauded by others for embodying the statuesque qualities needed (in the portrayal of the transformed woman) in order to draw attention away from the play's indelicacies. The Times's review of 25 January 1877 suggested that 'Miss Terry, who has to appear now as a statue, now as a human being, bore herself with much grace in both capacities'. [24] The paper continues: 'the human Cynisca stands out in refreshing contrast to the "mythological" Galatea'. Another paper noted that Terry's Galatea possessed

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[24]The Times, 25 January 1877, p. 9.

'remarkable purity and virginal charm'.[25] The review in The Figaro was also in favour of Terry's statuesque Galatea:

> And yet it seems not worthy of discussion whether Miss Marion Terry's less expressive reading of the part does not more accurately carry out the author's intention. Surely the contrast between the natural love of Cynisca and the supernatural love of Galatea is heightened when there is a something characteristic of a statue in the statue's emotion. Surely it will not be contended that the gentle affection felt by Galatea for him who has given her life is of the same order as the warm, passionate devotion of a woman for her husband! . . . . Miss M. Terry, who consistently suggests in the gestures and tones of Galatea that she is, as it were, in a dream -- a spirit accidentally wandering to a world not her own.[26]

For this reviewer, the play is about the contrast between the statuesque and human, between 'gentle affection' and 'warm passionate devotion'. Galatea's other-worldliness is emphasized in order to make the play more seemly, as it is in the review in The Standard: 'From the first to the last there is a weird and mysterious charm about her Galatea. The animated statue never seems to be quite an earthly being'.[27] The review

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[25]T. M. L., Haymarket 1877.

[26]T. M. L., Haymarket, January 1877. (The library attributes this review to The Figaro, 27 January, 1877, but gives no page number)

[27]The Standard, 22 January 1877.

went on to suggest that the animated statue (for that is all she is to this reviewer) only fully realizes her womanhood when she is about to change back to stone. Like those discussed above, the reviewer is not comfortable with the womanly nature of the statue.

There was one reviewer for whom Marion Terry's interpretation of the role of Galatea did not change the play for the better: 'the play is capable of far better dramatic interpretation than it has ever received'.[28] Galatea, the reviewer claims, was not a part which could be played by an inexperienced actress. It required more than 'simplicity and girlishness'. We are told:

> Galatea is not a girl, but a perfected woman. She breathes at the supreme moment of her womanhood, and a soul is given to her shapely form. Unless Galatea is a woman, the comparison to Cynisca hopelessly breaks down, and, as it seems to us, the essence of the poem is diluted. . . . She [Marion Terry] constantly possesses on her face an air of supreme repose and movements and attitudes alike are singularly graceful. But this is only a third of what goes to make up the true Galatea. Where is the flow of her absorbing love for Pygmalion; where the intensity of her new nature as describes with fervour the joy of life or the sorrow occasioned by the sinking of the beautiful day? Alas we look for them in vain . . . We want the full richness of expression; we demand the bitter wail of despair. . . . The sorrow of Galatea must be intense and heartfelt, not merely prettily accentuated and tame. . . . We

[28] T. M. L. Haymarket, January 1877.

> demand from Galatea, when she does breathe, some heart, some strength, some soul, and some expression (T. M. L, Haymarket, 1877)

For the reviewer of The Figaro, a major benefit from the characterization of Galatea as tame and statuesque was the neat contrast she provided with the passionate Cynisca. This reviewer, however, thought that Cynisca's passion had also been played down.

The question of whether Galatea should be tamed or left to express her womanhood was still an issue in 1883. The Times's reviewer appreciated Miss Mary Anderson's Galatea at the Lyceum. Anderson, like her predecessor, concentrated on the transformed statue's classical serenity at the expense of her womanliness.

> Upon the curtains of the alcove being withdrawn, where the statue, still inanimate, rests upon its pedestal, the admiration of the house was unbounded. Not only was the pose of the figure under the lime-light artistic in the highest sense, but the tresses and drapery were most skilfully arranged to look like the work of the chisel. It is significant of the measure of Miss Anderson's art that in her animated moments subsequently she should not have excelled the plastic grace of this first picture. At the same time, to her credit it must be said that she never fell much below it. . . . Actresses there have been who have given us more than this statuesque posing, who have transformed Galatea into a woman of flesh and blood, animated by womanly love for Pygmalion as the first on whom her eyes alight. Sentiment of this kind, whether intended by the author or not, would scarcely harmonize with the

> satirical spirit of the play, and the innocent prattle with which Miss Anderson gives us in place of it meets sufficiently well the requirements of the case dramatically, leaving the spectator free to derive pleasure from his sense of the beautiful, here so strikingly appealed to, from the occasionally audacious turns of dialogue in relation to social questions, from the disconcerted airs of Pygmalion at the contemplation of his own handiwork, and from the real womanly jealousy of Cynisca.[29]

The intention was still to play down the daring aspects of the play with a curtailment of the womanly nature of the transformed statue. The passion of the play, in this production, was emphasized, instead, by the character of Cynisca: 'womanly passion of the true ring happily found expression where it ought to find it, in the character of Cynisca' (The Times, 1883).[30] The result of the playing down of the womanly nature of Galatea is that she is upstaged by Cynisca. 'The curious spectacle was thus presented, for which the author is, perhaps, in some degree answerable, of a subordinate character [Cynisca] playing down and effacing the principal one' (The Times, 1883). Though Gilbert's play clearly created some problems for its audience, it went on being staged until the early years of the twentieth century. Some of the reviewers saw it as daring, but the play was never regarded as scandalous. The kind

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[29]The Times, 10 December 1883, p. 7.

[30]By this time, this particular role was seen as a reasonably challenging part for a young actress. The review of the 1888 production at the Lyceum notes that the play was 'being specifically revived for the purpose of enabling this young actress [Miss Julia Neilson] to play the tolerably exacting part of Cynisca' The Times, 22 March 1888, p. 5.

of audience it attracted confirms this. The 1883 revival was attended by such dignitaries as the Prince and Princess of Wales and the Crown Prince of Portugal.[31]

IV

Riding on the success of Gilbert's Pygmalion and Galatea was Henry Pottinger Stephens's and W. Webster's Galatea; Or Pygmalion Re-Versed. This travesty ran at the Gaiety Theatre from 26 December 1883.[32] Stephens's play was first performed twelve years after Gilbert's play had first appeared. The play styles itself an 'original burlesque' and is written in verse. The music for the burlesque was composed by Wilhelm Meyer Lütz (1822?-1903).[33] It was first performed, at the Gaiety, during the running of third production of Gilbert's play (which was being staged at the Lyceum). The Gaiety was, at the time, under the management of John Hollingshead. George Rowell notes that it was the intention of the Gaiety theatre, during the time of Hollingshead's successor, to draw audiences away from W. S. Gilbert.

> Hollingshead's sacred lamp burnt brightly for the male playgoer, at whom the lavish display of tights by the Gaiety chorus was firmly directed, but it is doubtful whether the ladies who made up so large a

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[31]The Times, 12 December 1883, p. 9.

[32]As Allardyce Nicoll credits the play to Stephens alone, I shall refer to Stephens as the author throughout. Allardyce Nicoll, A History of English Drama 1660-1900, 6 vols (Cambridge, 1952-1959), V (1959), 580.

[33]Lütz was, according to Grove, an organist, conductor and composer who emigrated to England in 1848. As well as having a career as a theatre conductor, Lütz was employed as a church musician. He began work at the Gaiety theatre in 1869.

> section of the Savoy audience ventured further east along the Strand to the Gaiety. When George Edwardes became manager of the Gaiety, therefore, he made it his mission to woo the audience whom Gilbert had coaxed into the Savoy. This he achieved by refining the burlesque element and developing the romantic side of the Gaiety's entertainment (Rowell, pp. 143-144).

We may be seeing the start of this practice in the form of Stephens's burlesque, which would have drawn its audience from those who had seen Gilbert's Pygmalion and Galatea at the Lyceum in 1883 or the Haymarket in 1871 and 1877.

A glance at the dramatis personae of the plays of Gilbert and Stephens reveals that Gilbert and Stephens's plays are closely related. The names of Stephens's characters echo those of Gilbert. The reversal mentioned in the title of the Stephens's play refers to the fact that instead of Pygmalion the sculptor and Galatea the statue, we are given a sculptress called Galatea, and a male statue called Pygmalion.[34]

Galatea; Or Pygmalion Re-Versed is a traditional burlesque verse drama in one act. Like Brough's burlesque, the play is written in rhyming couplets and is heavily dependent on puns. The action takes place in one scene -- the studio of the sculptor, Galatea. It is Galatea's birthday. This is, perhaps, an ironic reference to the transformation or birth of Galatea in Gilbert's play. Galatea is depicted as an emancipated woman whose husband does not appreciate her talents.

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[34]The role of Leucippe, the warrior, is taken by a woman, as are those of Pygmalion's friends, Mimos and Agesimos. All of these characters are played by men in Gilbert's production. Of the sixteen characters in Stephens's play, only three were played by men. Gilbert's play consisted of five parts for men and four for women.

The play opens with a chorus of statues singing. They claim that Galatea's attention is reserved for one statue, that of Pygmalion. Two slaves enter and explain that sculpting is their mistress's latest craze. (She had previously been a writer and a painter.) Then a chorus of congratulatory visitors arrive offering birthday greetings to Galatea, and praising her abilities. Galatea says that she has sculpted the ideal man, and suggests a few of the inadequacies of modern gentlemen. Cyniscos, her husband, enters declaring that Galatea has neglected her wifely duties. The sub-plot, which also has its roots in Gilbert's play, involves Galatea's sister, Myrine, falling in love with Leucippe (played by an actress). Stephens increases the comic potential for playing on words by making Leucippe replace the letter 'r' with 'w' when he is speaking. For example:

Leucippe That's vewy wude! A wooden one he looks.

Myrine I'm wooed and won (Stephens, p. 11).

Tension arises when Cyniscos makes it clear that he thinks Leucippe is not good enough for his sister-in-law.

Pygmalion comes to life, thawed by Galatea's devotion to sculpture and to his beauty. When Cyniscos catches Galatea and Pygmalion together, he threatens Pygmalion. Galatea is forced to protect him from her husband. Daphne and her husband Chrysos (this time a man who hates art, rather than loves it) arrive and see the new-born statue. Both Daphne and Myrine fall in love with Pygmalion. When Pygmalion (who is aware of his own beauty) and his adoring women leave, the other men discuss their plight. They decide to break him into pieces. Pygmalion enters, tipsy

and crowned with roses. The men, threatening him, suggest that he should turn back into stone. He does so and all parties are reconciled.

As the roles are reversed, it is the portrayal of the character of Pygmalion which I shall be largely concerned with here. Like Brough's burlesque, Stephens's play is designed to produce laughs. It is extremely short, and explores only briefly the selective knowledge question. Like Gilbert's Galatea, Pygmalion is depicted as naive. When he comes to life he does not know what a man is (just as Gilbert's Galatea does not know what a woman is). Gilbert writes:

Galatea — What is that word? Am I a woman?

Pygmalion — Yes.

Galatea — Art thou a woman?

Pygmalion — No, I am a man.

Galatea — What is a man?

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

Galatea — I'm glad I am a woman (Gilbert, p. 57).

Stephens reverses the roles in this scene:

Pygmalion	Man did you say, pray tell me what is he?
Galatea	You are a man,
Pygmalion	You too!
Galatea	No, I'm a she.
	I'm a woman as you ought to know.
Pygmalion	I understand, wo-man is man plus wo(e).
	What do men do?
Galatea	Their neighbour if they can.
Pygmalion	What does the neighbour do?
Galatea	The other man.
	That is their highest game, I must confess
	They love the busy bee.
Pygmalion	The B. and S.[35]
	Astonishing! I'll be a man no longer (Stephens, p. 14).

Like Gilbert's Galatea, Stephens's Pygmalion has a selective store of knowledge. In Stephens's play, the statue's deficiency is that he lacks knowledge, experience and courage. When threatened by Cyniscos, Leucippe and Chrysos, the statue prefers to change back into stone.

To sum up, all three of these comedies depict the transformed statue as a naive new-born person who has a deficiency of some kind which has an effect on those around her / him. The plays allow for two transformation scenes. In the case of Brough, the transformation is firstly from art to life and then a further transformation

[35]The OED notes that B. and S. stands for brandy and soda.

is undertaken when the statue is given the ability to fall in love. Gilbert and Stephens depict a transformation from art to life, and then a transformation from life to art. Though the relationship between sculptor and statue is the main action of the three plays, a secondary relationship is also portrayed in order to balance the plays.

Aside from having things in common with each other, the plays have something in common with the renarrations of the Pygmalion story which are associated with the fleshly debate of this time. All focus on the issue of women being depicted as serene and statuesque or as passionate and fleshly. Brough's portrayal of the statue woman as interested in bodily things before she is given a human mind (or soul) by Psyche is a product of its time. It is similar to William Morris's renarration of 1868 (the closest renarration chronologically). Morris, of course, depicted only one transformation scene; his statue is given life and the ability to love at the same time. However, the similarity lies in his conception of the story as a progression away from the fleshly.

A connection between Gilbert's play and that of Stephens can easily be justified. The possibility of a link between Brough's play and Gilbert's cannot be ruled out, though there is, as yet, no solid evidence for suggesting that Gilbert was influenced by William Brough's play. It seems unlikely, however, that Gilbert, a playwright whose early career was heavily influenced by burlesque, would not have known the work of a burlesque-writer as famous as Brough.

V

The second group of plays on the Pygmalion subject written in the latter half

of the nineteenth century might be described as an odd group. They contain one short comedy and two more serious plays. They are a group, however, in that none of them made it to the British stage and they all belong to the 1880s.

Andrew Lang's short play, The New Pygmalion. Or The Statue's Choice. A Lyric Drama, was first published in Longmans' Magazine in January 1883.[36] Lang is better known as a classical scholar, anthropologist and poet than as a playwright. He seldom used the dramatic form.[37] Roger Lancelyn Green records that

> in the art of the theatre Lang took little interest, and confessed that he was 'conscious of an entire ignorance of the stage, and a lack of enthusiasm for the drama', and that 'he would almost as lief go to a meeting of the British Association as to the theatre.' Yet in spite of this, he used the dramatic form occasionally -- in such poems as 'The New Pygmalion' (a little humorous lyric drama still buried in Longmans' Magazine for January 1883) and 'The Mystery of Queen Persephone', and in the parody 'A New Shakespeare' (Green, pp. 63-64).

Lang's piece is the nearest, of the three, to a comic play. Lang is not usually

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[36]Andrew Lang, 'The New Pygmalion; or The Statue's Choice. A Lyric Drama', Longmans' Magazine, 1 (1883), 299-302.

[37]Lang wrote only one full length play. It was called The Black Thief (1882). See Roger Lancelyn Green, Andrew Lang. A Critical Biography With A Short-title Bibliography of the Works of Andrew Lang (Leicester, 1946), p. 242. Green says of The Black Thief that it was 'intended for acting rather than for reading', and implies that Lang's other experiments with the dramatic form were not really intended for the stage (Green, p. 64).

associated with humorous writing, and wrote only a few comic works; for example: Much Darker Days (1884), That Very Mab (1885), He (1887), 'Dialogues of the Galleries' (1888), and Old Friends (1890).[38]

The action of Andrew Lang's verse drama, like Rousseau's scène lyrique, takes place in one scene set in the sculptor's studio. Lang's stage directions describe the scene as containing a 'chryselephantine statue of a woman on a pedestal' (Lang, p. 299). When the curtain rises, Pygmalion is in the process of heaping incense on to an altar at the base of the pedestal (Lang, p. 299). The play has four characters: Pygmalion, a sculptor of Cyprus, Aphrodite, the ghost of a sculptor and 'the statue (afterwards Galatæa)' (Lang, p. 299).

Pygmalion prays to Aphrodite, before the shrine at the base of the statue, to make his statue of her come to life; in return, he says he will build her a golden altar. Pygmalion throws incense on the flame and leaves. The ghost of a sculptor 'stained with clay' arrives and kneels before the statue and prays to Aphrodite asking that Pygmalion's prayer not be heard. He asks, further, that the image be brought to life and given to him instead and claims that the work was of his hands. The ghost throws incense on the flame and leaves through a trap-door. The smoke thickens and Aphrodite appears, 'floating among her doves' (Lang, p. 300). The goddess asks that the statue exchanges her

. . . endless life of art

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[38]He (1887) was a parody of Henry Rider-Haggard's novel She, a work which Lang greatly admired. The parody of it was co-written with W. H. Pollock. Lang rewrote his half of the piece, inserting puns, after he read Pollock's half, which was written in the style of burlesque (Roger Lancelyn Green, p. 121).

For beauty that must die,

And blossom with a beating heart

Into mortality! (Lang, p. 300).

The statue moves on Aphrodite's command and shows that she is new-born and inexperienced. Her first question to Aphrodite is: 'What world is this I know not of, / What flutters in my breast?' (Lang, p. 301). Aphrodite explains that she is alive, and that the present day is both her birthday and her wedding day. She is to marry the man who made her. The goddess fades away into the altar smoke. Pygmalion returns and throws himself at the feet of the statue, who then asks him if he made her. Pygmalion, showing presence of mind, lies and says that he did. The sculptor's ghost rises and tells the statue not to believe Pygmalion. The ghost explains that he had made her: 'concealed I lurk, and do the work, / When he's secured the job (Lang, p. 301). The statue tries to decide between the two. She asks whether the ghost could make another image as fair as herself. The ghost replies that given clay, ivory, gold and some time, he could accomplish the task. Pygmalion, on the other hand, answers that he could not make another as beautiful as she, and would not if he could.

The story ends with the statue choosing Pygmalion because she is afraid that the ghost would make 'A troop of girls, a perfect host, / That might compete with me!' (Lang, p. 302). Pygmalion embraces his transformed statue, and the disappointed ghost leaves 'swearing in Greek, Etruscan, and Hittite' (Lang, p. 302).

