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Dancing with decorum

The eclectic usage of kalathiskos dancers and pyrrhic dancers in Roman visual culture

Abstract*

This article examines two groups of motifs in Roman visual culture: females modelled on kalathiskos dancers, and males modelled on pyrrhic dancers. Eclecticism is emphasized as a strategy which was used to introduce novelties that were appropriate within a Roman cultural context. The figures representing kalathiskos dancers and pyrrhic dancers were both changed in an eclectic manner and this resulted in motifs representing the goddess Victoria, and the curetes respectively. Kalathiskos dancers and eclectic Victoriae occur on many different media at least from the Augustan era and into the 2nd century AD. It is argued here that the establishment of these two motifs in Roman visual culture is closely related to the aesthetics which came to the fore during the reign of Augustus. Thereafter, both kalathiskos dancers and eclectic Victoriae lingered on in the Roman cultural context until many of the material categories on which they were depicted ceased to be produced. Unlike the kalathiskos dancers, the male figures modelled on pyrrhic dancers are so rare within Roman visual culture that we can only assume they were, to some extent, perceived as an inappropriate motif. This can most likely be explained by the negative attitude, amongst the Roman elite, towards male dancing.

Greek dancers in Roman visual culture

This study takes two motifs as its starting point: kalathiskos dancers and pyrrhic dancers. The kalathiskos dancers are represented by female figures depicted in a state of movement, wearing short chitons and basket-shaped headdresses. The pyrrhic dancers are represented by male figures depicted in the nude, aside from a helmet, and they carry round shields and, in most cases also swords (*Fig. 1*).

Kalathiskos dancers constituted an established motif within Roman visual culture[1] at least from the age of Augustus, on into the 2nd century AD. During the same time-span, the iconography of such dancers was also used for depictions of the goddess Victoria (*Table 4*). The armed males modelled on pyrrhic dancers, on the other hand, are only depicted on seven objects. Chronologically, the motif occurs during the last century BC and the 1st century AD (*Table 7*). It is most likely that only two, or perhaps three, of the depictions should be interpreted as representing troupes of pyrrhic dancers. In at least one instance, armed male dancers depicted in this manner represent mythological figures: the curetes present at the infancy of Bacchus.

Within the Roman cultural context, these two groups of motifs occur primarily on richly decorated items which were used to adorn both public and domestic areas (*Tables 3 & 6*). Amongst objects made of marble, they are represented on altars/bases, candelabra, kraters, plaques and *oscilla*.[2] Female figures modelled on kalathiskos dancers also adorn items made of terracotta: e.g. Terra Sigillata vessels, an amphora and relief plaques.[3] Cuirass statues are, arguably, not to be seen as decorative objects in the same sense as the material categories mentioned earlier. However, female figures modelled on kalathiskos dancers are, at times, depicted on the breastplates of

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[1] In this article, depictions are referred to as "Roman" if they were produced under the influence of the city of Rome, during the period of time when this city was a major power in the Mediterranean world. The timespan begins around 200 BC, when the city's hegemony had expanded outside the Italian peninsula, and ends around AD 350, when Constantinople became the principal centre of power. Perry 2005, 23–24.

[2] *Table 1*, nos. 5, 8, 11, 12, 32, 35, 37, 41, 43, 44, 48, 54–56, 59, 60, 63, 64 & 68; *Table 5*.

[3] *Table 1*, nos. 6, 13–15, 26, 33, 34, 38, 45–47, 49–52, 57, 61, 67, 70–74 & 76; *Table 2*.
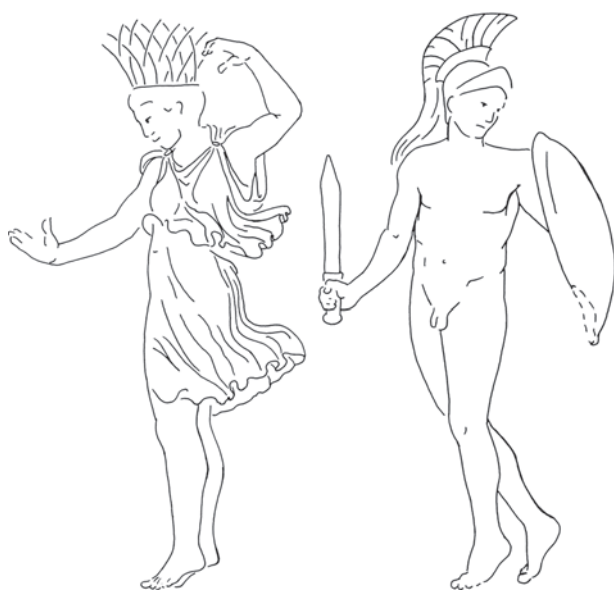
Fig. 1. A kalathiskos dancer and a pyrrhic dancer. The female in the drawing is based on a photograph of a marble candelabrum in the Museo Archeologico, Venice (inv. 122), see Cain 1985, pl. 31, fig. 1. The male figure is one of six dancers depicted on a marble krater found in the Villa Oplontis. The drawing is based on a photograph taken by F. Tobin. Illustration: J. Habetzeder.

