

Harmony and Matrimony: A Cameo of Hermaphroditus

Ren Reed
ARH 421
March 21, 2023

This case study examines a cameo ring featuring Hermaphroditus. The use of this cameo has been theorized by The Getty as amulatory or related to Hermaphroditus cult. However, the common uses of similar rings, subject matter, and an analysis of Hermaphroditus within the historical record indicate that this cameo ring's primary use was romantic in nature. References to Hermaphroditus worship associate them with union, marriage, and fecundity. The historical record is supplemented by rituals involving gender nonconformity and dual worship of Hermes and Aphrodite in Argos— one of two mother cities to Helicarnassus, a location to which Hermaphroditus has strong ties. The practice of these rituals does not necessarily indicate that the cameo has cult significance. Rather, this image of Hermaphroditus exists within a religious context akin to portrayals of Apollo or Aphrodite, and resembles their presence on cameos. These deities were considered particularly fitting for cameo rings primarily used as love gifts. In this context, these rings signified commitment and reciprocity. Hermaphroditus' associations with marriage and harmony make them a subject matter consistent with the intent of similar pieces.

The piece is titled “Cameo set into a modern ring” by the Getty Museum (alternate title “Cameo with a Hermaphrodite”). It is dated between 150-100 BCE, and attributed to Protarchos due to stylistic similarities with his signed works. In the original ring, the cameo would have likely been set perpendicularly to the finger.¹ The modern ring is gold, and the stone is sardonyx. The only given dimension, presumably the height, is 1.8 cm. It is only labeled as ‘Greek’. Cameos and intaglios are notoriously difficult to provenance, as many of them were taken from their original context and circulated as collectors' items. Therefore, this is not particularly unusual.

¹ Dimitris Plantzos, *Hellenistic Engraved Gems* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 37.

The convex cameo was invented in the 2nd century BCE, following the older, concave intaglio. Cameos became particularly popular into the 1st century BCE.² Before this, convex forms of glyptic jewelry were rare.³ Here we primarily refer to the usage of carved gemstone examples of glyptic jewelry. Many characteristics of our subject extend to cheaper glass and stone cameos, which grew in popularity through the Hellenistic period,⁴ so their subject matter is also considered. The sharp contrast between the rust-red background and white figure in this piece is used to produce a delicate illusion of transparency in the drapery, and the gem-cutting is especially fine. The variation of this piece from the mass produced works surveyed indicates outstanding quality— not, necessarily, a difference in category, meaning, or use. There are some stylistic changes among cameos and intaglios through the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods, but use was consistent and the distinction is considered relatively arbitrary.⁵ Further, the high mobility of gem-cutters makes geographic provenance largely irrelevant.⁶ Due to these factors, this work can be considered in relatively broad temporal, material, and spatial contexts.

One of the first common uses for intaglio rings was as seals. This origin helped associate rings, particularly those containing engraved gemstones, with commitment and fidelity. Cameos and intaglios were commonly used as courtship or romantic gifts, and could be given and worn by both men and women. Plantzos states that they “...bound the presenter as much as the receiver.”⁷ Therefore, glyptic gemstone rings can be characterized by their reciprocity between partners: both in their mutual commitment, and in their deviation from hierarchical gendered

² Claudia Wagner and John Boardman, *Masterpieces in Miniature: Engraved Gems from Prehistory to the Present*. Vol. 3. (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2018), 221.

³ Plantzos, *Hellenistic Engraved Gems*, 35.

⁴ Plantzos, *Hellenistic Engraved Gems*, 38.

⁵ Wagner and Boardman, *Masterpieces in Miniature*, 119.

⁶ Plantzos, *Hellenistic Engraved Gems*, 38.

⁷ Plantzos, *Hellenistic Engraved Gems*, 109.

relationships. Hermaphroditus' dual sexual characteristics position them as sexual giver and receiver, and as male and female. These reflexive characteristics make them an especially fitting choice, even beside the goddess of love and feminized Apollo.