In this play, as in the others of the period, the transformed statue is characterized as 'a woman with a child-like heart, / "And passionately pure!"' (Lang, p. 301). The play's humour lies in Pygmalion's ability to outwit both the statue and

the sculptor's ghost in an unexpected way.

VI

Agnes Rous Howell's Euphrosyne; Or The Sculptor's Bride (1886) is the only Pygmalion play of the nineteenth century which is written by a woman.[39] It is set in the city of Amathus, in Cyprus, and is divided into three acts. The first act is subtitled 'Art', the second, 'Life', and the third, 'Glory'.

Euphrosyne, like Edgar. Or The New Pygmalion, is a serious play. At times the play has the intensity of Rousseau's monodrama. Its use of song is one element which it has in common with the burlesques. In the first scene the friends of Pygmalion, a poet, a painter and a musician, claim that he is neglecting them and is spending more time than usual in his studio. Then several maidens enter, singing a pastoral song. They suggest that Pygmalion must be in love. Pygmalion arrives and is in a reverie. When pressed for the name of the woman he loves, he can only answer that 'Art is my mistress, and Art alone!' (Howell, p. 7). The second scene takes place in Pygmalion's studio. A figure, draped with a cloth, is standing on a pedestal. Pygmalion unveils the statue, saying 'Thou art reality -- all else, a dream!' (Howell, p. 11). He begins to pray for her to come to life, but is interrupted by the arrival of his friends. They ask to see the work which he has just covered up. Pygmalion agrees when he has made them promise that they would not tell anyone about his statue once they have seen it. The statue's name is Euphrosyne, which, we are told, means

[39]Agnes Rous Howell, Euphrosyne; Or the Sculptor's Bride. Being The Story Of Pygmalion, With A Sequel. A Libretto In Three Acts (Norwich, 1886).

happiness. They are amazed at its beauty and life-like qualities. When his friends have gone, Pygmalion resumes his prayer to Zeus: 'O Zeus! who hast enabled me with these unworthy hands to create this fair form, aye, and to make it life-like, wilt thou not complete my work, and endue it with Promethean fire?' (Howell, p. 18). Pygmalion threatens to starve himself unless his prayer is answered.

The second act begins with Pygmalion asleep in his studio. Celestial music is heard, and Urania with her attendant Sylphs descends and sings that Pygmalion's prayer has been answered. She touches the statue with Promethean fire. Pygmalion, meanwhile, dreams that the statue speaks. When he awakes he sees that statue has come to life and places steps in front of the pedestal in order to allow her to descend. We are told, 'she descends to the floor, trembling and dazed, like one awakening from a dream' (Howell, p. 25). Her first words are 'Oh! Whence, Oh! Where am I?' (p. 25). He tells everyone that his statue has come to life. The transformation is thought to be a great miracle performed by Zeus. Pygmalion and Euphrosyne arrange to marry on the following day at the temple of Zeus. In the meantime the ballet of 'Cynthia and Aphrodite' is performed (Howell, p. 42).

The final act takes place on the following day in the temple of Zeus (on which are inscribed the words 'hope' and 'fear'). As the ceremony begins, the skies darken and Atropos (one of the Fates) appears from the temple of fear and warns them to stop the proceedings because Euphrosyne has been granted only a day of life, and 'the granted day is past' (p. 55). Euphrosyne learns the word 'death'. She begins to change back into marble. The distressed Pygmalion says that he must go with her:

United in the bonds of love divine,

Our souls will still more closely intertwine;

Made one in tender bliss we soon shall dwell,

A marble group mid fields of Asphodel (Howell, p. 57).

Pygmalion embraces Euphrosyne, and they both turn to marble. Finally Urania appears from the temple of hope and brings the lovers back to life.

Like Lang's play, Euphrosyne has a happy ending in which the lovers unite. The play, like the first three of this century, has a further transformation scene. Firstly, there is the metamorphosis of Euphrosyne from statue to live woman, then in the third act both Pygmalion and Euphrosyne become marble, then change back again. Like the other transformed statues of this period, Euphrosyne is perplexed by her birth. She is highly conscious of her new bodily state: 'What is this warmth which through my veins / Doth upward creep' (p. 25). She asks what names she should give to what she feels and sees. Pygmalion gives her the information she requires. He says that 'this is life' (p. 25) and 'thou art a living soul' (p. 26). Again, her knowledge is selective. She does not know what or who she is but she is capable of asking Pygmalion whether he is her father or her brother. (Pygmalion suggests that he is, rather, her lover.)

VII

Ronald Ross's play Edgar Or the New Pygmalion was published for the first time in 1883.[40] Though the play was published in Madras, and was never performed

[40]Ronald Ross, Edgar Or The New Pygmalion and The Judgement of Tithonus (Madras, 1883).

on the British stage, it is still worth looking at briefly because Ross was a British writer and the play approaches the Pygmalion story in a way which is similar to the other plays of the century. The principal point of connection lies in the characterization of the transformed statue woman. Like the other playwrights Ross has given his transformed statue woman (whom he calls Niobelle) a voice, and has tackled the problem of presenting the new-born woman on stage by emphasising her lack of knowledge and experience. This play, like the others of this century, is, in part, about her learning experiences.

The first scene of the first act takes place at night in a wood near the sea. Edgar, who is a sculptor and the nephew of the marquis of Amaralza, is asleep in the wood. His dream, a Miltonic debate which includes speakers such as Jehovah, Christ and Satan, is acted out on the stage.[41] Edgar awakes and declares his devotion to his art. The second scene takes place in the hall of the marquis's palace. A debate about poetry is being held. Two poets demonstrate their skills, and are examined carefully by the marquis, who is also a poet. The episode is lightened by comic interludes from two brothers, Volubil and Volatil who are friends of the marquis's son, Julian.[42] Next, a sculptor (unnamed) shows his work to the court. He has spent ten years sculpting Jonah and the whale. His sculptures are described as 'unsavoury' (Ross, p. 60), and

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[41]The speeches at this point in the play are reminiscent of the grand addresses in Paradise Lost. Jehovah says: 'The powers and spirits of the universe / I have controlled; and with all powerful hand, / Unto the furtherance of the common good, / Quelled rash rebellions' (Ross, p. 30). The play is written in both verse and prose.

[42]The play, though largely serious, has, in the tradition of Shakespeare, some amusing moments generated by the comic characters. For example, Volubil and Volatil parody the poets' praise of the marquis's own poetry: Volatil says:' Nay, observe that the exquisiteness of its exquisity is not only exquisite, but exquisitely exquisite. For exquisitudes may be exquisitable as well as exquisitiform. In which case -- '. Volubil completes the line 'they are exquisitibund' (Ross, p. 58).

include such scenes as Judas after his hanging, and Ariadne with sea-sickness (about which the sculptor says 'It took me five years to reach the consummation of that vomit' (Ross, p. 60)). All this is justified by the sculptor as 'art for art's sake' (Ross, p. 60).[43] This elicits an interesting comment from one of the poets: 'I have conceived, sir, an aversion to these fine arts. There is too much grossness in them. The soul is the one thing admirable; bodies are coarse. I hate sculptures' (Ross, p. 61). Here we have a statement which is relevant to the debate about the representation of the body in art which took place in the mid-nineteenth century. The poet is referring to the fleshliness of the body when it is represented by the plastic arts, and the elusiveness of the soul in art. For this play, the problem of whether the statue had a soul is not an issue (though we can see the author hinting at it here).

The third scene of the first act takes place in Edgar's studio. Edgar shows the other poet several of his statues. The poet exits, leaving Edgar alone with his page, Eustace. Edgar tells Eustace that he had been told in a dream that

> I shall have that which I wished, if asked,
> Though from the unwhirling centre of the world.
> But I was curst with modesty, desiring
> That this my statue should be brought to life,
> No more (Ross, p. 64).

He renews his wish in a prayer:

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[43]Volatil corrects the sculptor saying 'Filth for filth's sake, I say' (Ross, p. 60).

Oh! that these frozen veins might swell with life;

This thick amorphous stone turn into flesh

And teem with thronging blood (Ross, p. 68).

Edgar kisses the statue, but it does not come to life. He draws an arras in front of it and begins to rant that he is being pursued by Satan. Eustace fearing for his master's sanity tries to calm him, but notices that the statue has begun to move. 'Its bosom heaves as if she slept still standing. It is the devil's work. her faint lips move -- Away, away, foul Satan' (Ross, p. 70). The statue has indeed come to life and Edgar faints with shock.

The second act begins at an estuary by the sea. Niobelle's education begins. Edgar teaches her about nature and God. The scene then moves to the palace. Julian and Clissa (the sister of Boron, who is Julian's friend) declare their love for each other. They cannot marry, however, because Clissa is seventeen and would have to wait a year to be free to choose her husband. She suspects that her brother might disapprove of her choice. They agree to wait until the day after her eighteenth birthday. The rumour has got out that Edgar's statue has come to life. Some think it a miracle, some think it the work of the devil, others think that she is merely his model and that the whole episode is a pretence. There is then a large gap in the time sequence. The events of the fifth scene of this act take place in the following year. It is Clissa's eighteenth birthday. Julian has forgotten his promise to Clissa and has since fallen in love with Niobelle. Clissa reminds him of his promise, but seeing that he is in love with someone else steals Julian's dagger. In the last scene, Julian expresses his annoyance at his father's flirtations with Niobelle. That evening there is

to be a fancy dress ball at the palace. (Niobelle says that she will go as Helen.). At the end of the scene, Eustace enters carrying Julian's bloodstained dagger. He tells Julian that Clissa killed herself with it, and gives him her suicide note.

The third, and final, act opens with Julian reading Clissa's letter, and then tearing it up. Edgar enters and is angered by his actions. The scene changes to the ball in the palace. Edgar arrives and tries to be merry. He declares that he has given up making statues. Niobelle enters, and he recalls her innocence and beauty.

> Edgar Sweet child, sweet child,
>
> I love the word! What are you still but a child?
>
> Your pouts, your vanities, your ways, your whims
>
> Subscribe you infant still; but now your toys
>
> Are the hearts of men. Beware, my Niobelle,
>
> They who run blindly meet a fall (Ross, p. 123).

Niobelle thinks that Edgar has gone mad, and he continues to rant, thinking that he is dying: 'I sink, I faint, I fall -- Life has no more for me, my God! My God!' (Ross, p. 132). Julian and Niobelle meet and declare their love for each other. They agree that they must run away if they are to be together. Julian leaves to get horses for their escape. In the meantime, Edgar has recovered his sanity enough to have devised a plan to be avenged on both Niobelle and Julian. He tricks Julian and Niobelle into going to his studio. When they reach the studio, Niobelle asks 'Where is the statue you spoke of?' (Ross, p. 135). Edgar replies, sinisterly, 'You are the statue, Niobelle' (Ross, p. 135). When Julian enters Edgar locks them all into the room. Edgar accuses Julian

of being responsible for Clissa's death, and of stealing Niobelle's affection.

> With warm and amorous wiles
> You stole her virgin heart from me, her soul
> From Heaven, and her lovely body you
> Would even have squandered on your peevish lusts (Ross, p. 138).

Edgar wounds Julian with a sword and curses Niobelle:

> I curse her! Let her rushing blood stand still
> Through all its pipes, her swarmed, assiduous flesh
> Quelled by that numbing stasis, set to stone,
> To dull, to cold, to dead, to faultless stone (Ross, p. 141).

Niobelle is compelled to mount the pedestal, and becomes cold marble again. At that moment, Boron, the marquis, and others force their way into the room in time to see Julian die of his wounds. Edgar smashes the statue with a mallet, then leaves. The last three scenes show him journeying towards the mountains. The play ends with an iconoclastic speech from Edgar, who is at the top of a mountain, and accompanied by various spirits. He declares: 'Tis man makes his own misery, not God' (Ross, p. 150).

Ross, like most of the other playwrights, is interested in the education of the statue. His portrayal of this theme bears the inevitable inconsistencies that seem always to accompany this aspect of the story when it is depicted on the stage. When Niobelle comes to life she knows Edgar's name without being told, but does not know

that a lamp is not a star. Her statue state is described as being like a dream state. This element can be seen in the productions of Gilbert's play, as discussed earlier. The character of Niobelle is largely conceived as child-like. At the beginning of the second act Edgar muses:

> Here's a good child.
>
> I wonder when you will be woman: come
>
> Shall I instruct your mind, which in these brows,
>
> And at the shining windows of your eyes,
>
> Stands mounted, hungry for the light? and show
>
> The infinite movings of this intricate world (Ross, p. 75).

Though the play begins with the intentions of showing us the development of the statue's mind, this cause is abandoned during the second act, as Edgar loses his influence over the statue when she becomes involved with Julian. Niobelle remains to the end a sweet and innocent child.

To conclude, the nineteenth century produced a set of plays which can be easily divided into two groups. The first group depended, to varying degrees, on the burlesque tradition, the second group was more diverse, the writers clearly operating under a different and more eclectic set of influences. From Brough to Ross we see a fashion emerging for the use of an extra transformation scene, whether it be a reversal of the first metamorphosis or an additional gift to the statue. All of the playwrights, except Andrew Lang, depicted the statue as having a deficiency, and all, except Lang, gave the statue woman a large speaking part. Gilbert was the first of the

playwrights to characterize the statue as a woman in need of education. He was followed by Stephens, Howell, Ross, and, in the next century by George Bernard Shaw, who all saw this theme in the story.[44]

Gilbert's play was clearly the most successful of the nineteenth century plays on the Pygmalion story. It is a play which highlighted, through its successive productions, the problems of depicting the serenity, classical poise and dignity of the transformed statue on stage. For Gilbert's play this problem was resolved by the actresses of the period, who chose to play Galatea in a child-like and an emotionally tame way (Gilbert's play having the problem of a potential love affair between an already married Pygmalion and his statue). Later plays resolved the problem of portraying the relationship between Pygmalion and his transformed statue by elevating the education issue. If the woman were to be seen as child-like and innocent, then there could be no danger of impropriety. The solution was similar to the one provided by the actresses who played Gilbert's Galatea.

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[44]Gilbert's play was still being performed when Shaw's Pygmalion was first produced. The overlap occurs between the years 1914 and 1920. The plays even played at the same theatres, though in different years. Gilbert's play was at the Haymarket in 1871 and 1877; Shaw's play opened there on 13 June 1939. Gilbert's play was performed at His Majesty's theatre from 20 October 1916; Shaw's play opened here on 11 April 1914.

CHAPTER SEVEN: PYGMALION IN THE 1890S OR PYGMALIONISM IN THE 1890S?

1. Introduction

In an article on Decadence, Jan B. Gordon coins the phrase 'standard nineties' pygmalionism' in a brief aside when describing Oscar Wilde's novel The Picture of Dorian Gray.[1] I would like to explore further what Gordon means by this mysterious term. As this thesis concentrates on renarrations of the Pygmalion story, my task here is to pursue this aim. However, because of the nature of the two questions I am asking in this chapter (what is a nineties Pygmalion story, and what is 'standard nineties' pygmalionism'?), I must also explore the meaning of Gordon's phrase.

In this chapter I shall discuss the meaning of the phrase 'standard nineties' pygmalionism' first, and then go on to discuss nineties' renarrations of the story. Gordon's 'pygmalionism' has very little to do with the Pygmalion story of the 1890s, and the Pygmalion story and 'pygmalionism' are two separate things. My argument will have three stages: firstly, that Gordon's claim (that the Pygmalion story can be conceived as one in which art and life are interchangeable) is misleading; secondly, that the Decadents did not display any interest in the Pygmalion story itself; thirdly, that in any case the renarrations of the Pygmalion story which were written in this period could not possibly illustrate Gordon's phrase.

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[1]Jan B. Gordon, 'Decadent Spaces: Notes for a Phenomenology of the "Fin de Siècle"', in Decadence and the 1890s, ed. by Ian Fletcher, Stratford-Upon-Avon Studies, 17 (London, 1979), pp. 31-58 (p. 39).

In the 1890s, the Pygmalion story was retold only five times. Joseph John Murphy first published 'Pygmalion' in 1890, Thomas Sturge Moore composed a sonnet with the same title in 1892, Sara King Wiley wrote 'Pygmalion and Galatea' in 1895, and William E. Hurrell wrote 'Pygmalion' in 1898. Frederick Tennyson's 'Cyprus, Pygmalion' of 1891 has been discussed in an earlier chapter.

2. 'Standard Nineties' Pygmalionism'

In order to refute the possibility of a connection between 'standard nineties' pygmalionism' and the Pygmalion story of the 1890s, we must first consider the context in which Gordon used the phrase: the context of a discussion of Decadent writers. As Gordon uses it, the term is a description of an interest held by Decadent writers: the interchangeability of art and life. This description arose from a discussion of Oscar Wilde's interest in this theme and a further interest in his handling of the relationship between subjective and objective spheres (conceived as life and art). Gordon saw pygmalionism as part of a broader philosophy in which the objective element (such as art) and a subjective element (such as life) were interchangeable.

> This permutation of the mirror-effect is at the heart of The Picture of Dorian Gray: as the effete Dorian comes to live in the static, immutable kingdom of art, the picture becomes ever more life-like. If our very existence has a certain reversible quality, then every subject / object relationship is potentially interchangeable. The aestheticization of the human and the coming to life of a work of art -- standard nineties'

> pygmalionism -- also means that history, the lives and deeds of men, is aestheticized (Gordon, p. 39).