such sculptures.[4] Kalathiskos dancers are also represented on plaster reliefs,[5] as well as on engraved gems and glass pastes.[6] Though seemingly diverse, the material categories presented above are known to include motifs from a shared decorative repertoire.[7]

This repertoire is often referred to as "Neo-Attic", because many of its recurring motifs can be related to Classical and Hellenistic predecessors and, furthermore, some marble items displaying figures from this repertoire are inscribed with the craftsman's name followed by the epithet "the Athenian" (Ἀθηναῖος).[8] Earlier studies mainly used this repertoire as a means of gaining new insights into the Classical and Hellenistic models which the "Neo-Attic" motifs were believed to replicate.[9]

Since the 1980s, scholars have criticized the use of the term "Neo-Attic" as a denominator for this repertoire. Their critique is based on two reasons. Firstly, only very few of the motifs described as "Neo-Attic" can actually be related to earlier Attic iconographical traditions: they belong to the Hellenistic visual cultures that the Romans encountered during the Late Republican period. Within these traditions, motifs from the Greek iconography of previous centuries were used at times. Secondly, the Roman use of these motifs has a clearly eclectic character. Only rarely do the depictions seem to copy their supposed predecessors exactly.[10] Therefore, the term "Neo-Attic" will not be used in the present study. Here, we will instead speak of an eclectic classicizing repertoire (*eklektisch-klassizistisch*), a denomination which has been suggested by Dagmar Grassinger.[11] While still acknowledging the connection to earlier iconographical traditions (classicizing), this denomination also expresses the creative dynamics (eclectic) that characterize this repertoire.

The kalathiskos dancers and pyrrhic dancers which are represented within Roman visual culture have previously mainly been considered in studies that dealt with either the eclectic classicizing repertoire in general,[12] or with one of the material categories within which the motifs occur.[13] The focus of these studies has been on the individual figure types that represent kalathiskos dancers and pyrrhic dancers, and their relationship to earlier Greek iconography. The primary concern of the present study is instead to clarify how kalathiskos dancers and pyrrhic dancers were received and used in their new, Roman context. Special emphasis will be placed on how the motifs were changed once they had been appropriated by Roman visual culture. The fact that the motifs were changed has been noted by earlier scholars, but it has not been discussed at length.[14]

ECLECTICISM AND DECORUM

The present article centres around two concepts that have been brought to the fore in the discussion of Roman aesthetics by Ellen E. Perry: eclecticism and decorum. Eclecticism, as defined by Perry, is a result of decorum; a notion that sets

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[4] *Table 1*, nos. 7, 9, 10, 23, 24, 27, 36, 39, 40, 58, 62, 65, 66, 69 & 75. In Sassari, on Sardinia, there is a fragment of a cuirass statue which, most likely, was once carved with two females modelled on kalathiskos dancers. However, as only their feet and legs, up to the knees, are preserved, these females have been excluded from this study. For information on the fragment, see Stemmer 1978, cat. no. VII 23.

[5] *Table 1*, nos. 42 & 53.

[6] *Table 1*, nos. 1–4, 16–22, 25 & 28–31.

[7] Borbein 1968, 25–28 & 196–201; Cain 1985, 140–141; Mielsch 1975, 106–107; Stemmer 1978, 152.

[8] Fittschen 2008, 326; Fuchs 1959, 1–2. The marble krater in the Louvre bears such an inscription: *Table 5*, no. 1.