Deities and portraits were the most common subject matter for carved gemstones,⁸ with portraits often being used as political propaganda or indicating status.⁹ The most commonly represented deities were Apollo, Aphrodite, and Dionysus. During the Hellenistic period, Dionysus and Apollo were increasingly feminized. They were portrayed with softer, more rounded hips and in s-curve poses, mimicking standards for portraying Aphrodite.¹⁰ Hermaphroditus' body, possessing both breasts and a penis, exists between the Aphrodite and feminized male god types.

Plantzos' survey of mass produced Aphrodite and Apollo glyptic jewelry provides a useful study of the 'Deity Leaning on a Pillar' type, found on pages 71-73 of *Hellenistic Engraved Gems*. Young Dionysus is also portrayed in this fashion,¹¹ but less commonly— we will focus on the Apollo and Aphrodite types. Similar examples can be found in other catalogs of carved gems, some of which will be referenced. In the studied cameo, Hermaphroditus sits on a pillar-like object with base and crown moldings, and leans their bent left arm on some kind of backing. The typical presentation of Apollo and Aphrodite is standing with their bodies in an s-curve, their back arm reclined against a pillar with crown and base moldings. The arm is often in the same position as Hermaphroditus'. Hermaphroditus' head, in profile, is tilted downwards, gaze directed to near their right knee. The face in profile was not an uncommon example for Aphrodite types, and can be compared to a garnet ringstone of Danae, reclined on a pillar,

⁸ Wagner and Boardman, *Masterpieces in Miniature*, 119.

⁹ Wagner and Boardman, *Masterpieces in Miniature*, 221.

¹⁰ Plantzos, *Hellenistic Engraved Gems*, 72-73.

¹¹ See plate 162: Wagner and Boardman, *Masterpieces in Miniature*, 176.

awaiting Zeus' golden rain. She might be called the archetypal receiver— and the mirroring of her position places this portrayal of Hermaphroditus as similarly receptive.

The garnet Danae stone, Plate 135 from *Masterpieces in Miniature*,¹² is dated to the 3rd century BC. Danae's face is also downturned, and she pulls up her himation in a similar manner to Hermaphroditus. Such a partial reveal of the body with lifted drapery, often twisted around the body, is a common feature of these types. The cloth often falls at the top of the thighs of Aphrodite types, barely covering her genitalia; her breasts are often revealed. Apollo's genitalia is regularly visible. Hermaphroditus' outstretched arm varies from the hip height lifted drapery of standing examples, and is more consistent with seated types. Glyptic from this period also took significant inspiration from contemporary sculpture,¹³ and the position seen here is popular among portrayals of Hermaphroditus.¹⁴ Similar positioning can be found on other glyptic rings, such as a piece featuring a muse on No.199 on Plate 33 of *Hellenistic Engraved Gems*. Her breasts are revealed, her draped legs are in the same position as Hermaphroditus, and her hair is done in a similar style. She leans back on an object beneath her. Her right arm is in a similar position to Hermaphroditus, holding a lute. Therefore, Hermaphroditus' positioning is thoroughly grounded in the context of Hellenistic glyptic rings, and should not be over-interpreted as emblematic of the deity. While their 'reveal' displays their identifying characteristics, it is clearly a standard among these types.

The similarity between this image of Hermaphroditus and other typical subject matter lends itself to the most common interpretation of the cameo's use, as a love gift— an interpretation unconsidered by the Getty. Partial nudity, reveal of the breasts and penis, and

¹² Wagner and Boardman, *Masterpieces in Miniature*, 47.

¹³ Plantzos, *Hellenistic Engraved Gems*, 71-73.

¹⁴ Linnea Åshede, "Neutrumque et Utrumque Videntur," in *Exploring Gender Diversity in the Ancient World*, ed. Allison Surtees and Jennifer Dyer, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), 86-88.

emphasis of twisted drapery were all common characteristics of cameos and intaglios. With Hermaphroditus' popularity during this period, it is unsurprising that they would be portrayed on a cameo in this fashion. Additionally, while the preference for feminized figures with penises is common between Hermaphroditus and a wealth of Dionysian imagery, it is important to differentiate this cameo from general grouping with Dionysus.