Gordon argues that there are two aspects of 1890s aesthetics. The first is that the (artist's) self should imitate art. The second is that art should imitate life. These two aspects lead to a certain paradoxical reciprocity or interchangeability between life and art: the life which is imitated is itself artificial. The paradox to which Gordon refers is essentially a circular movement: art imitates life, but life itself imitates art. This is not a closed one-way activity, but is best described, as Gordon does, as a relationship of interchangeability or reversibility. This brings me to my first concern about Gordon's use of the term pygmalionism. In almost all of its versions the Pygmalion story involves a one-way movement: art changing to life. This is made quite clear even by the simplest template for the story: Ovid's own version. From this version of the story one could argue, reasonably, that a necessary feature of the Pygmalion story was a transformation from art to life, or the implication that such a transformation has happened or will happen outside the boundaries of that particular renarration. However, the word interchangeability has little to do with a story of metamorphosis. The statue has undergone a one-way, irreversible change, with a corresponding change in role. In other words, the Pygmalion story represents the antithesis of interchangeability.

The Pygmalion story, if it has a concept at all, does not seem to be about interchangeability. We could not plausibly respond to this criticism by arguing, on the basis of texts like The Picture of Dorian Gray, that nineties' Decadence itself was involved in developing the Pygmalion story or some putative Pygmalion concept. The

reason for this is the charge of circularity. Whether or not The Picture of Dorian Gray can be called meaningfully a Pygmalion story is precisely what is at issue. In other words, a close study of the Pygmalion story indicates that Gordon is not using Pygmalionism in any recognizable sense. As I will show in the next section, 1890s versions of the Pygmalion story develop the story in a way very different from that found in the concept suggested by Gordon. If there is to be an 1890s pygmalionism, it is going to be quite different from the one Gordon pinpoints.

In the 1890s aesthetics delineated above, the interchangeability of life and art itself entails that there is no meaningful distinction between life and art. As Gordon puts it, there was 'certainly in the minds of Morris, Yeats and Wilde, and Pater -- some metaphoric era when art and life once were virtually indistinguishable' (Gordon, p. 34). This brings me to my second concern about Gordon's use of the term pygmalionism: that we could not plausibly claim that the theme of the fusion (as oppose to interchangeability) of art and life appears in the Pygmalion story. In being a story about change the Pygmalion story effectively separates the spheres of art and life.

3. Renarrations of the Pygmalion Story in the 1890s

Four of the five writers who retold the story in this period were not connected to the Decadent movement. There is a question mark over whether Thomas Sturge Moore could be regarded as a Decadent writer, as he was involved in the lives of members of that group. However, even if a case was put that Sturge Moore was a Decadent writer and his poem on the subject could be regarded as Decadent, this

would still not constitute a standard for Decadent pygmalionism and my argument would still hold.[2]

In this section, I want to show, by an analysis of the renarrations of the Pygmalion story in the nineties, that the Pygmalion story in the nineties has nothing at all to do with the concepts of Decadent aesthetics summarized by Gordon as pygmalionism. Before I do this, I will venture one more general remark on the subject. The word 'standard' in Gordon's phrase provides, in itself, an argument for a distinction between pygmalionism and the Pygmalion story. As I have shown in this thesis, throughout the nineteenth century clusters of renarrations of the Pygmalion story can be distinguished which express similar ideas or emphases. If there was such a thing as 'standard nineties' pygmalionism', and if 'pygmalionism' did actually refer to the renarrations of this period, then the nineties renarrations of this story would have to form some kind of cluster. Surprisingly, perhaps, they do not. The nineties renarrations of the Pygmalion story were so diverse that they would make such a term as 'standard pygmalionism' obscure and unhelpful. The interchangeability of art and life was not a priority for this group of stories. I can conclude provisionally, then, that 'standard nineties' pygmalionism' could not refer to renarrations of the Pygmalion story.

The first renarration of the Pygmalion story to be published in the nineties was Rev. Joseph John Murphy's 'Pygmalion', which appeared in his only volume of poetry,

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[2]The Picture Of Dorian Gray and other Decadent literature of metamorphosis, while bearing certain family resemblances to the Pygmalion story, do not count as renarrations of the story in the sense which I have delineated.

Sonnets and Other Poems Chiefly Religious (1890).[3] Joseph John Murphy (1827-1894) was an Irish philosopher and theologian, who was better known during the nineteenth century than he is today. A selection of his poems from this volume was included by Alfred H. Miles in the tenth volume of his series The Poets and the Poetry of the Century.[4] The tenth volume was devoted to 'Sacred, Moral, and Religious Verse'. Alexander B. Grosart compiled a short biography of Murphy for this series outlining Murphy's career and talents.

> The prose of Joseph John Murphy is familiar enough to those who are en rapport with present day philosophic-scientific high thinking. . . . From his boyhood Joseph Murphy was given to rhyming and love of poetry. He must have written a considerable quantity, but was exacting in quality. Hence his slender volume entitled 'Sonnets and Other Poems Chiefly Religious' (1890) is of purged and sifted electness. Pensive reflection, tranquil faith hardly won, heavenly aspiration, and sweet graciousness characterize these poems. The workmanship is excellent; the variety noticeable; the teaching catholic -- after Denison Maurice and Robertson of Brighton. Now and again are notes that haunt. Few will gainsay that this poet is worthy of a place in this series (Miles, X, 591-592).

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[3]Joseph John Murphy, Sonnets and Other Poems Chiefly Religious (London, 1890).

[4]Alfred H. Miles, The Poets and the Poetry of the Century, 10 vols (London, 1891-1897), X (1897), 591-596.

Murphy's 'Pygmalion', however, was not an overtly religious poem and was included in Sonnets and Other Poems in a section which was titled 'Miscellaneous Poems'.

The poem is a short ballad of sixteen stanzas. Like many ballads, the poem is written in simple language, with minimal description of the surroundings. It is told by an unidentified narrator, and the only way, at the start of the poem, that we know that this is a poem about Pygmalion is from the title. He is merely described as 'the sculptor' in the opening lines. The poem opens, dramatically, at the point when Pygmalion has just finished sculpting the statue.

> The sculptor's task is ended:
>
> He casts his tools aside,
>
> To gaze upon his perfect work
>
> In all an artist's pride (Sonnets, p. 65).

For many years, we are told, Pygmalion's 'spirit' has been inspired by an image (p. 65). This idea takes us back to my previous chapter on post-romantic interpretations of the Pygmalion story. Pygmalion, 'in visioned solitude' has brooded over 'the bright creations of his brain', like a lover (p. 65); he has laboured for many years to sculpt his 'haunting thought / Of pure ideal loveliness' (p. 65). When the statue is finished, she is 'lovelier than aught of earth' and is the 'creation / Of his own raptured mind' (pp. 65-66). The sculptor is described as never having loved a 'living maid' (p. 65). This fact is taken from Ovid. The poet does not, however, tell us about the Propoetides. Pygmalion is a lover of the ideal, who 'pondered on unreal charms / In heavenly light arrayed', rather than a hater of women (p. 65). There then follows a

long description of the qualities of the statue. We are told that her 'form' and 'soul' are both charming (p. 66). The descriptions of her beauty are interesting because they reiterate what several critics have pointed out to be the stock representations of women by men in poetry of the nineteenth century.[5] The statue has the purity of childhood, the grace of a bending flower, the glory of an inspired muse, the gentleness of a dove, the grandeur of a sibyl, and the delight of a young woman experiencing her first love.

As with many nineteenth century renarrations of the Pygmalion story, the episodes in which Pygmalion showers gifts on his statue, puts her in his bed and then goes to the temple to pray are omitted here. Instead, Pygmalion prays where he stands. His soul prays for the statue to come to life: 'And to the Powers that rule in Heaven / His soul in prayer aspires' (p. 66). Again, we see the post-romantic, conscious soul taking part in the activity. Aphrodite is not mentioned in this version, instead a loosely described deity is appealed to. Pygmalion asks that a 'living spirit' be breathed into the 'ice-cold' stone, and that she should be given a 'human voice and heart' (p. 66). When this short prayer is finished, the statue comes to life. She blushes the Ovidian blush; her cheeks are likened to 'rose-leaves', rather than rose petals as one would expect (p. 67). Her hair turns black, instead of gold, which has become the favourite of the Victorian renarrations, and her large dark eyes 'reveal a living woman's soul' (p. 67). Pygmalion and the statue kiss and embrace, then she descends from her pedestal 'to be the sculptor's bride' (p. 67).

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[5]See, for example, Joseph Kestner, Mythology and Misogyny (Wisconsin, 1989); Adrienne Auslander Munich, Andromeda's Chains: Gender and Interpretation in Victorian Literature and Art (New York, 1989); Bram Dijkstra, Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in 'Fin de Siècle' Culture (Oxford, 1988).

Murphy's 'Pygmalion' has much in common with post-romantic renarrations of the Pygmalion story, though it is unique in that it is the only nineteenth century renarration of the Pygmalion story to be written as a ballad. Several points of the narrative have been emphasized in this poem. Firstly, that Pygmalion has spent an extremely long time being inspired and making the statue. This feature seems to be a new one in the nineteenth century and is one favoured by post-romantics. Secondly, the helplessness of the statue is described at length; her childlike, animal-like and flower-like qualities are important. These were a favourite feature of Victorian representations of the statue woman.

Thomas Sturge Moore (1870 - 1944) was the next poet to retell the story of Pygmalion in the 1890s. Sturge Moore was a poet, wood-engraver, art critic, literary critic, and was the older brother of the Cambridge philosopher George Moore. Chambers's Encyclopaedia of English Literature records that he 'has upheld the classical tradition consistently but in a manner of his own'.[6] Frederick Gwynn suggests, in Sturge Moore and the Life of Art, that the poet used 'dominantly mythological subject matter, moralistic impulse, and traditional poetic diction'.[7]

There is some doubt as to whether Sturge Moore could be regarded as a Decadent writer. With regard to his connection to the Decadent movement, Gwynn suggested that Sturge Moore was a man who

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[6]Chambers's Encyclopaedia of English Literature, ed. by David Patrick, 3 vols (London, 1938), III, 714.

[7]Frederick Landis Gwynn, Sturge Moore and the Life of Art (Kansas, 1952), p. 1.

> found his way from the brambles of Victorian Art for Art's sake to the thinly populated high plateau where the Greek tradition of wholeness and resolution has come to rest. . . . In an age when Yeats dominated mythopoesy, Sturge Moore rivalled him by inventing a tensile myth of spiritual conflict that sustains much of his poetry (Gwynn, pp. 1-2).

Sturge Moore was introduced to Yeats by Laurence Binyon and corresponded with him. He had much contact with the Decadent School. While studying at art school, Sturge Moore shared Vale House, which had belonged to Whistler, with Charles Hazlewood Shannon (1863 - 1937) and Charles Ricketts (1866 - 1931). The Vale was a small road in Chelsea in which all four houses belonged to artists whom Oscar Wilde called 'the Valeists' (Gwynn, p. 18). Sturge Moore was also involved in the Vale Press which was set up in 1894.

In his early career, Sturge Moore was influenced by the Pre-Raphaelites and came to believe in a doctrine in which they had some interest: <u>ut pictura poesis</u>, or as the picture is, so is the poem. He wrote poems about several artists. Aside from having Decadent friends, the poet was involved in Decadent ventures. He helped to stage the first production of Wilde's <u>Salomé</u> in 1906 and wrote an opening scene to Wilde's unfinished play <u>A Florentine Tragedy</u>, in the style of Wilde, in order that it could be performed.

Even during Sturge Moore's lifetime there was some confusion as to how his poetry ought to be categorized. Edward Marsh, the editor of <u>Georgian Poetry</u>, included some of his poems in the first volume of his series. Martin Secker chose

some of Sturge Moore's poems for his collection, The Eighteen-Nineties.[8] In his biography of the poet, Gwynn wrote that

> The literary historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have given scant attention to Sturge Moore's work as a whole. When his name does occur in the surveys, it flashes sporadically as that of a latter-day Pre-Raphaelite, a Bridgean traditionalist, a trans-channel cousin of the symbolists, or simply an artistic unicorn (Gwynn, p. 81).

From this evidence, we can see that Sturge Moore's place in the literary movements of the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth is hard to pin down. Gwynn argues that his interests were, like Browning's and Yeats's, 'intellectual and psychological' (Gwynn, p. 81). Gwynn suggested that it is 'tempting to classify him as a latter-day Pre-Raphaelite, a poet and artist of diluted nineteenth century Art for Art's Sake' (p. 84). After all an interest in mythology and the ideal of beauty is considered to be most important in his poetry. The answer Gwynn gave to the problem of placing Sturge Moore was to take his career as a whole and consider to be made up of different phases. The phase in which the Pygmalion poem was written is considered to be when the poet dallied with 'the spiritual impulses and diverse manifestations of Dandyism'. However, 'he could never stifle the strains of puritanism and idealism in his make up; we can never dismiss him as a decadent' (Gwynn, p. 84). I would agree with this interpretation, and would suggest that, as the poet is so hard

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[8]Martin Secker, The Eighteen-Nineties. A Period Anthology in Prose and Verse (London, 1948), pp. 436-438.

to place, we should consider this poem with due acknowledgement of this fact. To return to our task of finding a standard Pygmalion of the nineties, if, of course, such a thing exists, it would seem unlikely that the Pygmalion story of a decadent, semi-detached from the movement, would constitute a standard. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see how a writer in Sturge Moore's position treated the story.

Sturge Moore retold the Pygmalion story as a sonnet, called 'Pygmalion', in 1892. It was one of his earlier works and was first published in The Dial. It was published again in The Vinedresser and Other Poems in 1899.[9] The first six lines of the sonnet concentrate on the sculpting of the statue. Pygmalion, we are told by a narrator who has often 'seen him' in his thoughts, works on the statue from sunset to sunrise every day. He works so hard that each week runs into the next. This is described in nautical terms: 'week's end spliced in week's end' (Vinedresser, p. 56).[10] The narrator says that he has often thought of Pygmalion leaning across the breast of the statue in order to chisel the chin or the cheek. The sweat of his labour 'made bright the marble'. In the seventh line of the sonnet, the statue is finished. This fact is introduced with the dramatic line, 'Till lo! She stands amid the work-shop dust / In proudest pose of loveliness undressed' (p. 56). When he finishes his sculpture Pygmalion faints from exhaustion, and is described with the aid of a simile drawn from farming: 'His work once stayed, he, weakened by long strife, / Falls like a swathe from summer-heat's keen scythe' (p. 56). There is no prayer scene. Pygmalion's faint, acting in place of the departure scene, divides the sculpting scene from the

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[9]Thomas Sturge Moore, The Vinedresser and Other Poems (London, 1899), p. 56.

[10]Splicing is the process of joining together two pieces of rope into one strand by interweaving the ends together.

transformation scene. In this we can see that the poet has an affinity with the post-romantics of the century as he makes the artist lose consciousness. When Pygmalion wakes up at the end of the day, he does not see his statue of 'the sea-mothered Mother of all life', Aphrodite, which has 'vanished'; instead, 'alone, alive, he sees / A naked woman quailing at the knees' (p. 56). There is, then, a sharp contrast between the image of the powerful goddess in statue form, and the image of the vulnerable, frightened woman. Gwynn suggested in his biography of the poet that 'Aphrodite, in all her sensual manifestations, is never long absent from his poetry' (Gwynn, p. 77).

From this poem we get the impression that the transformation has occurred because the sculptor has worked so hard. The emphasis on work is reinforced by the nautical and farming images. Pygmalion is portrayed as a hard-working sculptor of a statue of Aphrodite which happened to come to life when he fainted through overwork. There is no indication given that Pygmalion wanted the statue to be brought to life, or that the statue was an embodiment of an ideal of his. Sturge Moore introduced a striking new element to the story, an element which twentieth century writers were keener to explore: pathos. The final scene of the newly transformed statue-woman naked and quailing at the knees is an unexpected and sad image.

Before I go on to discuss Sara King Wiley's version of the story, I must add at this point that the Pygmalion story was referred to by A. J. Munby in 1893, a year after Sturge Moore first published his version of the story. Although the scope of this thesis is such that mere references to the story, rather than renarrations, cannot be considered in depth, this is an important reference to the story because it refers to class. The statue-woman is depicted as a woman of an inferior class. Like Hazlitt, who used the story to apply to his own personal circumstances, Munby used the

story to tell something of his experience of what might be considered unusual domestic arrangements. This interest in gender and class, and sometimes a confusion of the two, was what George Bernard Shaw saw in the story in the twentieth century. It was also an interest of the Pre-Raphaelites, but one which applied to the way in which they lived their lives and, as I have discussed earlier, not to their Pygmalion poems.

Arthur Munby was fascinated by Victorian women servants and the contradictions which their lives posed for general conceptions about the abilities of women to do physical work. Munby had a secret relationship with a servant called Hannah Cullwick for eighteen years and later married her. Both kept diaries of their lives. Hannah continued to work after their marriage and Munby had an obsessive interest in her physical labour.

Munby's refers to Pygmalion in his poem 'Susan', [11]

> Perhaps this Susan was of such a kind;
> A woman form'd and fashion'd to his mind
> By him, the new Pygmalion -- but who wrought
> Unwisely at the model of his thought;
> For the rough marble, so constrain'd to live,
> Refused that polish he had wish'd to give? (Susan, p. 44).

The reference marks the beginning of an important change in the significance of the narrative. Whereas Murphy, Sturge Moore (and later Hurrell) had characterized

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[11] Arthur Munby, Susan (London, 1893).

Pygmalion as a worker who toiled to make his statue, Munby, on the other hand saw the statue as a worker and Pygmalion as a gentleman. Pygmalion polishing the 'rough marble' is symbolic of the gentleman trying to educate a disadvantaged woman.