[9] Fuchs 1959; Hauser 1889.

[10] Cain 1985, 147–148; Fittschen 2008, 326; Grassinger 1991, 140–141.

[11] Grassinger 1991, 140–141.

[12] Kalathiskos dancers: Fuchs 1959, 91–96; Hauser 1889, nos. 18–23 & 29–31. Pyrrhic dancers: Fuchs 1959, 41–44; Hauser 1889, nos. 1 & 30–32.

[13] Kalathiskos dancers: Borbein 1968, 188–189; Cain 1985, 135–136; Dragendorff & Watzinger 1948, 55–61 & 121; Rohden 1911, 10–12; Stemmer 1978, 159–160. Pyrrhic dancers: Grassinger 1991, 159–160.

[14] Kalathiskos dancers: Borbein 1968, 189; Cain 1985, 114 (Nike, libierend 2); Dragendorff & Watzinger 1948, 60–61 & 64–65; Golda 1997, 47 (Nike 1a & 1b). Pyrrhic dancers: Grassinger 1991, 115–118.

the ground rules for what can be included in Roman visual culture. Decorum is a Roman principle that applied to most realms of public life. The term denotes that which is appropriate, as established by tradition.

A decorative depiction should always be appropriate; it should follow decorum. What is appropriate is determined by social consensus. This wish to render appropriate motifs speaks in favour of alluding to well-known images; depictions that are known to follow decorum.[15] This wish does not, however, rule out the possibility of introducing new images. Novelties can be included into the repertoire of appropriate subjects if they are, for instance, favoured by individuals who are held in high esteem.[16] Another way of introducing novelties that follow decorum is to blend two or more different models, motifs or styles into a new image. In fact, ancient theories on imitation often argue against using just one model when creating an image. Quite the contrary; the seamless blending of elements from different models into a new, harmonious whole is considered a greater accomplishment.[17] Eclecticism, therefore, can be seen as a strategy which was used to achieve propriety in novelties, in Roman visual culture.

LAYOUT AND SELECTED MOTIFS

The two groups of motifs which will be discussed are examined in separate case studies. Each case study is structured around the two concepts presented above. Firstly, however, each case study evaluates the aspect of the two motifs that has been the primary concern of earlier research: the relationship between the Roman manifestations of the motifs and their Classical and/or Hellenistic predecessors. In order to discuss how the motifs were changed once they had been introduced into Roman visual culture, one needs to be familiar with the iconographical traditions from which they were appropriated.

Secondly, the eclectic changes made to the motifs representing kalathiskos dancers and pyrrhic dancers, once they were appropriated into the Roman cultural context, are traced. In these sections the approach is strictly synchronic. Thirdly, the concept of decorum is brought to the fore. The central issue is, of course, whether or not the motifs discussed were seen as appropriate. Here matters concerning chronology are also addressed.

Before moving on to the first case study, let us specify the reasons why kalathiskos dancers and pyrrhic dancers have been singled out as our point of departure. The aim is to study

how Classical and Hellenistic motifs were taken on in Roman iconography. The central concern is the creative dynamics that shaped Roman visual culture. Therefore, the motifs to be studied should not just be appropriated from earlier iconographical traditions; they should also have been subject to changes once introduced in the Roman cultural context. As stated above, these changes are the central concern of this study, rather than the appropriated motifs and their relationship to earlier iconographical traditions. In the following text, the Roman appropriation of Classical and Hellenistic motifs is seen as a multifaceted, dynamic process. Therefore, at least two motifs should be studied—motifs that illustrate different manifestations of this process.

Because they fall within this framework, the motifs representing kalathiskos dancers and pyrrhic dancers constitute an appropriate starting point. The fact that both motifs represent dancers also allows for a discussion of the place of dance as a motif within Roman iconography. Within Roman culture, dance was a gendered practice in the sense that it was perceived as effeminate. As the two motifs which have been chosen represent both female and male dancers, the study may also shed some light on the impact of gender on the Roman iconography of dance.