The popularity of Dionysian subject matter in jewelry during this period has been attributed to female investment in the relative freedom of women in his cult;¹⁵ the appeal of neutral, purely decorative subject; the rising importance of Dionysiac aspects of ruler cult;¹⁶ and the feminization of Dionysus common with other popular figures.¹⁷ Popular Dionysian types included maenads with wildly flowing hair and scenes of dancing satyrs.¹⁸ Dynamic subject matter depicting a single figure or portrait often implied that their subject was a piece of a wider scene, and meant to be imagined in duplicate, as a part of a collection of figures on a frieze.¹⁹ Hermaphroditus' presence in group scenes has been a matter of debate in scholarship, with older work operating under the assumption that the reveal of Hermaphroditus' penis was a shock to the interested party (such as Pan or a satyr), making them undesirable. Åshede's work establishes that reactions of shock or rejection are only associated with a demanding or sexually active Hermaphroditus— behavior which goes against sexual expectations and beauty standards for women or male youths.²⁰ This portrayal of Hermaphroditus is passive, as established by comparison to similar types, and therefore attractive or neutral. They are relaxed and non-

¹⁵ Dyfri Williams and Jack Ogden, *Greek Gold: Jewelry of the Classical World* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1994), 38.

¹⁶ Plantzos, *Hellenistic Engraved Gems*, 86.

¹⁷ John Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings: Early Bronze Age to Late Classical*. New expanded ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2001), 360.

¹⁸ Wagner and Boardman, *Masterpieces in Miniature*, 173, 177; Dimitris Plantzos, "Hellenistic Cameos: Problems of Classification and Chronology" *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 41 (1996): 86.

¹⁹ Plantzos, *Hellenistic Engraved Gems*, 86.

²⁰ Åshede, "Neutrumque et Utrumque Videntur", 92-93.

dynamic, which doesn't strongly imply the presence of a suitor; the depiction could be compared to a bath scene. These characteristics further associate this Hermaphroditus with reclined feminine deity types, rather than referencing more Dionysian group scenes employing satyrs and sexual subject matter. It resembles neither examples of such scenes in glyptic, nor sculptural works featuring Hermaphroditus that employ Dionysian subject matter.

The choice of sardonyx further places the ring within the context of love tokens. While rings could be amulatory or used as charms,²¹ examples containing gemstones within the historical record synthesized both subject matter and material. Gemstones imported from the east, such as amethyst, were the ones infused with magical properties— some believed that *only* eastern stones could have amulatory abilities. A correlation between stone and subject matter was desirable. For example, amethyst was believed to prevent drunkenness, and the historical record provides us with amethyst rings engraved with Dionysiac subjects to maintain sobriety.²² The sardonyx used in this piece, in contrast, was a common stone. It became the traditional material for cameos after their invention in the Hellenistic period, and was used rarely prior.²³ And while engraved gems became more popular within temple treasuries through the Hellenistic period, their subject matter had little to do with the relevant cult. Increased availability and material value are more likely reasons for their rising prominence.²⁴ It is unlikely that they were used for ritual or cult purposes. A mundane gemstone may have functioned as a charm, but it is more logical that this would have been seen as a secondary characteristic that gave it extra significance. Instead, references to the sentimental and material value of these rings dominate the

²¹ Plantzos, *Hellenistic Engraved Gems*, 109.

²² Plantzos, *Hellenistic Engraved Gems*, 110-111.

²³ Wagner and Boardman, *Masterpieces in Miniature*, 221; Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, 376.