The Pygmalion story was next retold by an American poet and playwright called Sara King Wiley (1871-1909).[12] Her 'Pygmalion and Galatea' (1895) was

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[12]I have included Sara King Wiley in my discussion of the 1890s for two reasons. Firstly, her poem was published in London and therefore might reasonably be included alongside other poems on the Pygmalion story published in Britain. Secondly, I have discovered a little biographical information about her from some manuscript letters. The manuscripts were found pasted to a copy of Poems Lyrical and Dramatic. There are some autograph manuscripts of versions of some of her poems; amongst them is a different version of 'Pygmalion and Galatea' dated 1894. As the aim of any thesis is to add to knowledge in some way, I claim this as my reason for disclosing the information which is in these manuscripts. There are six manuscripts; three of these are poems contained in letters and three are just poems. There is also a note on the envelope in which they were contained which was written by the friend of Sara Wiley who had received the letters and poems. The friend's name is possibly Helen, but no surname is given. All of the beginnings of the letters are missing. During the period 1894 to 1896 the poet lived at 73 Halsted street, East Orange, New Jersey. A note from the woman with whom Wiley corresponded says that she 'knew Sara Wiley very well from 1894-7 and heard from her after that tho' less frequently'. They had spent the summers of 1894-7 together reading and walking and were accompanied by a gentleman called Howard Chandler Christy. Christy is pictured with Wiley in a photograph. A note on the back of the photograph says that this date was 'probably 1894'. The recipient of the letters described Sara Wiley as 'the loveliest, rarest, gayest human being -- really like a flame -- frail, but indomitable'. Wiley dedicated Poems Lyrical and Dramatic to her father, William Halsted Wiley; she dedicated Alcestis and Other Poems to her husband, Frederick Lindsley Drummond. Wiley published some of her poems in Harper's Magazine, The Outlook, and The Churchman. Other of her works include the plays Patriots, a Comedy in One Act, The Football Game; a Comedy in One Act, The Coming of Philibert and Dante and Beatrice. The poems in manuscript form mentioned above are: 'Pygmalion and Galatea' (1894), 'To A Lady Commanded To Rest Her Voice (This is the kind of title Wordsworth used: I wish the likeness went further than the title!)' (1894), 'Invocation' (1895), 'The Oriole' (1896), 'By The Sea' (undated) and 'Καὶ ποθήω καὶ μάομαι (and I yearn and I seek), Sappho'. This poem is undated in manuscript form, but was printed in Poems Lyrical and Dramatic as 'Cleobuline of Lindos' (1896). The quotation from Sappho was used as an epigraph to the poem. From these letters we learn something of Wiley's reading habits. She writes in 1895, 'You are right about the Arnold. I would read Browning and Shakespeare and the Epistles of Paul . . . if I were you. Swallow a whole letter at once. . . . I tried his 'Romans' the other day . . . . They are really excellent letters, as letters I mean. How flattered P would be with my praise!' (MS. 1895). As there is

published in both London and New York in 1900.[13] Very little is known about Wiley, though she is included in Douglas Bush's list of writers who used mythological subject matter in the appendix to his book, Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry.[14]

In my discussion of Wiley's poem 'Pygmalion and Galatea' I shall use the printed version of 1895 and note any interesting changes which the poet made from the manuscript of 1894. Wiley talks briefly about the poem at the end of letter in which it is contained.

> You must tell me if you like this and also if there's anything you dislike or think a flaw. The writing of it was a delight for I so love sculpture and . . . the 'human form divine' that I was happy in seeing the beautiful woman (MS. 1894).

The poem opens with an atmospheric evocation of classical Greece.

> The golden lamps, upflaring as they swing
> Set floating purple shadows all achase,
> And strike on porphyry pillars, glimmering,

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no published biography of her and she is not included in biographical dictionaries, very little information other than the above exists to help the student of Sara King Wiley's literature.

[13]Sara King Wiley, Poems Lyrical and Dramatic. To Which is Added Cromwell, An Historical Play (New York and London, 1900).

[14]Douglas Bush, Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry (New York, 1963).

A thread of light from capital to base (Poems, p. 59).

Behind a cloud of incense stands a completed statue of 'pale perfection' (Poems, p. 59). Pygmalion, who is not named at this point, gazes at the statue, 'his eyes / fill with slow tears of wonder and of love' (p. 59). Pygmalion's heart is 'wounded' because the statue is untransformed. He laments the 'stilly whiteness of her eyes' and Pygmalion kneels before her to pray to the 'golden Queen of Love' (p. 59). The prayer is brief.[15] Pygmalion puts a hand on the statue's foot, presumably to see if his prayer has worked, but shrinks from the unchanged cold stone. The statue then changes. Using an elaborate simile, the poet compares the animation of the statue to the reflection of the sun on the clouds on a cold morning.

About the statue's form of marble death
A tinge of living radiance flushes slow.
As when along the dappled silver clouds,
When early morning winds are piping cold,
The tiny flecks of glistering fire in crowds
Run on their edge to spreading lines of gold,
Thus on the heavy whiteness of her hair
A shimmering stream of ribbèd flame is shed,
And soft small curls, upstarting, flutter there,
The crispèd gleams grow misty round her head.

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[15]In the 1895 version, Pygmalion asks the goddess to 'Perfect this beauty with the gift of life!' (p. 60). In the 1894 manuscript version, Pygmalion prays to 'Ye Gods that I adore'.

Now lower sweeps the life; descending warm,

He sees red bloom across her pale cheeks flow,

Then hides his face asudden on his arm (p. 60).

The statue is transformed slowly from head to foot like George Macdonald's statue. (Most versions of the story in the nineteenth century describe the statue as changing in an instant.) Here, the gradual warming of the statue gives credence to the simile used. What is interesting about this version of the story is the atmosphere of incantation and mysticism suggested by the rhyme scheme, and abundant references to smoke and incense. Clouds of incense part before we see the statue at the beginning of the poem; they rise in 'thin blue streams' to form a 'wreath' in the air. In the manuscript version there are three extra lines, not printed later, which add to this effect. They occur just after Pygmalion has cried out in prayer.

The air is heavy with the mounting smoke

Circling the lamps with fluted mazy coil

Motion in silence, tremulous at his breath (MS. 1894).

This replaces the action of Pygmalion placing his hand on the statue's foot, and shrinking from its coldness. In the printed version, the smoke is so evident that when Pygmalion draws in his breath disturbs a tall column of smoke. Also, when the statue is changed into a woman, her curls are described as 'misty' (p. 60). The comparison of the statue with the clouds adds to this catalogue of smoky scenes.

The story ends with the statue blushing, and Pygmalion hiding his face behind his arm. The narrator appeals to Pygmalion directly, telling him what he should do (and thereby sanctioning his actions).

> Arise, Pygmalion, arise, arise,
>
> And look upon the wonder of her face,
>
> And look upon the glory of her face;
>
> Lo, how she lifts her arms with wavering grace,
>
> And fingers curved, she bends, her long curls sway,
>
> Parting in happy smiles the bright lips move;
>
> Fitly the gods thy faithful toil repay --
>
> The beauty thou hast worshipped is thy Love! (pp. 60-61).

The statue-woman is active at the end of the poem, Pygmalion is passive. Pygmalion is not in his usual role of dominance, taking possession of the woman as soon as she has come to life.

The next author to consider the subject of Pygmalion was William E. Hurrell.[16] Not much is known about the life of this writer, though he was significant enough for his volume The Passionate Painter and Other Verse to have been reviewed unfavourably in The Times Literary Supplement in 1918:

> A laborious architect of elaborate structures, Mr. Hurrell cannot be said to reveal anywhere an imagination which rises above the commonplace

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[16]William E. Hurrell, Pygmalion and Some Sonnets and Drama (London, 1898).

> or the power to produce free rhythms. 'The artisan's Sunday Dinner' and its 'Sequel' are perhaps the most ambitious pieces, especially as he confesses in a preface to a 'consciousness of Burns's noble influence', and suggests that it may be deemed an imitation of 'Cottar's Saturday Night'. The whole poem is very far away from Burns; and the theme carries the writer into a strain of apparently quite ordinary reflection smothered and obscured by heavy verbiage.[17]

Hurrell produced two volumes of poetry in 1898: Poems, Lyric, Dramatic and Heroic and Pygmalion and Some Sonnets and Drama.[18]

Hurrell's version of the story, 'Pygmalion' (1898), has the subtitle 'or the worker and his work' and is described by the author as an 'Allegorical Fantasy' (p. 11). In the preface, Hurrell explains his intentions, suggesting that to many people the poem will appear exaggerated unless the reader takes the story of Pygmalion literally. To take the story literally means, in this case, to believe that Pygmalion made a perfect statue which was so perfect that 'its attraction to the Life-breathing power of Venus was irresistible' (Hurrell, p. i). Also, the reader, he writes, should understand that it was 'by the force of his Idealistic passion', Pygmalion became a 'demi-god, -- a master workman affiliated to the gods themselves' (Hurrell, p. i). As a result of this, Pygmalion found imperfection a pain hard to bear.

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[17]The Times Literary Supplement, 16 May 1918, p. 235. William E. Hurrell, The Passionate Painter and Other Verse (London, 1918).

[18]William E. Hurrell, Poems, Lyric, Dramatic, and Heroic (London, 1898).

> In the character of Pygmalion this pain is heightened by the consciousness of the possession of supreme gifts; gifts which (coupled with acquired conviction of the absolute plasticity of his medium), refuse to be excused by Circumstance; ignore the limits of Opportunity; and so consider any proportion of failure a disgrace (Hurrell, p. i).

Pygmalion suffers because he censures himself. The author explains further that 'the action of the poem moves to a higher sphere' through allegory (p. i). The significance he put forward was that human nature is passionate about perfection, especially the perfection of people, and that it is only through our better part that we can truly appreciate the Deity.

The events of the poem take place after the statue of a beautiful woman has been brought to life. This is all we are told about the incident which we would normally associate with Pygmalion. The poem concentrates, instead, on what it claims is a later incident in Pygmalion's life, the coming to life and death of a male statue. Pygmalion is depicted as having a passion for perfection. In this poem the author answers the question: what would happen if Pygmalion created a statue which was a failure, and if to look on the statue pained the sculptor?

The speaker, who is unidentified but is not Pygmalion, describes a dream in which an autumn sun is setting. He wanders in through a 'dreamland of a Past / That might have been my own'. Like the post-romantic Pygmalion stories of the nineteenth century, there is a strong emphasis on dream and vision in this poem, and an indication of the active soul of the sculptor. The dreamer sees 'shapes indefinite, and shimmering gleams, / Palely revealed as they were bas-reliefs' which could be seen

'when the eye / Draws colour from its inner consciousness' (Hurrell, p. 11). Like George MacDonald's version, the Pygmalion story takes place within the framework of a dream, and the dreamer comes across a colonnade of statues.

> Far then stretched
> A Gallery before me, dimly lit . . . and revealed
> Long lines of snow-white Statuary. Each form
> Seemed perfect; every line and curve in each
> Revealed a master-mind and well-skilled hand
> . . . a soul that could create (Hurrell, p. 13).

The dreamer says that next he saw a workman in a smock; this turns out to be Pygmalion. It is past midnight when the worker leaves 'his work to walk / Along the gallery to his night's repose' (Hurrell, p. 13). Pygmalion then notices the 'Torso' of a male statue. The dreamer becomes aware that the torso was on top of a pile of rubbish.

> 'Twas a trunk
> Lopped of its head and limbs, a thing that might
> Have graced a Palace once, or have been
> Th'essay of 'prentice immaturity;
> So little one could gather now from this
> Now left of it (Hurrell, p. 14).

Pygmalion speaks, revealing his soul, and saying that he is pained by the remains of the statue.

> 'Hence horrible abortion; must mine eyes,
> Pure in their aspect, ever be assailed
> By this grim relic of a trampled past?
> Did I not lop its limbs and head till nought
> Was left that might reveal th'original
> Fault that was in it! What is there in this
> Mere lump to stimulate the memory,
> So that I never see it but I gaze
> On its complete original defect,
> And torture all my soul with sacrifice
> Of rest for its redemption?' (Hurrell, p. 14).

The dreamer suggests that just as the Venus of Milo was mutilated but still revealed the beauty of the whole, so did the torso show its faults to Pygmalion. It haunts Pygmalion 'with a weird / Sort of attraction' (p. 15), and he finds it strange that he, who had made another statue which had glorified the queen of Heaven and seen her 'breathe / Her very breath of life into it', who had a passion for perfection and a gift of great talent 'must hang that wretched torso round his neck, / And feel his brain distorted with the shape / Of its reflection!' (Hurrell, p. 16). The dreamer sees Pygmalion 'poise himself before a glass; / Strip off his robe' and emulate the torso (p. 17). Lifting a heavy sledge-hammer, he finds that 'all his body took the shape that

matched / The thing beside him; and he turned to it, / Radiant with joy' (p. 17). When he turned to look at the torso, 'the thing itself had life!' (p. 17). The dreamer describes the animation of the torso:

> I saw a tremor pass along its veins;
> I saw its bosom heave; I heard its lungs
> Sigh, as its heart's valves forced the life-blood through.
> I saw, as 'twere, a self-creative power
> Within it, as if it had ta'en a cue,
> From its creator, to redeem itself,
> And take completeness all appropriate.
> I saw it rise on moulded limbs, with thews
> Tensioning stiffly, while its arms grew firm
> With muscles strongly knit (Hurrell, pp. 17-18).

The torso changed into a living, old man, his eyes flaming with resentment. The old man cried in pain, '"Why hast thou made me thus?" / And raised its [his] arms to strike' (p. 18). Pygmalion shuddered and replied

> 'Must there then ever be
> Perpetual war betwixt creator and
> The work he, misconceiving, executes?' (Hurrell, p. 18).

Then Pygmalion 'smashed the thing to tiny particles' (p. 18). The dreamer dwells for a while on the pain of those who 'fall short of that perfection they desire' and those 'who feel themselves misshaped' and 'the treble pain when Work and Worker meet, / That to complain, and this to suffer it!' (p. 19). He also discusses, briefly, the relationship between Pygmalion and the torso and the nature of creativity. Finally, the dreamer wakes up to the same scene he saw before he dreamed.

Hurrell's Pygmalion story discusses the problems of the idealist who has realized his ideal (in the form of the statue-woman who had been brought to life). The imperfect statue he had once destroyed brings itself to life and utters a cry reminiscent of Adam's, in Paradise Lost (X, lines 743-745) against the injustice of his position

Did I request the, Maker, from my clay
To mould me man? Did I solicit thee
From darkness to promote me? (Carey and Fowler, p. 965).

These lines were used by Mary Shelley at the beginning of Frankenstein. Like Frankenstein's monster the torso is a failed attempt at creating a beautiful man, who comes to life.

Both Hurrell and Sturge Moore saw Pygmalion as a worker; Munby, as I have suggested, saw the statue as a worker. Murphy's Pygmalion poem, like Frederick Tennyson's, is a post-romantic account of the story. Hurrell's use of dream and the soul suggests that he also gleaned something from romanticism.

As we can see from the evidence produced above, 'standard nineties' pygmalionism' had little to with the Pygmalion story as it was conceived in the 1890s;

there was no standard Pygmalion story in the nineties. Additionally, the Pygmalion stories which I have examined show no interest in the issues raised by the kind of Decadent aesthetic which Gordon has labelled as 'pygmalionism'. I have argued further that pygmalionism, as it has been defined by Gordon, has little to do with the Pygmalion story at all. The general picture of Pygmalion that we get from this period is that he is a worker, though this is by no means a universal theme in this period.

Conclusion

I

In the previous chapters, I have attempted a thematic study of the Pygmalion story. Looking at the story in this way alerts us to whole sets of concerns expressed by authors using this story as a medium. These concerns fall into some clearly defined groups, many, though not all, of which can be defined chronologically. In this way, I hope that I have shown that the story is about more than just the sorts of gender-related themes -- the oppression and manipulation of women -- which we might expect. Of course, these concerns are present in many of the renarrations: but other themes are present too.

In this conclusion, I shall firstly summarize some of the themes which I think can be found in the renarrations of the Pygmalion story, concentrating on those elements which I have discussed at length in what has gone before, though setting aside gender-based issues. Secondly, I shall attempt to expand the discussion to include more obviously feminist readings, consciously exploring themes of which at least some of these authors may well have been unconscious: the sorts of systematically masculinist concerns just outlined. Thirdly, I shall look, briefly, at how some of these different themes began to develop in twentieth century renarrations of the story (a development with some surprising results).

II

From 1200 to 1500, by way of summary, Pygmalion's character was associated with madness and lasciviousness in the theological-mythographic tradition; poets of this era, on the other hand, saw him as a great artist or even as a pious man. The story is used, in the sixteenth century, as a topos for anti-Catholic polemic. The seventeenth century saw Pygmalion being portrayed, once again, as foolish and lascivious. The eighteenth century saw the narrative developing links with the story of Prometheus. It is only with Rousseau's Pygmalion, however, that we find the narrative beginning to be used in a sophisticated way. The most important of these uses is a discussion of the extent to which the artist should put himself into the work of art. Some of the early nineteenth century British romantics were less confident about Rousseau's identification of the artist with his art-work: themes conveniently explored via renarrations of the Pygmalion story. We know that Rousseau's choice of the Pygmalion story as the arena for this issue influenced Beddoes in his choice of the story, and probably Hazlitt too.

The Victorian period was marked by the striking insertion of a new episode in the narrative: Pygmalion's dream. Writers used this device, taking their lead from romantic accounts of dream, to explore further the nature of creativity. The idea of embodying the dream in art is at the heart of romantic philosophy. The Pygmalion story also formed a natural vehicle for the expression and discussion of issues relating to the fleshly debate of the mid-Victorian period. The story is pertinent because of the coming to life of the statue; writers are interested in whether this is merely fleshly vivification, or, rather, spiritual animation.

III

The remaining groups of renarrations express, to a greater or lesser extent, gender-related issues. From 1200 to 1500 we consistently find the statue portrayed as dependent, and inferior to Pygmalion. At best, in Ovide Moralisé, the statue is a servant-girl who is educated by her master; at worst, she is abused by Pygmalion, as in Arnulf's exposition. Even Christine de Pisan sees the statue negatively as a symbol of lechery. In Ovidius Moralizatus it is the statue (that is, the nun) who tempts Pygmalion (the monk). In the sixteenth century, the statue is depicted as inconstant, immodest and an easy prey to temptation. When the statue holds out against Pygmalion, as she does for a time in Marston's Pygmalion, she is criticized for this also. Writers of this century also described her as a thief, a murderess and a prostitute. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the statue was criticized for the immodesty of having a painted face. The statue often remained in her statue-state, despite the entreaties of Pygmalion, and mirrored the stony response of the woman who would not respond to the poet-narrator who admired her.