Kalathiskos dancers

First, let us clarify why the females discussed in this section are described as kalathiskos dancers. Athenaeus and Julius Pollux (both ca AD 200) use the term "small basket" (καλαθίσκος) as a denominator for a type of dance.[18] Therefore, figures rendered in a state of movement, with basket-like headdresses, are generally interpreted as performing this kind of dance. Thus, they are called kalathiskos dancers. Within the Classical and Hellenistic cultures, dances performed by females wearing this kind of headdress are believed to have been connected to the cults of Athena, Dionysus, Apollo, Demeter, and possibly also to that of Aphrodite.[19] The present study, however, will not examine what particular forms of dances these females were thought to perform when they were depicted in different cultural contexts. The denomination "kalathiskos dancer" is used as it has become an established term for this particular motif.

Earlier scholars working within the tradition of *Meisterforschung* and *Kopienkritik*, have interpreted the kalathiskos dancers that occur within Roman visual culture as representing "The Laconian dancers" (*saltantes Lacaenae*) which are

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[15] Perry 2005, 28–49.
[16] Perry 2005, 50–77.
[17] Perry 2005, 111–149.

[18] Ath. XI.467f & XIV.630a; Poll. *Onom*. IV.105.
[19] Burr Thompson 1963, 100; Froning 1971, 22–23; Metzger 1942, 233–245; Schauenburg 1960, 99–102.

mentioned by Pliny the elder (23/24 BC–AD 79) as a work of art by the sculptor Kallimachos (5th century BC).[20] The short reference made by Pliny does not, however, describe this particular work of Kallimachos' in detail.[21] The attribution of this motif to a specific 5th century BC artwork is, therefore, complicated by the fact that the Roman depictions of kalathiskos dancers depict the figures in many different poses. If one is interested in this supposed model, the main question—as posed by Werner Fuchs—is which of the many Roman manifestations are most closely related to the original masterpiece?[22] Nevertheless, due to the diversity of the Roman depictions, any selection of particular figure types as more closely related to this hypothetical model must remain highly speculative.[23] The crucial point is that the diversity of the Roman depictions clearly signals that the notion of one particular, original masterpiece was of little or no relevance when kalathiskos dancers were depicted within a Roman cultural context.

Leaving Kallimachos' masterpiece behind, one must still take into account the fact that there was a tradition of depicting kalathiskos dancers long before the motif was introduced in Rome. Perhaps the most widely-known monument, which includes kalathiskos dancers, is an acanthus column in Delphi. Its date has been a matter of debate; it is generally dated to the late 4th century BC. Crowning this huge column were three kalathiskos dancers, most likely supporting a large tripod (*Figs. 2 & 3*).[24] A somewhat earlier depiction can be found in Turkey, in the heroon of Gölbaşı, where two kalathiskos dancers flank the entrance to the heroon.[25] Such dancers also figure on a marble stele of the 4th century BC in Chios.[26] Furthermore, they are represented by Classical and Hellenistic terracotta figurines,[27] terracotta moulds[28] and jewellery.[29]

An item of special interest is the bronze cuirass statue which was found in Ameria, Umbria, in 1963. On the back of the cuirass, two kalathiskos dancers are rendered, flanking a candelabrum. A thorough study of the statue has suggested that its appearance was altered several times in antiquity. In its final stage it portrayed the Roman general Germanicus (15 BC–AD 19). However, the sculpture's torso is believed to have been made in the early 1st century BC. Giulia Rocco proposes that it initially belonged to a sculpture representing Mithridates VI Eupator (ca 132–63 BC) and that it was brought to Rome as booty in the wake of the Mithridatic wars. Thus, this cuirass statue may be an example of an object imported from the Hellenistic East to the Roman peninsula, where it was incorporated into Roman visual culture. Due to its suggested date, and its use in a Roman context, the sculpture will be discussed as belonging to a Roman cultural context in this study.[30]

The dancers are, in the aforementioned depictions, depicted as wearing short chitons, ending above the knee, and basket-shaped headdresses. The movement of their dance is rendered by having the females stand on their toes or take a light step forward, and by having their dresses flutter out behind or around them. Furthermore, the dancers hold their arms in different, well-articulated poses (*Figs. 2 & 3*). In the present

Fig. 2. Three kalathiskos dancers once crowned a large acanthus column erected in Delphi. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen, Neg. D-DAI-ATH-Delphi 107. All rights reserved.