²⁴ Plantzos, *Hellenistic Engraved Gems*, 105.

historical record. It is not impossible the cameo had some “protective quality” linked to the use of phallus images to “ward off bad luck and destructive envy”²⁵. However, this piece is no *fascina*; the miniature size is not suited to drawing the envious evil eye away from the wearer in the manner of a large phallus pendant.²⁶ Regardless, the general use of phallic imagery is less relevant than the cultural context of the ring itself and Hermaphroditus themselves.

This interpretation, while less biased than the rampant insistence of older scholarship that Hermaphroditus must be abject, still betrays a misleading phallogocentric perspective. Åshede deftly criticizes these interpretations of Hermaphroditus, choosing a posthumanist approach: “...it precludes us from assuming that we already know what a penis signifies, instead spurring us to ask what specifically the penis of Hermaphroditus can signify.”²⁷ Elaborating on Åshede’s argument, one cannot assume that the sight of ‘disparate’ physical characteristics would have been shocking or strange to a contemporary viewer. Different visual languages were often used within one portrayal of the body in antiquity. To this end, Squire employs the example of a funerary sculpture of a Roman matron, in which a dignified face was placed on a naked body styled like an Aphrodite. He argues that these stylistic differences were not ‘assemblages’ but designed to synthesize, and function “in multiple symbolic ways, as a series of amalgamated parts that together added up to more than the whole.”²⁸ Multiple forms of representation (in our case, breasts and a penis) co-exist and function as semiotic signs. Neither of these pieces have any reason, in the context of antiquity, to be interpreted as inherently comedic, mystical, or

²⁵ The Getty, “Cameo set into a modern ring,” accessed May 26, 2023, <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/108HGR>.

²⁶ For an overview on the functions of *fascina*, see Allisa Whitmore, “Fascinating Fascina: apotropaic magic and how to wear a penis” In *What Shall I Say of Clothes? : Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*, ed. Megan Cifarelli and Laura Gawlinski (Boston, MA : Archaeological Institute of America, 2017).

²⁷ Åshede, “Neutrumque et Utrumque Videntur,” 82.

²⁸ Michael Squire, *The Art of the Body : Antiquity and Its Legacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 151-153.

disrupted– nor even unusual. Yet, much of the scholarship surrounding Hermaphroditus still assumes an inherent fascination with an “impossible” combination of body parts. The revelation of their body through *anasyromenos* is framed as abject, surprising, or as a dramatic uncurtaining of divinity. This etic-informed assumption permeates the vast majority of work done on Hermaphroditus, and creates, at best, a bias towards a mystical interpretation of their imagery. The Getty places their emphasis on this gesture, therefore neglecting the context of this piece.

Further, the myth presented by Ovid has been egregiously over-represented in discussion of Hermaphroditus, even when the works in question predate its penning by over a century. The Getty begins with several sentences summarizing *Metamorphoses*– then follows with the admission that “the myth seems never to have [been] depicted explicitly in ancient art and is not necessarily evoked in this cameo”.²⁹ Their description also omits the fact that the myth, even in literary sources, is exclusive to Ovid³⁰ and those referencing him. Ovid’s story describes Hermaphroditus’ body as the result of a man being sexually assaulted by the nymph Salmacis, which led to their bodies being combined. In other myths, Hermaphroditus is a child of Hermes and Aphrodite who was born with mixed sexual characteristics. The context in which these narratives existed is critical to interpreting Hermaphroditus’ role on a cameo ring.

Our references to Hermaphroditus cult in the historical record are sporadic, but what exists relates to marriage or sexual union. The Getty does reference Hermaphroditus’ association with marriage, but only within a cult context. There is no consideration of the ring’s potential use as a love gift nor the importance of Hermes and Aphrodite. In Hesiod’s *Works and Days*, a day of worship of Hermes and Aphrodite together promotes marital prosperity. One translation of

²⁹ The Getty, “Cameo set into a modern ring,” accessed May 26, 2023, <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/108HGR>.

³⁰ Åshede, “Neutrumque et Utrumque Videntur,” 81.