Rousseau's Pygmalion play blurs the identity of sculptor and statue, reducing the role of the woman to a projection of the artist's own ideal or fantasy. This point is more than merely aesthetic: it clearly involves the manipulation of the artist's female creation. Hazlitt is not dissimilar from this: he forges his own fantasy around the statue-like Sara. This is not interaction with another subject viewed as an equal but a narcissistic replication of the male artist's own self. Concurrent with this is Hazlitt's desire to treat the woman as a goddess, and thus in another sense to make her

something untouchable, incapable of normal human responses. He says: 'I will make a Goddess of her . . . and worship her on indestructible altars, and raise statues to her'.[1] He describes her face as looking 'like some faultless marble statue, as cold, as fixed and graceful as ever statue did' (Hazlitt, IX, pp. 137-138).

From the 1820s until the end of the nineteenth century we find a number of recurrent themes which express standard male views of women of the time. (These occur less frequently in the twentieth century.) Many writers of this period describe the whiteness of the statue and of the woman she becomes. Beddoes writes for example: 'all her marble symmetry was white / As brow and bosom should be'.[2] This, of course, reflects her statue state, but it is also an image of the purity required (by men) in womankind. For example, John Byrne Leicester Warren describes the statue as having 'limbs in whiteness as the drifted snow' (1860).[3] There are, perhaps not surprisingly, a large number of references to the statue-woman's hair. Perhaps more surprising is the number of times in which these references have strongly negative or oppressive overtones. In particular, William Cox Bennett describes the statue as having man-catching hair: 'nets of gold, / Fit as lorn Ariadne's streaming hair / To catch flush'd Dionusus' [sic].[4] Ernest Hartley Coleridge's Pygmalion sculpts a statue with

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[1]William Hazlitt, The Complete Works of William Hazlitt, ed. by P. P. Howe, 21 vols (London and Toronto, 1930-1934), IX, (1932), p. 133.

[2]Thomas Lovell Beddoes, Plays and Poems of Thomas Lovell Beddoes, ed. by Henry Wolfgang Donner (London, 1950), p. 101.

[3]John Byrne Leicester Warren, Ballads and Metrical Sketches. By George F. Preston (London, 1860), p. 19.

[4]William Cox Bennett, Poems (London, 1862), p. 109.

'great locks, such as no breath / Of living breeze could nestle in and stir'.[5] Joseph John Murphy describes a statue whose 'locks turn dark, and flow / In waves of raven blackness / Like clouds of lingering night'.[6] When George Eric Lancaster's statue is transformed, she requests that Pygmalion untie her heavy locks:

"Pygmalion, loose my hair;
Unbind it; let it fall!" -- Behold 'tis done,
And falls from thee like sunlight from the sun.[7]

Pygmalion later suggests that he 'will lie with thee, among thy hair' (Lancaster, p. 26). Other significant characteristics of the statue-woman's appearance mentioned frequently are her blood red lips, her blue eyes and rosy cheeks. These conform to stereotypically Victorian views of female beauty.

As in the plays of the period, Pygmalion's statue-woman is often depicted as child-like in nineteenth-century poetry. Beddoes's Pygmalion calls her 'my delicious child' (Beddoes, p. 102). Buchanan's statue-woman has 'prattled infants speech'.[8] G. E. Lancaster's Pygmalion asks the untransformed statue to lift up her arms to him 'like a child' (Lancaster, p. 5). Joseph John Murphy, too, talks of 'the purity of childhood' (Murphy, p. 66). The woman is denied her maturity, and her child-like state is

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[5]Ernest Hartley Coleridge, Poems (Chertsey, 1881), p. 4.

[6]Joseph John Murphy, Sonnets and Other Poems Chiefly Religious (London, 1890), p. 67.

[7]George Eric Lancaster, Pygmalion in Cyprus (London, 1880), p. 13.

[8]Robert Buchanan, Undertones (London, 1863), p. 178.

(Murphy, p. 66). The woman is denied her maturity, and her child-like state is idealized. In several instances, the statue-woman is also given the grace of a flower: again expressing stereotypical conceptions of womanhood. For example, James Payn describes her as a woman who is 'as fair and flawless as the lily's grace'.[9] J. J. Murphy's statue-woman has 'a flower's soft bending grace' (Murphy, p. 66).[10] John Hooley's Pygmalion sees grace as naturally incompatible with childhood, and specifies that the statue be childlike and at the same time 'gifted with graces girlhood lacked'.[11] Rather more disturbingly, perhaps, is the way in which the statue is occasionally seen as a woman in chains. James Payn suggests that his statue did not need fetters because she is bound by her form: 'This statue . . . needing not the chain / On those fair wrists to mark the fetter pain -- is but a statue' (Payn, p. 13). Payn's Pygmalion is even called a 'slave-sculptor' (Payn, p. 13). The chained woman also appears in Robert Buchanan's poem on the subject. Pygmalion is seen 'girdling the waist with clasp and cord of gold' (Buchanan, p. 178). Frederick Tennyson's Pygmalion finds a 'chain of gold, / And threw it round the fair cold marble neck' (Tennyson, p. 45).

The Pygmalion plays of the Victorian period depicted the animated statue as a child-like woman with a deficiency of some kind. In William Brough's play, the statue-woman is unable to love until she is given a soul by Psyche. Her naivety is expressed by her inability to understand what it means to love and be loved. In

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[9]James Payn, Poems (Cambridge, 1853), p. 11.

[10]There is a good early twentieth-century example of this in Robert Whitehouse's Pygmalion and the Statue (London, 1910). The transformed statue-woman is described as 'like a ripened bud / That knows not that the summer is at hand' (Whitehouse, p. 32). Later she becomes a 'surrendered woman . . . / Close nestled in his [Pygmalion's] strong arms' (Whitehouse, p. 37).

[11]John Hooley, Pygmalion and Other Poems (Calcutta, 1874), p. 114.

Gilbert's play, Galatea combines naivety with amorousness for the greater part of the play. Her innocence is manifest in her selective store of knowledge, and is shown to cause disruption. The child-like quality of Galatea was recognized by both the actresses who played her and the critics reviewed her. The purity of childhood is alluded to by Andrew Lang, who talks of the statue-woman as 'a woman with a child-like heart / "And passionately pure"'.[12] Ronald Ross's Pygmalion says to the statue-woman, Niobelle, in characteristic patronizing tone:

> What are you still but a child?
> Your pouts, your vanities, your ways, your whims
> Subscribe you infant still; but now your toys
> Are the hearts of men. Beware, my Niobelle,
> They who run blindly meet a fall.[13]

In the plays of Brough, Gilbert, Agnes Rous Howell and Ronald Ross, Pygmalion takes the role of the educator of the statue-woman, to varying degrees. The statue-woman's knowledge is restricted, and her naivety symbolizes a simplicity regarded as appropriate for both classical beauty and for women. The depiction of Galatea as a child-like woman in need of education by the teacher, Pygmalion, was the Victorian conception of the Pygmalion story in play form. It is not surprising, then that we see this theme being carried on by George Bernard Shaw in his Pygmalion play of the

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[12]Andrew Lang, 'The New Pygmalion; or The Statue's Choice', Longman's Magazine, 1 (1883), 299-302 (p. 301).

[13]Ronald Ross, Edgar; or The New Pygmalion and the Judgement of Tithonus (Madras, 1883), p. 123.

early twentieth century.

It is tempting to conclude, because of the nature of the narrative (that is, a story about a misogynistic sculptor who makes an ideal woman), that the Pygmalion story cannot be told in any way other than to reflect male concerns. In the 1880s, however, three women writers took up the story and examined it from a different standpoint: that of the statue. It had been customary in the nineteenth century to retell the story either using the character Pygmalion as the narrator, or through a narrator whose concerns were closely identified with the sculptor. Pygmalion's story, his personality, and his creativity were explored in great depth. While the burlesques of the nineteenth century showed that Galatea had a voice (largely because of the necessity and value of having roles for actresses on the stage), her character was not developed greatly, as she was regarded as a child or an innocent. Galatea gained a new voice when, in 1881, Emily H. Hickey composed a sonnet which told the story from the statue's point of view. It opens with the resonant line: 'I was Pygmalion's handiwork'.[14] This poem marks the beginning of a significant increase in the interest in the story shown by women writers. Male poets of the nineteenth century had concentrated largely on the role of the male artist. Emily Hickey describes, rather, the experience of being a statue which is brought to life. The viewpoint of the statue is also taken by the American poet Elizabeth Stuart Phelps in 'Galatea' (1885).[15] This poem shows Galatea to be conscious before her metamorphosis. She thinks about whether it is a good idea to undergo the transformation. Galatea, no longer the naive

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[14]Emily H. Hickey, A Sculptor and Other Poems (London, 1881), p. 138.

[15]Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Songs of the Silent World and Other Poems (Boston, 1885), p. 69.

of the burlesques, weighs up the options: 'Shall I dare exchange / Veins of the quarry for the throbbing pulse?' (Phelps, p. 69). Galatea is aware that if she comes to life, she will have to submit to being under Pygmalion's control, like 'a wave tossed up the shore of his desire, / To ebb and flow whene'er it pleaseth him' (Phelps, p. 69). The message of the poem is that any one who knew in advance what a woman's life was like would not choose to become one. Galatea, at the end of the poem, is compelled by an 'awful Law' to come to life (Phelps, p. 70). Her unwillingness is noted in the last line of the poem when she talks of Pygmalion's kisses being 'inflicted' on her (Phelps, p. 71). Mary Nagle follows a more traditional line in her approach to the story. Her 'Pygmalion' (1887) tells the story of the sculptor, and he remains her interest for the majority of the poem.[16] Nagle's sympathy for Galatea is noted at the end of the poem, as the statue does not come to life:

> The marble image stood a monument
> Of dead perfection, lovely loveliness,
> Devoid of all which gives a human thought
> An infinite beauty and a charm divine (Nagle, p. 36).

IV

This kind of approach heralded a new age for the Pygmalion story. Writers, both male and female, of the twentieth century aim to get more from the tale by

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[16]Mary Nagle, Pygmalion, Child of the Lake, The Three Rings, and Other Poems, ed. by May Cross (Watertown, New York, 1887).

subverting the narrative and changing traditional perspectives. The perspective of the statue is taken by many British and American poets of the twentieth century.[17] In 1926, American poet Genevieve Taggard's Galatea utters the cry: 'Let me be marble, marble once again' (Taggard, p. 39). Roselle Mercier Montgomery's Galatea rebukes the sculptor for daring to cause her transformation: 'It was a male intrusion to evoke / Me from the marble' (Montgomery, p. 39). As in Phelps's poem the statue feels most indignant about having to submit to Pygmalion's will. Preferring her statue state, Galatea suggests that she has had 'no possessive one to say, "Do this!", / "Stay here!", "Go there!", or "Come, my love, a kiss!"' (Montgomery, p. 39). On the other hand, Pygmalion is portrayed as a reluctant lover by American poet Audrey Wurdemann, in 'To Galatea'. Pygmalion says: 'I pray: do not awaken' (Wurdemann, p. 4). The viewpoint of Galatea is not exclusive to women writers. Charles J. Rowe's 'Galatea' explores the statue-woman's experience of her metamorphosis: 'from a multitude of breathing souls / I drew sensation and percipience, / Until my ivory breast began to pulse' (Rowe, p. 414). Indeed, in the twentieth century, the Pygmalion story may be more aptly renamed the Galatea story.

While the character of Galatea was being developed at the end of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth, renarrations of the story which celebrated Pygmalion's role as an artist-creator continued. For example, Anna

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[17]For example, Genevieve Taggard, 'Galatea Again', Words For the Chisel (New York, 1926), p. 39; Ruth Pitter, 'Galatea' (1921), First and Second Poems 1912-1925 (London, 1927), p. 159; Roselle Mercier Montgomery, 'Galatea to Pygmalion', Many Devices (New York and London, 1929), pp. 39-40; Audrey Wurdemann, 'To Galatea', Bright Ambush (New York, 1934), p. 4; Leonard Gandalac, 'Galatea', Canadian Forum, 14 (1934), 268; Charles J. Rowe, 'Galatea', Poetry Review, 38 (1947), 414; Malcolm H. Tattersall, 'Galatea', Poetry Review, 39 (1948), 383; Robert Conquest, 'Galatea', Between Mars and Venus (London, 1962), pp. 16-17; Alun Llewellyn, 'Galatea', Poetry Review, 47 (1956), 19.

Hempstead Branch's 'Pygmalion' (1944) follows this line. Pygmalion says: 'I, Pygmalion / This passionless marble will endue with life'.[18] Roy Fuller's poem, 'The Truth About Pygmalion' (1965) suggests that Pygmalion is the victim of the story. The sculptor says: 'Do not imagine I was glad she breathed'.[19] The concerns of the male artist have not been forgotten in the twentieth century.

V

This thesis has endeavoured to demonstrate the development and flexibility of the Pygmalion story. We can see a logical progression from early representations of the story as a tale about an idolator, an unrequited lover who imagines that his beloved might one day respond, to Rousseau's story of a narcissistic artist who creates another self, to the post-romantic artist-dreamer, and the Pre-Raphaelite worshipper of physical beauty. The Pygmalion story is a tale about the dominance and representation of women, but it is also a tale about aesthetics, about the psychology of the artist, and the relationship between the artist and the created object. One cannot generalize, as Martin Danahay does, that 'Nineteenth century retellings of the Pygmalion myth have an unhappy ending, as Galatea refuses to meet the expectations of her male creator', as this happens in only a small number of nineteenth century renarrations (Danahay, p. 49). The Victorian Pygmalion story is more than a narcissistic tale of a love doomed to fail.

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[18]Anna Hempstead Branch, Last Poems, ed. by Ridgely Torrence (New York and Toronto, 1944), p. 44.

[19]Roy Fuller, Buff (London, 1965), p. 50.

While the Victorian poets' fascination for stories in which women are controlled, trapped, rescued, idealized, defined, or owned (for example, Andromeda and Perseus, Mariana, the lady of Shalott) is an aspect of the story in the nineteenth century (explored where appropriate in this thesis), I conclude that the story exhibits a wide variety of concerns in the nineteenth century.

APPENDIX ONE: THE PYGMALION STORY IN DICTIONARIES AND HANDBOOKS OF CLASSICAL LITERATURE

One might expect that dictionaries of classical literature would record the occurrence of classical stories in their earliest or most popular form, or at best document different early versions of a story (if there is more than one) in such a way as to make it clear that they are separate. This is not always the case with the Pygmalion story. It is apparent from looking at various accounts of the Pygmalion story in books of this type that approaches to definition are quite diverse. Some writers mix up early versions to create a single story; this, unfortunately, leads to confusion and occasionally contradiction. Other dictionaries even provide interpretations of the story, recounting the narrative with a moral.

One common problem with books of this type is that insufficient distinction is made between Ovid's Pygmalion the sculptor of Cyprus and Apollodorus's Pygmalion the king of Cyprus who was not a sculptor. To conflate these two stories is to confuse the genealogy of Pygmalion the sculptor considerably. Ovid's Pygmalion was the father of Paphos, who gave his or her name to the city of Paphos. Paphos's son, Cinyras, fathered Adonis incestuously by his daughter, Myrrha; Apollodorus's Cinyras founded Paphos and married the daughter of Pygmalion, king of Cyprus, who was called Metharme (and to whom he was not related). Metharme and Cinyras were the parents of Adonis and others. William Smith's <u>A Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Mythology and Geography</u> connects the two stories, describing Pygmalion as:

> King of Cyprus and father of Metharme. He is said to have fallen in love with the image of a maiden which he himself had made, and therefore to have prayed to Aphrodite to breathe life into it. When the request was granted, Pygmalion, married his beloved, and became by her the father of Paphus.[1]

Here, Paphos is made to be brother (or sister) to Metharme, whereas in neither of the sources for this reference is Metharme related to Paphos.

The elevation of Pygmalion the sculptor to the rank of king is a common occurrence in dictionaries and handbooks, despite there being no mention of this in Ovid. (Pygmalion the king was, of course, not a sculptor.) Pierre Grimal's A Concise Dictionary of Classical Mythology is an example of a dictionary which has done this. He calls Pygmalion 'A king of Cyprus, who fell in love with an ivory statue'.[2] Even the recently published book The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts describes Pygmalion as a 'king of Cyprus' who 'carved an ivory statue'.[3]

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[1]A Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Mythology, ed. by William Smith, 3 vols (London, 1844-1849), III (1849), 606.

[2]Pierre Grimal, A Concise Dictionary of Classical Mythology, ed. by Stephen Kershaw from the trans. by A. R. Maxwell-Hyslop (Oxford, 1990), p. 380.