[20] Fuchs 1959, 91–96.
[21] Plin. *HN* XXXIV.XIX.92.
[22] Fuchs 1959, 91–96.
[23] Cain 1985, 135.
[24] Amandry & Chamoux 1991, 84–90; Pouilloux & Roux 1963, 123–149.
[25] Eichler 1950, 10–11, 41–43 & pl. 1.
[26] Contoléon 1947; Fuchs 1986, 284 & fig. 12.
[27] Besques 1972, cat. no. D 423; Rohde 1968, cat. no. 20a.
[28] Kahil 1965, 283–284.
[29] Artamonov 1969, 75 & pl. 267; Hoffmann & Davidson 1965, cat. nos. 16, 17 & 106; Richter 1968, cat. no. 260.
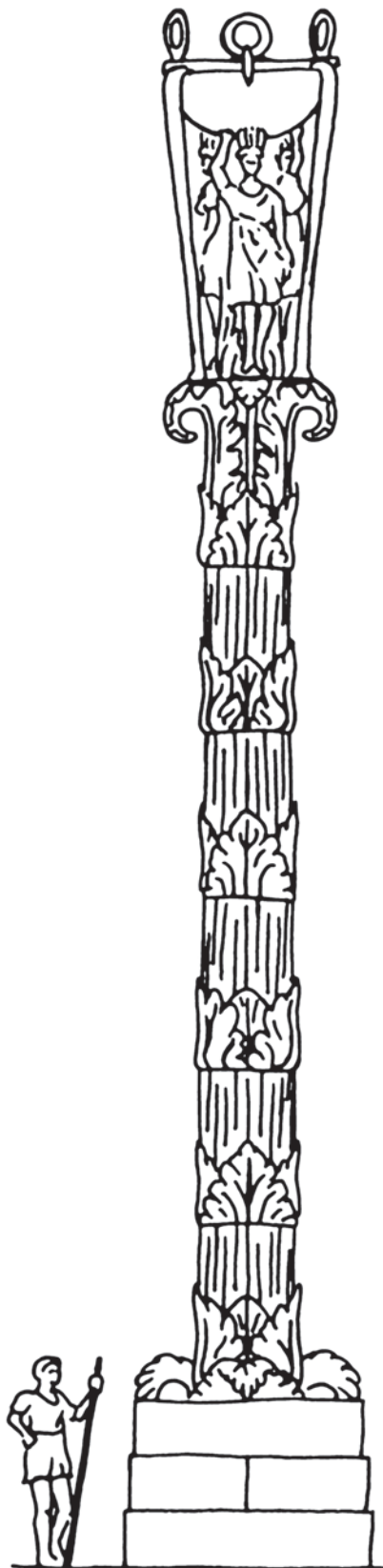
[30] *Table 1*, no. 40. Rocco 2008.

Fig. 3 (left). A reconstruction of the Delphic acanthus column by H. Pomtow places the kalathiskos dancers beneath a large tripod. Illustration: J. Habetzeder, after Pouilloux & Roux 1963, pl. 28, fig. 2d.

study, the characters in Roman depictions which share the traits outlined above, are those that are referred to as kalathiskos dancers. Thus, the appearance of the individual figures is seen as crucial to their identification as kalathiskos dancers.[31] But what, then, of the compositions where such dancers occur: are the kalathiskos dancers depicted in the same setting in their different cultural contexts?

In the Classical and Hellenistic depictions presented above, the kalathiskos dancers are rendered alone or in groups within a framed area. In these pre-Roman depictions, the dancers are thus not combined with other kinds of figures.[32] Such compositions are also represented in Roman visual culture—as on the five marble candelabra, on the marble plaques in Berlin, the *oscilla* in Perugia and Vienne, on the stucco reliefs in Pozzuoli and Rome, as well as on engraved gems and glass pastes.[33]

A composition that recurs within Roman visual culture consists of two kalathiskos dancers flanking a *palladium*. This composition is represented on terracotta plaques (*Fig. 4*), on
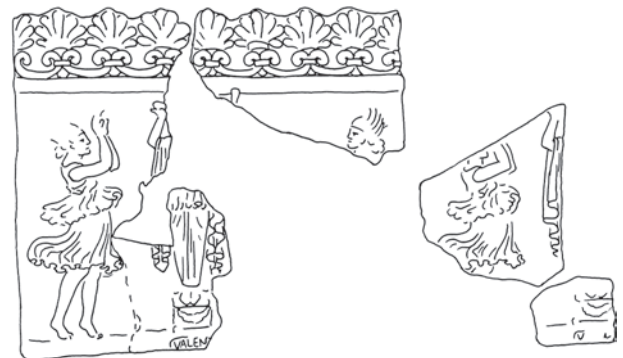

Fig. 4. Fragments of two terracotta plaques which were originally decorated with the same motif: a pair of kalathiskos dancers flanking a palladium. These fragments belong to the collections of the Musei Capitolini and are kept in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome. Illustration: J. Habetzeder, after Rohden 1911, 11, fig. 12.