Plutarch's *Conjugal Precepts* speaks of "joined together images of Hermes and Aphrodite" in relation to praying to the muses "to bring harmony to a union and a household."³¹ This translation favors a direct connection to Hermaphroditus, but another one reads "set Hermes at Aphrodite's side."³² The Hermes who protected marriage may have referred to a god in the form of an erect phallus honored at Cyllene.³³ In any case, Hermaphroditus is further associated with marriage. From Vitruvius' *On Architecture*, among other sources, we know of a Salmacis spring nearby to a temple of Hermes and Aphrodite. It was rumored to turn men more effeminate, which Vitruvius dismisses— instead, he says that the waters soften savage barbarians through the power of civilization.³⁴ Incidentally, Ovid's myth claims to be an aetiology for the supposed feminizing characteristics of the spring.

The history of the spring is critical to further asserting Hermaphroditus' symbolic meaning. Brisson notes that the Salmacis spring at Halicarnassus received its name from an indigenous city that existed before integration with settlers from Argos and Troezen.³⁵ The name itself reflects Vitruvius' beliefs around civilization of Salmacis, the city— not Ovid's nymph. The fact that one of the supposed mother cities to Halicarnassus is Argos is enlightening. Delcourt mentions that Hermes and Aphrodite were worshiped together in Argos. A ritual was practiced where young women wore beards to their nuptial bed, and men and women switched clothing during a month honoring Hermes.³⁶ Therefore, it is highly likely that Hermaphroditus cult at

³¹ Marie Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite; Myths and Rites of the Bisexual Figure in Classical Antiquity* (London: Studio Books, 1961), 47.

³² Sarah B. Pomeroy and Plutarch, *Plutarch's Advice to the Bride and Groom and A Consolation to His Wife English Translations, Commentary, Interpretive Essays, and Bibliography*, trans. Donald Russel (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 5, line 134.

³³ Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite*, 47.

³⁴ Luc Brisson, *Sexual Ambivalence : Androgyny and Hermaphroditism in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 51-53.

³⁵ Brisson, *Sexual Ambivalence*, 50-51.

³⁶ Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite*, 47.

Halicarnassus descended from the practices of its mother city— a conclusion shockingly unconsidered in current scholarship. Regardless of origin, it is evident that these customs were related. They include blurring of gender roles, dual worship of Hermes and Aphrodite, marriage, and phallic imagery— all of which could be considered emblematic of Hermaphroditus.

Even more evidence of the relationship between Hermaphroditus and marriage ties in cult is found within the historical record. Possibly our clearest reference to Hermaphroditus cult comes from a collection of Alciphron's letters, where the widow Epiphyllis hopes to offer an *eiresione* of flowers to the "Hermaphrodite of Alopece," hoping to find a new husband. Before she can, she is assaulted by a man she had already rejected, forcing her to marry him. The *eiresione* references more than just a garland— it is a collection of cakes, branches, and other symbols of fecundity. The historical record contains a few other references to presenting Hermaphroditic figures with boughs, incense, cakes, and garlands— one in Theophrastus' description of the Superstitious Man, and the other regards offerings to Aphroditus, the 'bearded Aphrodite' at Cyprus.³⁷ The offerings to Aphroditus also included the switching of male and female clothing among practitioners, much like in Argos.

This interconnected web of traditions creates common threads that we can begin to weave into a loose understanding of Hermaphroditus cult. Despite the opinion of some authors that such an understanding cannot be confirmed or constructed, the evidence begets consistent interpretations. Marriage, bondage, fecundity, and union all show up as common characteristics. It should be noted that the fountain produces contemporary interpretations of both stabilizing civilization alongside the pejorative feminization of men. The former produces further associations with harmony and union, and the latter with gender fluidity. Comparisons can also

³⁷ Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite*, 48-50; Brisson, *Sexual Ambivalence*, 56-57.

be drawn to well established practices involving the exchange of gendered clothing in Argos, a claimed mother city to Helicarnassus, and worship of Aphroditus. While there were diverse opinions on these rituals, particularly from outsiders, it is undeniable that there was socially acceptable—even encouraged—practice that celebrated the blurring of gender roles and associated it with marriage.