[3]See also, W. H. Roscher, Ausführliches Lexikon der Grieschischen und Römischen Mythologie, 6 vols (Leipzig, 1884-1937), III, 3317-3319; Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language, ed. by Noah Webster (London and Springfield, Massachusetts, 1909), p. 1742; Paul Harvey, The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature (Oxford, 1940), p. 355; H. J. Rose, A Handbook of Greek Mythology (London, 1958), p. 340; Herbert Hunger, Lexikon der Grieschischen und Römischen Mythologie (Wien, 1959), p. 360; Gertrude Jobes, Dictionary of Mythology, Folklore and Symbols, 2 vols (New York, 1962), 2, p. 1306; Eric Smith, A Dictionary of Classical Reference in English Poetry (Woodbridge, 1984), p. 208; William Rose Benét, The Reader's Encyclopedia, 3rd edn (London, 1988), p. 802; A. R. Hope Moncrieff, Classical Mythology (Guernsey, 1994), p. 121;

There are some differences of opinion concerning the statue. Many dictionaries describe the statue as being made of marble rather than ivory as it is in Ovid's version of the story. This may be because they are using Clement of Alexandria as a source (though this is uncredited), or it may be a result of the popularity of marble in British renarrations of the Pygmalion story. For example, Lemprière's Classical Dictionary suggests that Pygmalion 'became enamoured of a beautiful statue of marble which he had made', whilst incorrectly naming Ovid as its source.[4] Marble is also suggested by Abraham Lass and Eric Smith.[5] Several dictionaries give the name Galatea to the statue without explaining that this is a post-classical addition to the tale. Lemprière's dictionary suggests for example that 'the goddess of Beauty changed the favourite statue into a woman, whom the artist married, naming her Galatea' (Lemprière, 1963, p. 534). Abraham Lass writes that Pygmalion 'created a perfect woman of marble, naming her Galatea' (Lass, p. 184). Under the heading 'Galatea' Lass gives his own interpretation of the Pygmalion story, and does not acknowledge Ovid's nymph Galatea (Metamorphoses, XIII):

> The sculptor Pygmalion scorned living women for their imperfections, and resolved to create a perfect woman. In revenge, Aphrodite caused

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[4]Lemprière's Classical Dictionary of Proper Names Mentioned in Ancient Authors, ed. by F. A. Wright (London, 1963).

[5]Abraham Lass, The Facts on File Dictionary of Classical, Biblical and Literary Allusions (New York and Oxford, 1987), p. 184; Eric Smith, p. 208.

> him to fall in love with a cold stone statue, but finally relented and brought it life as the mortal Galatea (Lass, p. 81).[6]

There is no evidence the classical sources for an interpretation of the metamorphosis as a revenge story. Venus, in Ovid's version, punished the Propoetides by turning them into stone at the beginning of Pygmalion's tale. This action seems to be confused with that of the Pygmalion story. Further, several dictionaries change the name of Ovid's Venus to her Greek counterpart Aphrodite. This is probably because a Roman goddess might seem out of place in a Greek story.[7]

There are definitions which claim that the statue is a portrait of Aphrodite. Ovid does not include this detail, but it is a feature of both Clement of Alexandria and Arnobius of Sicca (who do not report that Pygmalion was a sculptor). Gertrude Jobe claims that Pygmalion, the misogynistic king of Cyprus, sculpted a statue of Aphrodite and fell in love with it (Jobe, p. 1306). William Rose Benét's sculptor king 'fell in love with his own ivory statue of Aphrodite' (Benét, p. 802). Again, these are composite definitions which originate from a number of sources.

The last issue of concern here is related to a manuscript difficulty in Ovid's Metamorphoses, and concerns the sex of Pygmalion's child, Paphos. Bömer's commentary on the Metamorphoses suggests that commonly acknowledged tradition is that Paphos is a woman and is the mother of Cinyras. Later traditions consider

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[6]The statue is also called Galatea by A. R. Hope Moncrieff: 'Galatea was the name he gave his statue, in vain, hoping to call it to life' (p. 121).

[7]This is done by Moncrieff, Rose and Edward Tripp, Collins Dictionary of Classical Mythology (London, and Glasgow, 1988).

Paphos to be a man.[8] H. J. Rose, Lemprière, Mark Morford and J. Lang suggest that Paphos is a man, whereas Edward Tripp, M. A. Howatson, W. H. Roscher, Eric Smith and The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts all note that Paphos is a woman.[9]

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[8]Franz Bömer, P. Ovidius Naso. Metamorphosen. Kommentar 10-11 (Heidelberg, 1980), p. 110.

[9]Several of the dictionaries and handbooks make references to later renarrations of the Pygmalion story. It is interesting to see which of these is the most popular. In the books I looked at, John Marston's Pygmalion is listed most often in books published between the years 1940 and 1988. This is followed by Bernard Shaw, William Morris and W. S. Gilbert.

APPENDIX TWO: PYGMALION REFERENCES

1. References in Latin and Greek Literature[1]

3 BC (fl.) Philostephanus (Cypriaca) or The History of Cyprus (prose) †

AD 1-AD 8 Ovid Metamorphoses (poetry)

1st or 2nd century AD Apollodorus Bibliotheca (prose) †

c. AD 40 Philippos Garland (in Anthologia Graeca XI. 347) (Fragments of a collection of Greek epigrams)†

(written after 1st century AD) Scholia on Dionysius Periegetes†

2nd or 3rd century AD Clement of Alexandria (c150-211) Protrepticus or The Exhortation of the Greeks (prose) †

3rd century Arnobius of Sicca Adversus Nationes (prose)

(written before 207) Hyginus Fabulae (prose)

c. 270 AD Porphyry De Abstinentia (On Abstinence From Animal Food) (prose)[2]†

4th century Servius Grammaticus (possibly using Aelius Donatus) commentary on Virgil's Georgics III.5 (prose)

5th century AD (written before 500) Nonnos Panopolitanus Dionysiaca (prose)†

6th century AD Lactantius Placidus Lactanti Placidi Qui Dicitur Narrationes Fabularum Ovidianorum (prose)

6th-10th century AD Anonymous A Summary of the Epitome of the Ethnica of Stephanus of Byzantium (prose)†

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[1]This section lists all texts which are written in either Latin or Greek. I have provided a short description of the genre of each reference in brackets. Greek texts are indicated by the symbol '†'. I have been unable to date the brief reference to Pygmalion in the fragments of Hellanicus's Cypriaca (fragment 147) in Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, I, 65.

[2]Porphyry notes that Pygmalion is mentioned by Neanthes Cyzicenus and Asclepiades Cyprius. This is also noted in K. Müller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, III, 10 and 306.

c. 1200 Arnulf of Orleans Allegoriae super Ovidii Metamorphosin (prose)

1322-1323 Giovanni del Virgilio Epositore del Metamorphosi (prose)

c. 1340 Petrus Berchorius (or Pierre Bersuire) Ovidius Moralizatus (prose)

1360-1420 (fl.) Thomas Walsingham De Archana Deorum (prose)

1493 Raphael Regius Ovidius Metamorphoses, cum Commento Familiari (prose)

1555 George Sabinus Fabularum Ovidii Interpretatio Ethica, Physica et Historica (prose)

1563 Johann Sprengius Metamorphoses Ovidii (prose)

1630 - 50 Anonymous Pygmalion (playlet in verse)

1648 Richard Crashaw 'In Pigmaliona' (poem)

1736 Thomas Gray Hymeneal (short reference in poem)

2. Renarrations of the Pygmalion Story in English Literature[3]

2.1. Major Renarrations

1390-1393 John Gower 'Pygmaleon and the Statue', Confessio Amantis (poem)

before 1412 John Lydgate Reson and Sensuallyte (poem)[4]

1557-1587 Anon. Tottel's Miscellany, 'The Tale of Pigmalion' (poem)

1566 Bernard Garter 'A Strife Betwene Appelles and Pigmalion' (poem)

1568 William Fulwood The Enimie of Idlenesse (poem)

1576 George Pettie A Petite Pallace of Pettie and his Pleasure (prose)

1592 Samuel Daniel 'Sonnet XIII', Delia (sonnet)

1598 John Marston The Metamorphosis of Pigmalion's Image (poem)

1611 John Davies 'Against Pigmalions Indiscretion', The Scourge of Folly (epigram in verse)

1657 Hugh Crompton 'Pigmalion' (epigram)

1672 Anonymous Chaucer's Ghoast (poem)

1773 James Robertson 'To Please Pygmalion, Heav'n Inspir'd With Life' (poem)

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[3]This section lists versions of the Pygmalion story in the English Language; it is divided into two groups. The first group (2.1.) is a list of major renarrations of the Pygmalion story, cataloguing versions of the story which retell all or a substantial part of the Pygmalion story. These are distinguished from short references which do not tell the story. This type of reference is listed under the second heading, 'shorter references' (2.2). Where possible the references have been listed chronologically according to the year in which they were first published. Where the year of composition is known, I have listed references according to this and noted the date of the first publication. I have also noted the nationality of non-British authors writing in English. Where the renarration is part of a larger poem, the title of the poem is given in addition to any subtitle which refers to the renarration.

[4]This poem was 'written before 1412, the year in which the Troy Book was begun'. See Lydgate's Reson and Sensuallyte, ed. by Ernest Sieper, Early English Text Society, 84 and 89, 2 vols (London, 1901-1903), II (1903), 8.

1779 Anonymous Rousseau's translated into English verse (poem)[5]

1820 Leigh Hunt 'Rousseau's Pygmalion' (translation and commentary)

1823-1825 Thomas Lovell Beddoes 'Pygmalion. The Cyprian Statuary.' (poem)

1823 William Hazlitt Liber Amoris or The New Pygmalion (prose)

1823 William Hazlitt Characteristics (Maxim: CCCXIII)

1832 Arthur Henry Hallam 'Lines spoken in the character of Pygmalion' (charade-poem)

1853 James Payn 'Pygmalion' (poem)

1858 George MacDonald Phantastes (novel)

1860 John Byrne Leicester Warren 'Pygmalion' (poem)

1862 William Cox Bennett 'Pygmalion' in Poems 1862 (poem)

1863 Robert Buchanan 'Pygmalion the Sculptor' (poem)

1865 Ernest Hartley Coleridge 'Pygmalion's Bride' (poem)

1866 Keningale Robert Cook, 'Pygmalion' (poem)[6]

1867 William Brough Pygmalion or the Statue Fair An Original Burlesque Play (play in verse)[7]

1868-1870 William Morris 'Pygmalion and the image' in The Earthly Paradise (poem)

1868 Algernon Charles Swinburne (Review of Frederick Watt's Pygmalion painting)[8]

1869 William Hurrell Mallock 'Pygmalion to his statue, become his wife' (poem)

1870 James Rhoades 'Pygmalion's Statue' in Poems (poem)

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[5]This poem is a loose translation of Rousseau's play.

[6]This was first published in 1870.

[7]This is the first farcical treatment of the myth, in English, in the form of a play.

[8]I have included this review and Buchanan's review of Gilbert's play (see under date 1887) for convenience, though they are not renarrations of the Pygmalion story.

1871 W. S. Gilbert Pygmalion and Galatea (play)

1871 George Barlow 'Pygmalion's Doom Reversed' (sonnet)

1874 John Hooley 'Pygmalion' (poem)

1875 Henry Ellison 'Pygmalion Reversed' (sonnet)

1875 William Bell Scott 'Pygmalion' (sonnet)

1875 J. R. S. 'A Song for Galatea' (poem)

1879 Lewis Carroll 'A Charade' (charade poem)

1880 George Eric Lancaster 'Pygmalion in Cyprus' (poem)[9]

1881 Emily Henrietta Hickey 'Sonnet' (sonnet)

1881 Thomas Woolner Pygmalion (poem)

1883 Andrew Lang The New Pygmalion or The Statue's Choice (lyric drama)

1883 Sir Ronald Ross Edgar or The New Pygmalion (play)

1883 Henry Pottinger Stephens Galatea; or Pygmalion Reversed (burlesque)

1885 Elizabeth Stuart Phelps 'Galatea' (poem)[10]

1886 Agnes Rous Howell Euphrosyne; or The Sculptor's Bride (play)

1887 Sir Frank Marzials 'Pygmalion' (sonnet)[11]

1887 Mary Nagle 'Pygmalion' (poem)

1887 Robert Buchanan Review of Gilbert's play in A Look Round Literature (review)

1890 Joseph John Murphy 'Pygmalion' (poem)

1891 Frederick Tennyson Cyprus, Pygmalion (poem)

1892 Thomas Sturge Moore 'Pygmalion' (sonnet)

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[9]This author also published under the name of George Eric Mackay.

[10]American author.

[11]This sonnet was inspired by the Pygmalion paintings of Edward Burne-Jones.

1894 Ernest Dowson 'Epigram' (poem)[12]

1895 Sara King Wiley 'Pygmalion and Galatea' (poem)[13]

1898 William E. Hurrell Pygmalion (poem)

1906 Edward Rowland Sill 'The Lost Magic', Hermione (poem)[14]

1909 Ralph Hale Mottram 'Pygmalion and the Image' (poem)

1910 Robert Whitehouse Pygmalion and the Statue (poem)

1911 Benjamin Robbins Curtis Low 'Galatea' (poem)

1912 George Bernard Shaw Pygmalion (play)

1920 Benjamin Low 'Pygmalion to Galatea' (poem)

1921 Ruth Pitter 'Galatea' (poem)

1921 C. M. Lewis 'Pygmalion' (poem)

1923 Elizabeth Coatsworth 'To Poor Pygmalion' (poem)[15]

1925-1926 Robert Graves 'Pygmalion to Galatea' (poem)

1926 Genevieve Taggard 'Galatea Again' (poem)[16]

1928 Cecil Day Lewis 'The Perverse' in Country Comets (poem)

1929 Roselle Mercier Montgomery 'Galatea to Pygmalion' in Many Devices (poem)

1930 Frank Laurence Lucas 'Pygmalion to Galatea' (poem)

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[12]A second version of this poem was given the title 'The Requital'. See The Poetical Works of Ernest Dowson, ed. by Desmond Flower (London, 1967), p. 87, p. 186 and p. 264.

[13]American author. The poem was published in Britain.

[14]American author.

[15]American author.

[16]American author.

1930 Alfred Julian Talbot The Passing of Galatea (play in one act)[17]

1932 Fletcher Allen 'Sequel to Galatea' (short story)

1934 Audrey Wurdemann 'To Galatea' (poem)[18]

1934 Lennard Gandalac 'Galatea' (poem)

1935 Gilbert Coleridge 'Pygmalion' (poem)

1938 Robert Graves 'Galatea and Pygmalion' (poem)

1940 Hilda Doolittle (H.D.) 'Pygmalion' (poem)

1944 Anna Hempstead Branch 'Pygmalion' (poem)[19]

1947 Charles J. Rowe 'Galatea' (poem)

1948 Malcolm H. Tattersall 'Galatea' (poem)

1950 R. P. Blackmur 'All's the Foul Fiend's' (poem)

1951 Grace Greenwood (pseud. of Sara Jane Lippincott) 'Pygmalion' (poem)[20]

1956 Alec Derwent Hope 'Pygmalion' (poem)

1956 Alun Llewellyn 'Galatea' (poem)

1958 Thomas Cruden Pygmalion and His Galatea (comic play in one act)

1961 C. H. Sisson 'Metamorphoses' in Metamorphoses (poem)

1962 Robert Conquest 'Galatea' (poem)

1964 Patrick Kavanagh 'Pygmalion' (poem)

1965 Roy Fuller 'The Truth about Pygmalion' (poem)

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[17]The play was printed in America and the author may be American.

[18]American author.

[19]American author.

[20]American author.

1967 Alan Jay Lerner My Fair Lady (A musical play)[21]

1970 Richard Huggett The First Night of 'Pygmalion' (comic play)

1981 Pamela Espeland The Story of Pygmalion (prose)

1983 Arthur L. Brestel 'Pygmalion's Second Prayer' (sonnet)[22]

1986 Colin Way Reid 'Pygmalion' (poem)[23]

1994 Derek Mahon 'Pygmalion and Galatea' (poem)

1994 Michael Longley 'Ivory and Water' (poem)[24]

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[21]Based on Shaw's Pygmalion.

[22]American author.

[23]American author.

[24]I could not locate the following poems: L. Hulley, 'Pygmalion and Galatea', Fables and Myths From the Sibyl's Book (1924); E. L. Squires, 'Galatea Awakes', Poet Lore, 38 (1927), 105; K. Poelitt, 'Pygmalion', Poetry, 134 (1979), 14; V. Drosd, 'Pygmalion', Soviet Literature, 2 (1984), 95.

2.2. Shorter References

c. 1375 Anonymous Pearl (poem)

c. 1387 Geoffrey Chaucer The Physician's Tale and The Knight's Tale (poem)

1412-1420 John Lydgate Troy Book (poem)[25]

c. 1550-1587 Alexander Montgomerie 'Sang on the lady Margaret Montgomerie' (poem)

1563 Bernard Garter The Tragicall [and True] Historie Which Happened Betwene Two English Lovers (poem)

1567 George Tuberville 'In Praise of Lady P.' (poem)

1572 Wilfrid Holme The Fall and Evill Successe of Rebellion from Time to Time (poem)

1573 Lodowick Lloyd 'Had Greek Calisthenes Silence Kept', The Pilgrimage of princes Penned Out of Sundry Greeke And Latine Authors (poem)

1578 John Lyly Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit (prose)

1584 Robert Greene Debate Between Follie and Love (prose)

c. 1587 William Fowler 'The Triumph of Love' (poem/translation)[26]

1587 Christopher Marlowe ii Tamburlaine (play)

1593 Thomas Churchyard A Pleasant Conceite Penned in Verse (poem)

1592 Christopher Marlowe The Jew of Malta (play)

1594 Christopher Marlowe Dido, Queen of Carthage (play)

1595(?) John Burel To The Richt High Lodwick Duke of Lenox (poem)

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[25]There are short references to Pygmalion in Lydgate's 'The Legend of St Gyle' and 'The Testament of Dan John Lydgate' in The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, ed. by Henry Noble MacCracken, Early English Text Series, extra series, 107 and 192, 2 vols (London, 1910-1934), I (1910), 171 and 355. These are not dated.

[26]This is based on Petrarch's text of the same name.