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[31] There are a few Roman engraved gems and glass pastes that seem to depict such females without their characteristic headdresses. As their poses recur amongst depictions of kalathiskos dancers, these have been included as such in the present study. Perhaps the absence of the headdresses can be explained by the small scale of the depictions. *Table 1*, nos. 2, 3, 18, 19, 22, 28 & 31.

[32] There are, however, 5th century vase paintings that depict kalathiskos dancers accompanied by other figures. Schauenburg 1960, 99–101.

[33] *Table 1*, nos. 1–5, 8, 11, 12, 16–22, 25, 28–31, 41, 42, 44, 53, 59, 63 & 64.

Fig. 5. Two kalathiskos dancers flanking a palladium*, depicted on the breastplate of a marble cuirass statue in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (Inv. 6072). Photo: Koppermann, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom, Neg. D-DAI-ROM-63.1456. All rights reserved.*

the breastplates of cuirass statues (*Fig. 5*) and, I would suggest, also on Arretinian Terra Sigillata vessels (*Fig. 6*).[34] This composition most likely refers to the notion that this particular dance was connected to religious practices. Doubtlessly, the *palladium* referred to in the Roman depictions is that of Troy, depicting the armed Minerva (Athena). Believed to have been brought to Rome by Diomedes or Aeneas, the *palladium* served as a talisman for the preservation of Roman rule and was kept in the sanctuary of Vesta on the *Forum Romanum*.[35] My suggestion is that the inclusion of a pair of kalathiskos dancers highlights the sanctity of the *palladium* in these depictions. It seems reasonable to propose that the kalathiskos dancers were, in the Roman cultural context, generally interpreted as performers of a dance with at least some religious or ritual overtones.

There is also a composition that constitutes a variant of the theme discussed above. It is rendered twice: once on each side of an amphora found in Pompeii. Here, the goddess Minerva is situated between two kalathiskos dancers.[36] The composition—with two dancers flanking an object or figure—is reminiscent of the scene on the bronze statue from Ameria, where two kalathiskos dancers flank a candelabrum. Where this cuirass statue is concerned, the absence of a *palladium* speaks in favour of Rocco's interpretation that the torso of the statue is not primarily of Roman manufacture.[37]

However, the remaining compositions represented in Roman visual culture reveal little of how the dancers were perceived. On Arretinian, provincial and late Italian Terra

Fig. 6. Arretinian Terra Sigillata vessels, at times, display two kalathiskos dancers flanking a statuette, possibly a palladium. *Illustration: J. Habetzeder, after Porten Palange 2009b, pl. 70, Komb. Ras 6.*

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[34] *Table 1*, nos. 6, 13–15, 26, 33, 34, 36, 38, 45–47, 51, 57, 61, 62, 67, 70, 72–74 & 76. For the Arretinian Terra Sigillata, see Porten Palange 2004, cat. mStHe fr 2a & wStHe li 10a; Porten Palange 2009a, 152.
[35] Cassius Hemina fr. 7 Peter; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* I.68–69; Sil. *Pun.* XIII.30–81; Paus. II.23.5; Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* II.166.
[36] *Table 1*, no. 71.
[37] *Table 1*, no. 40.