In this context, Hermaphroditus is perfect subject material for a cameo ring intended as a courtship gift. This is supported by the similarity with other types, choice of sardonyx, dissimilarity to Dionysian types, and standards of portraying Hermaphroditus. It is an exceptional example of standard themes. Given this relevance, it is possible that cameos featuring Hermaphroditus were more common than surviving examples indicate. Art of Hermaphroditus became increasingly popular during the Hellenistic period,³⁸ and it is plausible that the surviving material record of cameos disproportionately represents figures that align better with binary social constructs.

The importance of Argos to Hermaphroditus worship, as revealed in this paper, is a vital subject of future research. The relationship between Hermaphroditus and the cult and ritual practices of Argos, as well as those related to Aphroditus, is an untapped wellspring of meaning. The negligence of previous scholarship to examine Argos as a mother city to Halicarnassus can be attributed to the historic devaluation of the Hellenistic era and the diversity of the ancient Mediterranean³⁹. Further, following Åshede's work, it is obvious that older scholarship's analysis of Hermaphroditus as "attractive, but problematic"⁴⁰ neglects this diversity. Two

³⁸ Åshede, "Neutrumque et Utrumque Videntur," 81

³⁹ For more on this topic, see Ashley L. Bacchi, "Why Does the Hellenistic Period Matter Today? Dismantling Racist and Sexist Ideologies." *Journal of feminist studies in religion* 37, no. 2 (2021): 167–170.

⁴⁰ Åshede, "Neutrumque et Utrumque Videntur," 82.

narratives, while not entirely separate, could be constructed: an outside perspective, and an inside one. On one side is Hermaphroditus as a sexually active and threatening or shocking figure. This figure is represented by sculptural scenes of satyrs that flinch away from Hermaphroditus' body and Ovid's story of the Salmacis spring's feminizing impact. On the other, the Hermaphroditus of extensive cult practice, who represented harmony through blurred gender roles and mixed sexual characteristics. Examples are found in reclined sculpture, bath scenes, Vitruvius' account of the spring, and this cameo ring. Further investigation of the origins of these narratives, as well as the way they entwine and evolve through Hermaphroditus' growing popularity during the Hellenistic era, could revolutionize decades of research. Pieces like this ring epitomize the untapped meaning and flawed analysis of Hermaphroditus. They reveal an ancient world that conceptualized gender differently: perhaps as a trinary of male, male youth, and female, as proposed by Ferrari. Perhaps as something more varied and complex than such a framework. In any case, it is critical that scholarship consider new avenues, so that pieces such as this can be placed in a fitting context.

Bibliography

Åshede, Linnea. "Neutrumque et Utrumque Videntur: Reappraising the Gender Role(s) of Hermaphroditus in Ancient Art." In *Exploring Gender Diversity in the Ancient World*, edited by Allison Surtees and Jennifer Dyer, 81–94. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctv10kmczg.10>.

Bacchi, Ashley L. "Why Does the Hellenistic Period Matter Today? Dismantling Racist and Sexist Ideologies." *Journal of feminist studies in religion* 37, no. 2 (2021): 167–170.

Boardman, John. *Greek Gems and Finger Rings : Early Bronze Age to Late Classical*. New expanded ed. London: Thames & Hudson, 2001.

Brisson, Luc, *Sexual Ambivalence : Androgyny and Hermaphroditism in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*. Translated by Janet Lloyd. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

"Cameo Set into a Modern Ring (the J. Paul Getty Museum Collection)." n.d. The J. Paul Getty Museum Collection. <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/108HGR>.

Delcourt, Marie. *Hermaphrodite; Myths and Rites of the Bisexual Figure in Classical Antiquity*. London: Studio Books, 1961.

Hesiod, *Works and Days and Theogony*. Translated by Stanley Lombardo. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Incorporated, 1993.