1596 Bartholemew Griffen 'Compare me to Pygmalion' and 'If great Apollo offered as a dower' Fidessa (two sonnets)

1598 Robert Tofte Alba (poem)

1598 Edward Guilpin 'Satyra Secunda' in Skialetheia, or A Shadow of Truth (poem)

1599 Thomas Middleton 'Micro-Cynicon' (poem)

1600 Robert Ayton 'Will Thow, Remorseles Fair' (poem)

1602 William Basse 'Three Pastoral Elegies; of Anander, Anetor and Muridella', elegy 2 (poem)

1603 William Muggins London's Mourning Garment (poem)

1603 John Davies Microcosmos (poem)

1604 William Shakespeare Measure For Measure (play)

1605 Francis Bacon The Advancement of Learning (prose)

c1605 John Davies 'nihil tam bene dictum, quod non fuit dictum prius', Wittes Pilgrimage (poem)

1607 Richard Niccols The Cuckow (poem)

1611 Richard Brathwait 'The Sixth Sonet' (poem)

1612 Richard Johnson 'A Lover's Song in Praise of His Mistresse', A Crowne-Garland of Goulden Roses (poem)

1619 John Heath 'To Mistris E. S.' (poem)

1621 Richard Brathwait 'The Fift Satyre', Natures Embassie (poem)

1621 Richard Brathwait 'Omphale, Or The Inconstant Shephearde' Natures Embassie (poem)

1622 George Wither Faire Virtue, The Mistresse of Philarete (poem)

1622 John Hagthorpe 'How wretched and How Vaine' (poem)

1626 John Kennedy History of Calanthrop and Lucilla (poem)

1628 Robert Gomersall The Levites Revenge (poem)

1630 John Taylor 'A Whore' (poem)

1630 Philip Massinger The Renegado (play)

1632 Philip Massinger The Emperour Of the East (play)

1633 Fulke Greville 'A Treatie of Humane Learning' (prose)

1635 Thomas Cranley 'To the Faire Amanda', Amanda: Or The Reformed Whore (poem)

1636 William Sampson The Vow Breaker (play)

1637 Nathaniel Whiting 'Il Insonio Insonadado' (poem)[27]

1639 Samuel Pick 'To his Deare Mistris, H. P.' (poem)

1640 Thomas Carew 'To the Painter' (poem)

1644 Anna Hume The Triumph of Love; of Love, Chastitie, Death. Translated out of Petrarch (translation)

1645 Edmund Waller 'On the Discovery of a Ladies Painting' (poem)

1647 Abraham Cowley 'Answer to the Platonicks' (poem)

1647 John Fletcher A Wife For a Moneth (play)

1651 Leonard Willan Astræa, Or, True Love's Myrrour. A Pastoral (play)

1653 Charles Sorel Extravagant Shepherd (poem)

1653 John Cleveland 'The Antiplatonick' (poem)

1656 Abraham Cowley 'The Gazers' (poem)

1658 Sir Aston Cokayne 'Of a Room In An Ale-House That We Call the Apollo', Poems of Divers Sorts (poem)

1658 Sir Aston Cokayne 'Now After Tedious Weeks of Being Mute' (poem)

1659 Anonymous Lady Alimony (play)

1660 John Donne 'A Paradoxe of a Painted Face' (poem)

1661 Alexander Brome 'The Libertine' (poem)

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[27]The poem is written in English.

1661 Thomas Ross, 'A Continuation of Silus Italicus To the Death of Hannibal', The Second Punick War (poem)

1664 Henry King 'Paradox. That Fruition Destroyes Love' (poem)

1668 John Dryden Secret Love; Or The Maiden Queen (play)

1673 Matthew Stevenson 'To A. B.' (poem)

1674 Thomas Flatman 'The Review. Pindarique Ode to Mr William Sancroft' (poem)

1675 Henry Nevil Payne The Siege Of Constantinople; A Tragedy Acted at the Duke's Theatre (play)

1676 Robert Howard 'A Sacred Poeme' (poem)

1682 Matthew Coppinger 'The Lover's Jubile' (poem)

1683 Thomas Shipman 'An Hystorick Poem' (poem)

1683 Thomas Shipman 'New Libanus' (poem)

1688 Aphra Behn 'To Damon', Lycidus (poem)

1688 Walter Scot A True History Of Several Honourable Families (poem)

1689 Charles Cotton 'The Visit' (poem)

1689 Charles Cotton 'The Picture' (poem)

1689 Charles Goodall 'To Idera, Speechless' (poem)

1697 Thomas Scott The Unhappy Kindness (play)

1700 John Dryden 'The Wife of Bath Her Tale', Fables (poem)

1700 John Hopkins 'To Amasia, On Her Drawing Her Own Picture' (poem)

1722 Samuel Whyte 'The Nosegay' (poem)

1724 Richard Savage 'To Mr. John Dyer, A Painter' (poem)

1727 Christopher Pitt 'The Fable of the Young Man and his Cat' (poem)

1727 Edward Young 'Satire I. To His Grace the Duke of Dorset' (poem)

1728 Soame Jenyns 'The Art Of Dancing' (poem)

1729 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu 'Continuation' (poem)

1731 Joseph Mitchell Three Poetical Epistles to Mr Hogarth, Mr Dandridge and Mr Lambert, Masters in the Art of Painting (Poem)

1731 Henry Travers 'To Dr --', Miscellaneous Poems and Translations (poem)

1732 George Granville 'To Myra. Loving at First Sight' (poem)

1735 Robert Dodsley Beauty; or The Art of Charming (poem)

1742 Henry Fielding Joseph Andrews (novel)

1745 Moses Mendez Henry and Blanche: or The Revengeful Marriage (poem)

1748 James Thomson The Castle of Indolence (poem)

1749 Thomas Tickell 'On a Lady's Picture: To Gilfred Lawson esq.' (poem)

1752 Soame Jenyns 'The Choice' (poem)

1764 James Woodhouse 'The Lessowes' (poem)

1770 Edward Thompson 'The Demi-Rep', The Court of Cupid (poem)

1773 James Robertson 'The Metamorphosis. A Northern Tale' (poem)

1778 George Ellis (pseud. Sir Gregory Gander) 'The Canterbury Tale' (poem)

1782 William Cowper The Progress of Error (poem)

1788 John Wolcot 'Lyric Odes For the Year MDCCLXXXV', ('Ode VIII') (poem)

1800 William Hayley An Essay on Sculpture (poem)

1801 Sydney Owenson 'The Refutation' (poem)

1804 George Huddesford Wood and Stone (poem)

1806 Lucy Hutchinson Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson (prose)

1807 Samuel William Henry Ireland Stultifera Navis (poem)

1807 Thomas Dermody 'To Athemoe' and 'On Garrick's Tomb and Inscription' (two poems)

1810 Anna Seward 'Ode to Poetic Fancy' (poem)

1811 Amelia Opie 'Lines for the Album at Cossey' in Poems (poem)

1813 Thomas Dibdin 'William the Conqueror', A Metrical History of England (poem)

1813 Horatio Smith 'Ode XV. The Parthenon' (poem)

1815 Samuel William Henry Ireland 'Antiquarians' (poem)

1816 George Crabbe 'Resentment' (poem)

1819 Charles Issac M. Dibdin 'Young Arthur, or The Child of Mystery: A Metrical Romance'. (poem)

1819 Barry Cornwall (Bryan Waller Procter) 'The Falcon' (poem) in A Sicilian story

1819-1824 Lord Byron Don Juan (poem)

1820 Percy Bysshe Shelley 'The Witch of Atlas' (poem)

1821 Charles Lloyd 'Titus and Gisippus', Desultry Thoughts in London (poem)

1822 Barry Cornwall (Bryan Waller Proctor) 'Wishes' (poem)

1822 William Combe History of Johnny Quae Genus (poem)

1826 William Hazlitt 'Notes of a Journey Through France and Italy' (prose)

1837 Anonymous 'The New Frankenstein' (short story)

1838 Robert Southey 'Sonnet 4: The Poet Expresses His Feelings Respecting A Portrait In Delia's Parlour' in The Amatory Poems of Abel Shufflebottom (sonnet)

1838 Samuel Laman Blanchard 'Helen Faucit in "The Lady of Lyons"' (poem)

1838 John Herman Merivale 'St. George and the Dragon' in Poems Original and Translated (poem)

1839 Henry Ellison 'Genius. A Series of Thoughts' (poem)

1840 Caroline Elizabeth Sarah Norton 'Sonnet 1: On Seeing the Bust of the Young Princess De Montfort' (sonnet)

1840 James Smith 'The Year Twenty-Six' (poem)

1841 Lady Emmeline Charlotte Elizabeth Stuart-Wortley Lillia Bianca (poem)

1844 Nathaniel Hawthorne 'Drowne's Wooden Image' (short story)[28]

1845 Charles Mackay 'Prologue to The Highland Ramble' (poem)

1847 Charles Mackay 'The Out-Comer and the In-Goer', Voices From the Mountains (poem)

1852 Arthur Joseph Munby 'The Eve of Change', Benoni (poem)

1855 Martin Farquhar Tupper 'Silence' in Lyrics of the Heart and Mind (poem)

1857 Elizabeth Barrett Browning Aurora Leigh (poem)

1861 William Bell Scott 'Half Hour Lectures on Art' (lecture)

1870 John Abraham Heraud 'Sonnet viii', The In-Gathering (poem)

1871 William Bell Scott The British School of Sculpture (prose)

1879 Francis Turner Palgrave 'Portrait of a Child of Seven' (poem)

1884 John Evelyn Barlas 'At Rome' (poem)

1889 Gerald Massey 'Woman' in My Lyrical Life: Poems Old and New (poem)

1893 Arthur Joseph Munby 'Susan' (poem)

1895 George du Maurier Trilby (novel)

1895 John Davidson Earl Lavender (novel)

1895 William James Linton 'The Counterfeit' (poem)

1898 F. Anstey (pseud. of Thomas Anstey Guthrie) The Tinted Venus (novel)

1908 Samuel Gordon The New Galatea (novel)

1921 George Bernard Shaw Back to Methuselah

1928 Margaret Rivers Larminie (afterwards Mrs R. C. Tragett) Galatea (novel)

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[28] American author.

3. References to the Pygmalion story in French Literature[29]

c.1277 Jean de Meun Roman de la Rose (poem)

c.1316-1328 Ovide Moralisé (poem)

c.1371 Jean Froissart Prison d'Amour (poem)[30]

1373 Jean Froissart Joli Buisson de Jonece (poem)

c. 1400 Christine de Pisan Épître d'Othéa (poem and allegory)

1412 Jean Froissart Paradys d'Amour (poem)

1580 Montaigne 'The Affection of Fathers' (essay)

1627 Charles Sorel Le Berger Extravagant (prose story)[31]

1681 Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle Pigmalion, Prince de Tyr (comedy)

1691 Jean de La Fontaine L' Astrée. Tragédie Lyrique (play)

1700 Antoine Houdard de la Motte Le Triomphe des Artes, cinquième entrée: La Sculpture

1721-38 Montesquieu Histoire Véritable (prose)

1727 François-Joseph de Lagrange-Chancel Pygmalion (tragedy)[32]

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[29]The lists of reference to Pygmalion in languages other than English are not subdivided into short references and renarrations.

[30]See also Jean Froissart's L'Espinette Amoureuse (poem) and Guillaume de Machaut's Fonteine Amoureuse (poem), Livre du Voir-Dit (poem), and Confort d'Ami (poem). I have been unable to find dates for these texts. Pygmalion is aslo mentioned in the anonymously written Echecs Amoureux (poem). This text was partly translated by Lydgate as Reson and Sensuallyte. It was written in imitation of the Roman de la Rose. See Katherine Heinrichs, The Myths of Love. Classical Lovers in Medieval Literature (Pennsylvania and London, 1990), p. 82.

[31]This is about an automaton. It was published in two parts, in 1644 and 1658. It was translated into English, as The Extravagant Shepherd, by John Davies (London, 1653).

[32]De Lagrange-Chancel also wrote a comic play on the subject of Pygmalion which was both unperformed and unpublished.

1741 Jean Antoine Romagnesi Pygmalion (comic play)[33]

1741 Anonymous Pigmalion (comédie Italienne)

1741 André François Boureau-Deslandes Pigmalion, ou, La Statue Animée (prose story) (prose)[34]

1743 Jean-Baptiste Josephe Villart de Grécourt 'Pygmalion' (poem)[35]

1743 Edme Sulpice Gaubier de Barrault Brioché, ou L'Origine des Marionettes, Parodie de Pigmalion (play)[36]

c. 1741 Thémiseul de Sainte Hyacinthe Cordonnier Pygmalion (a novel)

1760 Louis Poinsinet de Sivry Pygmalion (comic play in prose)[37]

1762 Jean-Jacques Rousseau Pygmalion (play)[38]

1765 Jean-Jacques Rousseau Confessions (prose)[39]

1770 Voltaire 'Pygmalion' (fable)

1774 B. Desgagniers Le Noueveau Pygmalion

1776 Arnaud Berquin 'Auquel on a joint Pygmalion, de J. J. Rousseau, mis en vers' Recueil des Idylles (play)

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[33]See J. L. Carr, 'Pygmalion and the Philosophes. The Animated Statue in Eighteenth Century France', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 23 (1960), 239-255 (p. 242).

[34]Contains a letter to Madame le Comtesse de G--. Possibly Madame de Genlis, the author of a Pygmalion play.

[35]This poem was formerly attributed to J-J Rousseau. See Carr, p. 242.

[36]Parody of Rameau. It was first published in 1753.

[37]See Carr, p. 242.

[38]The play was written in 1762, and published in 1771. Buske notes that the music was by Coignet, and that the first performance was in 1770. Further, he adds that 'Rousseau borrowed not only the name Galatea for Pygmalion's loved one, but also, as Eric Schmidt suggests, that the alive statue recognizes her metamorphosis through the touching of a marble block' (p. 347). These were, according to Buske, taken from Sainte-Hyacinthe's novel.

[39]First published in 1781.

1777 J-B de Goncourt 'La Statue de Pygmalion' (verse fable attributed incorrectly to Voltaire)

1778 Michel de Cubières-Palmézeaux Galathée (comic play)

1780 Barnabé Farmian de Rosoi Pigmalion, drame lyrique en un acte et en prose (prose, lyrical drama in one act)[40]

1780 François Martin Poultier d'Elmotte L'Antipigmalion ou L'Amour Prométhée (lyrical scene in prose)

1800 Étienne Gosse Pygmalion à Saint-Maur (comic play)

1802 Madame de Genlis 'Pygmalion et Galathée, ou La Statue Animée depuis vingt-quatre heures' Nouveaux Contes Moreaux et Nouvelles Historiques (dramatic sketch)

1823 Marquis de Saint-Lambert 'Pigmalion' (poem)

1831 Honoré de Balzac Le Chef D'Oeuvre Inconnu (prose)

1849 Gustave Le Vavasseur, 'Pygmalion dans son menage' (poem)

1851 Anonymous Pygmalion (verse comedy in one act)

1853 Lambert Thiboust and Théodore Barrière Filles de Marbre (play)[41]

1872 Jean Aicard Pygmalion (dramatic poem in one act)

1873 Auguste Jouhaud Galathée et Pygmalion (play)

1878 Baron Estournelles de Constant Galathée (play)[42]

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[40]The statue is given the name Aglaé. This is possibly a form of the name Aglaia who was one of the Graces.

[41]See Meyer Reinhold, 'The Naming of Pygmalion's Animated Statue', Classical Journal, 66 (1979), 316-319 (p. 319), and Allardyce Nicoll, A History of English Drama 1660-1900, 6 vols (Cambridge, 1952-1959), V, (1959), 136.

[42]Translation of a play by S N. Basiliades.

4. References to the Pygmalion Story in German and Swiss Literature

1747 Johan Jacob Bodmer 'Pygmalion und Elise' (prose story)[43]

1756 Johann Wilhelm Gleim Pygmalion (comic play)

1764 Johann Georg Jacobi 'Der neue Pygmalion' (poem)

1766 Johann Elias Schlegel 'Pygmalion' (poem/cantata)

c.1766 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe 'Pygmalion, eine Romanze', in Annette (ballad)[44]

1767 Daniel Schiebeler Pygmalion (burlesque)[45]

1776 Gustav Friedrich Grossmann Pygmalion (comic play)[46]

1781 Friedrich Schiller Der Triumphe Der Lieb (2nd version)

1786 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe Die Italienische Reise (The Italian Journey) (letter)[47]

1795 Friedrich Schiller 'Die Ideale' (poem)[48]

1797 August Wilhelm von Schlegel 'Pygmalion' (poem)

1801 Johann Gottfried Herder 'Pygmalion oder die wiederbelebte Kunst' (poem)

1825 Karl Immermann 'Der neue Pygmalion' (novelle)

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[43]Swiss author. Anthony Scenna suggests, in Ancient Legend and History in Bodmer (Columbia, 1937) p. 6, that Bodmer's source was the French version of the story by Saint Hyacinthe. Meyer Reinhold also makes this point (Reinhold, p. 317).

[44]The poems in Goethe's Buche Annette were written during the years 1766 and 1767.

[45]Schiebeler based his Pygmalion on Jean-Baptiste Villart de Grécourt's version (1743).

[46]The play was based on Rousseau's Pygmalion.

[47]There is a reference to Pygmalion in the first letter to Rome, 1 November, 1786. It refers to Goethe's first impressions of Rome and compares them to Pygmalion's statue, Elise, coming to life.

[48]There are two versions of this poem. The first version was published in August 1795, the second appeared in a collection of poems in 1800.

1948 Georg Kaiser Pygmalion (comic play in verse)

5. The Pygmalion Story in Art[49]

c. 1529-1530 Agnolo Bronzino 'Pigmalione E "Galatea"' (painting: Palazzo Vecchio, Florence)[50]

1556 Jacopo Pontormo 'Pygmalion' (painting: Delegazione per le Restituzioni, Rome)

1588 Paolo Veronese 'Pygmalion' (painting: Gardner Museum, Boston, no. P17w32-s-3)[51]

1593 Hendrik Goltzius 'Pygmalion' (engraving: Netherland Art Inst., no.14787)

1631 Angelo Caroselli 'Pigmaleone, che fa sacrificio all 'Idoli, per far vivificar una statua di femia, della quale egli era innamorator'[52]

1665-75 Godfried Schalcken 'Pygmalion' (paintings: Gemäldegalerie, Dresden; Uffizi, Florence)[53]

1677 Magdalena de Passe (?) 'Pygmalion and the Statue -- Metamorphoses of Ovid (painting: Brussels, Foppens)

17th century Niet Volght, Pieter Feddes van Harlingen and La Hire[54]

1717 Jean Raoux 'Pygmalion in Love with his Statue' (painting: Musée Fabre, Montpellier)[55]

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[49]These references are not arranged by country.

[50]Bonnie Ray suggests that the name Galatea may be a reference to Raphael's Galatea (p. 71). This painting has been attributed to both Bronzino and Pontormo. Vasari refers to the painting as Bronzino's (Ray, p. 71). Reinhold notes that the painting was in the Galleria Barberini in Rome.

[51]The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts notes that this painting is part of a series of eight paintings illustrating scenes from Ovid's Metamorphoses.

[52]This was painted for the Marchese Guistinian. See Alfred Noir, The Italian Flowers of Caravaggio (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1967), p. 133, and Ray, p. 48. The painting was later called 'Allegory of a Painting'.

[53]The Oxford Guide notes that there are two versions of this painting.

[54]These references are in J. L. Carr, p. 244. Carr provides no more information that this.

[55]Reinhold notes that in 1971 the drawing was at the Louvre (Reinhold, p. 318).

1717 Jean Raoux 'Pygmalion and his Statue' (drawing: Musée Paul Dupuy, Toulouse)

1717-24 Sebastiano Ricci 'Pygmalion and Galatea' (painting: Heinemann collection, Ruvigliana)

1722 Adriaen van der Werff 'Pygmalion with the Statue of Galatea' (painting)

1729 Francois Le Moyne 'Pygmalion sees his Statue Come to Life' (painting: Exhibited 1975/6 at 'The Age of Louis XV' exhibition in Toledo, Chicago. It is presently in Musée des Beaux Artes, Tours, no. 51-5-1)

c. 1742 François Boucher 'Pygmalion in love with his Statue' (painting: Hermitage, Leningrad, no. 3683)

c. 1742 François Boucher 'Pygmalion and Galatea' (painting: Metropolitan Museum, New York, no. 07.225.310)

c. 1745 Jean Restout 'Pygmalion in love with his Statue' (fragment of a painting: Mobilier National, Paris, on deposit from Louvre, Paris, no. 7452)

c. 1745 Jean Restout 'Venus Answering the Prayer of Pygmalion' (painting: Église de saint-Germain-des Près, Paris)[56]

1749 François Boucher 'Pygmalion devient amoureux d'une statue qu'il avoit faite et Venus la rend animee' (book illustration for Metamorphoses)[57]

1762 Louis Jean-François Lagrenée 'Pygmalion' (painting on copper)[58]

1762 Charles Monnet 'Pygmalion' (painting: Galerie de Bayser(?) 1980, no. 30)

1765 Jean-Baptiste Deshayes 'Pygmalion and Galatea' (painting: Musée des Beaux Artes, Tours)

1765 Carle Van Loo 'Pygmalion' (painting: Museum, Warsaw)

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[56]The Warburg Photograph Collection has a reproduction of a drawing, by Jean Restout, which bears the title 'Pygmalion'. This picture is recorded as being in the Musée des Beaux-Artes, Orléans (cat. no. 83) in 1876. It was exhibited at the Restout Exhibition in Rouen in 1970 (no. 26).

[57]There many illustrations of the Metamorphoses to be found in Medieval manuscripts and later printed books. I have only listed the illustrations of artists who have shown an interest in the Pygmalion story aside from these illustrations.

[58]On the Pygmalion paintings of this artist see Antoine Schnapper, 'Louis Lagrenée and the Theme of Pygmalion', Bulletin of the Detroit Institiute of Arts, 53 (1975), 112-117.

1767-71 G. de Saint-Aubin 'Pygmalion' (sketch in sanguine: Bayonne, Musée Bonnat)[59]

1772 Louis Jean-François Lagrenée 'Pygmalion in Love with the Statue of Venus' (painting: Ateneumin Taidemuseo, Helsinki) [60]

1777 Louis Jean-François Lagrenée 'Pygmalion' (painting)

1784 Laurent Pécheux 'Pygmalion and Galatea' (painting: Hermitage, Leningrad, no. 7568)

1785 Jean-Baptiste Regnault 'Pygmalion asking Venus to bring his Statue to Life' (painting: Salon des Nobles de la Reine, Château de Versailles, on deposit from Louvres, no. 7385)

19th century Philippe Parrot 'Galathée' (painting: Musée de Luxembourg)

1806 Jean-Honoré Fragonard 'Pygmalion and Galatea' (painting: Musée, Bourges)[61]

1819 Anne-Louis Girodet 'Pygmalion and Galatea' (painting: Château Dampierre)

1823 Pierre-Paul Prud'hon 'Pygmalion', (2 drawings: sold 1882, private collection)

1842 Honoré Daumier 'Pygmalion' (comic lithograph)

1855 Octave Tassaert 'Pygmalion' (painting: Louvre, Paris, no R. F. 2395)[62]

1864-78 Edward Burne-Jones 'Pygmalion' (paintings and drawings: Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery, England)[63]

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[59]This sketch was made for an illustrated edition of Ovid's Metamorphoses (1767-1771?)

[60]Noted in Hunger, but not dated.

[61]Reinhold notes that Fragonard 'produced four compositions on this theme', (Reinhold, p. 318).

[62]Noted in Hunger.

[63]Burne-Jones made 12 drawings for William Morris's poem 'Pygmalion and the Image' in the years 1864-1868. These were never published in conjunction with the poem. Burne-Jones also painted a cycle of pictures based on these drawings in the years 1868-78. The titles of these are 'The Heart Desires', 'The Hand Refrains', 'The Godhead Fires', 'The Soul Attains'. The Oxford Guide notes that Burne-Jones's gouache picture enititled 'The Altar of Hymen', which depicts Pygmalion and Galatea embracing with Hymen looking on, was based on one of his illustrations to Morris's

1868 George Frederick Watts 'The Wife of Pygmalion: A Translation from the Greek' (painting: Faringdon Collection, Buscot Park, Oxfordshire)

1873 John William Waterhouse 'Pygmalion and the Statue' (painting)[64]

c.1875 George Howard 'Pygmalion Novissimus' (watercolour caricature: private collection)[65]

1875 William Bell Scott 'Pygmalion' (etching to accompany sonnet)

1878 John Tenniel 'Pygmalion and the Statue' (watercolour: Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 53-1894)

1886 Ernest Normand 'Pygmalion and Galatea' (painting: Atkinson Art Gallery, Southport)

1890 Jean-Léon Gérôme 'Pygmalion and Galatea' (painting: Metropolitan Museum, New York, no. 27.200)

1891 William Henry Margetson 'Pygmalion' (painting)

1902 Herbert James Draper 'A Deep Sea Idyll'[66]

1907 Herbert Gustave Schmalz 'The Awakening of Galatea' (painting)

1915 Herbert Gustave Schmalz 'Pygmalion! Pygmalion!' (painting)

1927 Pablo Picasso illustratrations for edition of Honoré de Balzac Le Chef D'Oeuvre Inconnu (book illustrations)

1933 Pablo Picasso etchings[67]

'Pygmalion and the Image'. Its date is 1874.

[64]The Oxford Guide notes that this painting has been lost. Anthony Hobson notes, in The Art and Life of J. W. Waterhouse R. A. 1849-1917 (London, 1980), that the painting was exhibited and sold for 50 guineas (p. 179).

[65]The Oxford Guide notes that this is a caricature of Edward Burne-Jones in the pose of his own Pygmalion.

[66]See Joseph Kestner, Mythology and Misogyny. The Social Discourse of Nineteenth Century British Classical Subject Painting (Wisconson and London, 1989), p. 290.

[67]Kenneth Clark refers to these etchings on the subject of Pygmalion in his work The Nude. A Study of Ideal Art (London, 1956), pp. 353-354.

1938 André Masson 'Pygmalion' (Surrealist painting: Galerie H. Odesmott, Paris, 1988)

1939 Paul Delvaux 'Pygmalion' (Surrealist painting)

1959 Anonymous 'Intoxication by D'Orsay' (cartoon perfume advertisement: in The New Yorker, December, 1959)[68]

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[68]Further paintings on the subject of Pygmalion which I have been unable to locate or provide a date for are: Noel-Nicolas Coypel 'Pygmalion and Galatea' (painting: Sotheby's Monaco 13.6.82, lot 83); Tour Dorée 'Pygmalion: Tout le monde en amour est tous les jours dupé. Les femmes nous en font accroire. Si vous voulez aimer et n'être pas trompé, aimez une femme d'ivoire (painting: Chateau de Bussy-Rabutin, Côte-d'Or, 21.122.05); School of Fontainbleau 'Pygmalion'; Louis Gauffier (painting: Hazlitt, Gooden and Fox, 38 Bury St., London, June 1978); George Molnar 'Horrible Fate of a Statue Named Pygmalion' from 'Statues', p. 13. Wilmon Brewer makes reference to a painting by Thiry on the subject and a painting by Rodin (Wilmon Brewer, Ovid's 'Metamorphoses' in European Culture. Books 6-10 (Boston, 1941), p. 1266.)

6. The Pygmalion Story in Sculpture[69]

1772 Franz Zächerle 'Pygmalion's Statue is Transformed to Flesh' (Bronze Bas relief: Gal. des 19 Jarh. in Ob. Belvedue, Vienna)[70]

c. 1745 Jean Restout 'Pygmalion in love with his Statue' (sculpture)

1761-1763 Étienne-Maurice Falconet 'Pygmalion and Galatea' or 'Pygmalion at the Feet of his Statue' (marble statuette: Walters Gallery, Baltimore)[71]

1767-1770 Augustin Pajou 'Pygmalion' (wood bas relief: Salle de l'Opéra, Versailles)

1774 Charles Banks 'Pygmalion' (sculpture: Royal Academy Gold Medal)

1889 Auguste Rodin 'Pygmalion and Galatea' (marble sculpture)[72]

1892 Jean-Léon Gérôme (sculpture: Hearst Castle, San Simeon state historical monument, San Simeon, California)

1957 Paul Manship 'Galatea' and 'Pygmalion and Galatea' (guilded bronze figurines)

1963 Pietro Cascella 'Pygmalion' (stone sculpture)

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[69]These references are not arranged by country.

[70]Also attributed to G. R. Donner (1693-1741). See the Warburg Photographic Collection.

[71]The Oxford Guide notes that there are two versions. One of these is illustrated in Carr, p. 244.

[72]The Oxford Guide notes that there are two or three versions of this.

7. The Pygmalion Story in Music[73]

1608 Orlandi Galatea libretto: Chiabrera? (opera)[74]

1660 A. Ziani Pygmalion; libretto: A. Draghi (opera)

1689 Antonio Draghi Pigmaleone in Cipro (Pygmalion in Cyprus); libretto: Nicolò Minato (opera)

1694 Johann Georg Conradi Der Wunderbar-vergnüte Pygmalion (The Wonderfully Pleased Pygmalion); libretto: Christian Heinrich Postel (opera)[75]

1700 Michel de la Barre 'La Sculpture' (The sculpture); libretto: Antoine Houdart de la Motte (opera / ballet)[76]

1713 Louis-Nicolas Clérembault Pigmalion (cantata)

1714 Giovanni Alberto Ristori Pigmalione (opera)

1734 Jean-Joseph Mouret Pigmalion; choreography: Marie Sallé (ballet)[77]

1744 Charles-François Panard and Thomas L'Affichard Pigmalion, ou La Statue Animée (Pygmalion or the Animated Statue) (opera comique)

1745 Carl Heinrich Graun Pygmalion; choreography: Jean-Barthélemy Lany (ballet)

1746 Michel Corrette Pygmalion (scene with music)

1746 J. G. Schürer Galatea; libretto: P. Metastasio (opera)[78]

1748 Jean-Phillippe Rameau Pygmalion; libretto: Antoine Houdart de la Motte, rev. by M. Ballot de Sovot (opera / ballet)

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[73]These references are not arranged by country. Dates refer to the first performance, unless otherwise stated. I have included the names of librettists whenever that information has been available.

[74]Noted in Hunger.

[75]Hunger calls the librettist Heinrich Christian Postel.

[76]This is the last act of Le Triomphe des Arts.

[77]The name 'Marie de la Salle' is given for the choreographer by Annegret Dinter (p. 161). The Oxford Guide uses the name 'Marie Sallé'.

[78]Noted by Hunger.

1763 Joseph Starzer Pygmalion, ou, La Statue Animée (Pygmalion, or the Animated Statue); choreography: Franz Anton Hilverding (ballet)[79]

1766 Johann Elias Schlegel 'Pygmalion' (poem/cantata)

1767 Florian Johann Deller Pigmalion, ou, La Statue Animée (Pygmalion, or the Animated Statue); choreography: Étienne Lauchery

1768 Christian Gottfried Krause Pygmalion; libretto: Karl Wilhelm Ramler (lyric cantata)

1770 Antoine Bailleux Pigmalion (cantata)[80]

1772 Anton Schweitzer Pygmalion; libretto: J. F. Schmidt (lyric scene / melodrama)[81]

1773 Giambattista Cimador Pigmalione; libretto: Antonio Simeone Sografi (opera)[82]

1776 Franz Asplmayr Pygmalion; libretto: J. G. von Laude (lyric scene / melodrama)[83]

1779 Georg Benda Pygmalion; libretto: Rousseau (monodrama for a speaker and piano)

1780 Bonesi; libretto: Du Rozoy (comic opera / caricature)

1794 Karl A. Herklots Pigmalion oder die Reformation der Liebe (lyrical drama)

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[79]Dictionary Catalog of the Dance Collection. A List of Authors, Titles, and Subjects of Multi-Media Materials in the Dance Collection of the Performing Arts Research Center of the New York Public Library, ed. by Dorothy Lourdou, 10 vols (Boston, 1974), VIII notes that there may have been a performance in Vienna in 1752.

[80]This is the date of the first publication.

[81]Translation of Rousseau.

[82]After Rousseau. There is some confusion over the date of this work. The opera was first performed in 1773 (according to The Oxford Guide). Grove's Dictionary, however, dates the opera 1790. This might have something to do with the opera's strange history. According to Grove, Cimador was dissatisfied with this work: 'he burnt the score and renounced composition; however the work survived (parts of it were even published later in london) and achieved considerable popularity throughout Europe as a concert piece for both male and female singers, being revived as late as 1836' (Grove, IV, 398).

[83]This text is a translation of Rousseau's Pygmalion into German. Note that Hunger calls the composer Franz Aspelmeyer and suggests the date 1772.

1795 Antonio Bartolomeo Bruni Galathée; libretto: François Martin Poultier d'Elmolte (lyric scene)[84]

1795 Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach Pygmalion; libretto: Ramler (cantata)

1797 G. Liverati Pimmalione; libretto: Sografi (opera)

1800 F. C. Lefebvre Pygmalion; choreographpy: Louis-Jacques Jessé Milon (ballet / pantomime)

1809 Luigi Cherubini Pigmalion; libretto: A. S. Sografi and S. Vestris (opera)

1812 Volkert Pigmalion oder die Musen bey der Prüfung; libretto: F. X. Gewey (parody)

1835 H. Schmidt Pygmalion; libretto: F. and Th. Elßler (opera)

1852 Victor Massé Galathée; libretto: Jules Barbier and Michel Carré (comic opera)

1863 Frédéric-Étienne Barbier Madame Pygmalion; libretto: Jules Adenis and Francis Tourte (comic operetta)

1865 Francis Tourte Monsieur Pygmalion (operetta)

1865 Franz von Suppé Die Schöne Galathée (The Lovely Galatea); libretto: Poly Henrion and Leopold Karl Dittmar Kohl von Kohlenegg (comic opera).[85]

1875 Caroline de Sainte-Croix Pygmalion; libretto: Eugène Hugot (operette bouffe in one act)

1887? Dionyssios Lavrangas Galatea; libretto: Guidi (opera)[86]

1888 Ambroise Thomas, Pygmalion and Galatea (opera)

1896 Julian Edwards The Goddess of Truth; libretto: Stanislaus Stange (musical comedy)

1911 Francis Thomé Mademoiselle Pygmalion (ballet / pantomime)

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[84]To be performed as a sequel to Rousseau's Pygmalion.

[85]This was produced in Berlin in 1865, and in London in June 1872 under the title Ganymede and Galatea (Reinhold, p. 319). There is an English version by Willard G. Day (Boston, 1884).

[86]Libretto after S. Vassiliades. The composer studied under Delibes and later under Massenet (Grove).

1923 Henry Houseley (Mrs Frances Houseley) Pygmalion (opera)

1930 Radie Britain Overture to Pygmalion (orchestral composition)

1946? William Thayer Ames 'Pygmalion'; libretto: Hilda Doolittle [H.D.] (Song cycle)

1949 Herbert Bliss (choreography) Pygmalion and Galatea (ballet / Pas de deux)[87]

1956 Frederick Loewe My Fair Lady; libretto: Alan Jay Lerner (musical comedy)[88]

1981 M. Zur Pygmalion (an operatic scene for soprano and piano)

1984 Wai On Ho Pygmalion and Galatea (compsition for piano)

1992 Frederick Goossen Pygmalion (a choreographic poem)[89]

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[87]Music by Maurice Ravel.

[88]After Bernard Shaw.

[89]Further references to Pygmalion in music which I could not date are: Luigi Cherubini Pigmalion (opera); Giovanni Battista Gordigiani Pygmalione (drama with music); Francis Sirotti Il Pimmaglione (drama with music); Rolande Falcinelli (b. 1920) Pygmalion Delivre opus 14. See Aaron I. Cohen, International Encyclopedia of Woman Composers (New York, 1987), I, 228.

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[1]The bibliography includes references made to the Pygmalion story in the body of the thesis, in appendix 1 and lists 1 and 2 of appendix 2. It includes references made to the Pygmalion story in lists 3-7 of appendix 2 only if those references have some direct bearing on the contents of the thesis. Journals and unpublished theses are listed separately.

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