Higgins, Reynold. *Greek and Roman Jewellery*. London: Methuen, 1961.

Jackson, Monica M. *Hellenistic Gold Eros Jewellery : Technique, Style and Chronology*. Oxford, England: Archaeopress, 2006.

Ovid. *Metamorphoses*. Translated by Stanley Lombardo. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Pub. Co, 2010.

- Plantzos, Dimitris. *Hellenistic Engraved Gems*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.
- Plantzos, Dimitris. "Hellenistic Cameos: Problems of Classification and Chronology." *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 41 (1996): 115–32. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43646601>.
- Pomeroy, Sarah B., and Plutarch. *Plutarch's Advice to the Bride and Groom and A Consolation to His Wife English Translations, Commentary, Interpretive Essays, and Bibliography*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Sagiv, Idit. *Representations of Animals on Greek and Roman Engraved Gems : Meanings and Interpretations*. Summertown, Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing, 2018.
- Spier, Jeffrey. *Ancient Gems and Finger Rings : Catalogue of the Collection*. Malibu, Calif: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992.
- Squire, Michael. *The Art of the Body : Antiquity and Its Legacy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Surtees, Jennifer, and Jennifer Dyer. *Exploring Gender Diversity in the Ancient World*. Edited by Jennifer Surtees and Jennifer Dyer. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020.
- Vitruvius. *On Architecture*. Translated by Richard V Schofield. New York: Penguin, 2009.
- Wagner, Claudia, and John Boardman. *Masterpieces in Miniature: Engraved Gems from Prehistory to the Present*. Vol. 3. London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2018.
- Whitmore, Allisa. "Fascinating Fascina: apotropaic magic and how to wear a penis." In *What Shall I Say of Clothes? : Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*, edited by Megan Cifarelli and Laura Gawlinski. Boston, MA: Archaeological Institute of America, 2017.
- Williams, Dyfri, and Jack Ogden. *Greek Gold: Jewelry of the Classical World*. New York: H.N. Abrams, 1994.



Fig. 1 Hermaphroditus. Protarchos, *Cameo set into a modern ring* (alternate title *Cameo with a Hermaphrodite*) 150 - 100 BC, gold and sardonyx, The Getty Museum
<https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/108HGR>.



Left: Fig. 2 Danae. Unknown, *Masterpieces in Miniature: Engraved Gems from Prehistory to the Present. Vol. 3* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2018), Plate 135

Right: Fig. 3 Muse. Unknown, *Hellenistic Engraved Gems* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), No. 199 on Plate 33

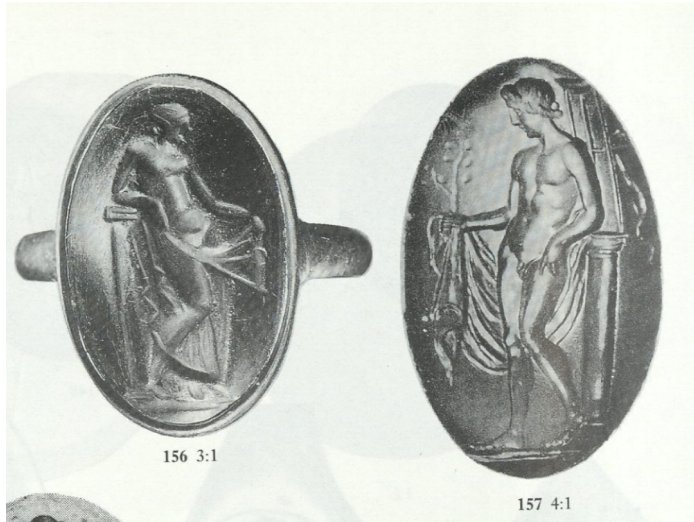


Fig. 4 Examples of Aphrodite and Apollo. Unknown, *Masterpieces in Miniature: Engraved Gems from Prehistory to the Present. Vol. 3* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2018), Plates 156 and 157