Sigillata vessels, kalathiskos dancers are combined with many different decorative elements such as altars, candelabra, columns, garlands, incense burners, kraters, music instruments, statuettes (which have attributes that assure us that they do not represent *palladia*), vegetal ornaments a.o. Often groups of kalathiskos dancers are depicted, but such dancers are, at times, also accompanied by other kinds of figures, such as satyrs, erotes, and winged females playing the *kithara*.[38]

Four of the marble plaques which bear depictions of kalathiskos dancers are so fragmentary that we cannot deduce what their original compositions may have looked like. From the fragments we can tell that three plaques depict such dancers in an architectural setting.[39] The fourth shows one dancer against what seems to have been a plain background, even though not much of the background remains.[40]

Though brief, this survey includes the compositions of all Roman scenes depicting kalathiskos dancers that have come to my attention.[41] As far as we can tell from the depictions included in *Tables 1* and *2*, the Roman compositions which portray kalathiskos dancers do not necessarily adhere to the earlier Classical and Hellenistic iconographical traditions. Even if the individual figure types may, in some instances, be the same as those used in pre-Roman iconography, these figure types were included in new compositions. As we have seen, the recurring theme of kalathiskos dancers flanking a *palladium* has a clear connection to its new Roman cultural context. However, the figure types were also subject to change. These transformations can be clearly traced if one focuses on changes which are characteristic of Roman aesthetics. One such characteristic feature is the strategy of creating eclectic images.

ECLECTIC USES OF KALATHISKOS DANCERS

Several scholars have already noted that certain characteristic traits of kalathiskos dancers were, in the Roman cultural context, also used for other female figures. It is generally said that the garments and poses, which are known from the iconography of the kalathiskos dancers, came to be used also for depictions of the goddess Victoria. Nonetheless, as already mentioned, these changed motifs have not been discussed at

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[38] Fiches 1973–1974, cat. nos. 88 & 89; Porten Palange 2009a, 57, 152, 209, 267, 304, 327, 373–374 & 395; Rossetti Tella 1996, cat. nos. 1, 34, 36, 59, 323–325 & 476–478.
[39] *Table 1*, nos. 43, 56 & 60.
[40] *Table 1*, no. 55.
[41] Most likely there are many examples that remain unpublished, especially within material categories such as terracotta plaques, Terra Sigillata vessels, gemstones and glasspastes. Also, needless to say, there may be published examples that remain unknown to me.

Fig. 7. Two Victoriae placing incense on an incense burner, depicted on a terracotta plaque kept in the Terme di Diocleziano of the Museo Nazionale Romano. Photo: Singer, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom, Neg. D-DAI-ROM-66.2341. All rights reserved.

length.[42] Therefore, in this section, the eclectic motifs that include features shared by the kalathiskos dancers will be scrutinized. These motifs include females with wings (*Fig. 7*) and females with both basket-shaped headdresses and wings (*Fig. 8*).

The most obvious trait shared by both the kalathiskos dancers, and the winged females, is their dress. Both motifs depict the females wearing short chitons which end above the knee and float out around them. Both groups are also depicted as standing on their toes (compare, for instance, *Figs. 5, 7 & 8*). In general, the winged females do not wear the basket-shaped headdresses. Still, there is one exception that signals the close relationship between the kalathiskos dancers and

these winged females: on a well-head, a *puteal*, in the Palazzo Doria Pamphilj in Rome, four females are depicted amidst large vegetal ornaments (*Fig. 8*). The figures stand on their toes and wear chitons which are rendered in the manner characteristic of the kalathiskos dancers. In this case, however, the females are equipped with both of the aforementioned attributes: not only are they winged, they also wear headdresses of the kind discussed.[43] This is the only instance I know of where these two attributes are combined, and this is despite the fact that there is another well-head in the Museo Nazionale Romano that almost replicates the composition on the well-head in the Palazzo Doria Pamphilj. There are minor differences in the rendering of the dress, but more important in

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[42]   Borbein 1968, 189; Cain 1985, 114 (Nike, libierend 2); Dragendorff & Watzinger 1948, 60–61 & 64–65; Golda 1997, 47 (Nike 1a & 1b).

[43]   *Table 1*, no. 54.

Fig. 8. On a well-head in the Palazzo Doria-Pamphilj in Rome, four females are depicted, wearing the garments and headdresses which are characteristic of the kalathiskos dancers. Unlike kalathiskos dancers, however, these females have wings. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom, Neg. D-DAI-ROM-EA2319. All rights reserved.

Fig. 9. In the Terme di Diocleziano of the Museo Nazionale Romano there is a well-head which is remarkably similar to that in the Palazzo Doria-Pamphilj (Fig. 8). However, the four winged females rendered on the piece in the Terme di Diocleziano do not wear headdresses. Illustration: J. Habetzeder, after Arachne 2012, http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilderbestand/890943.
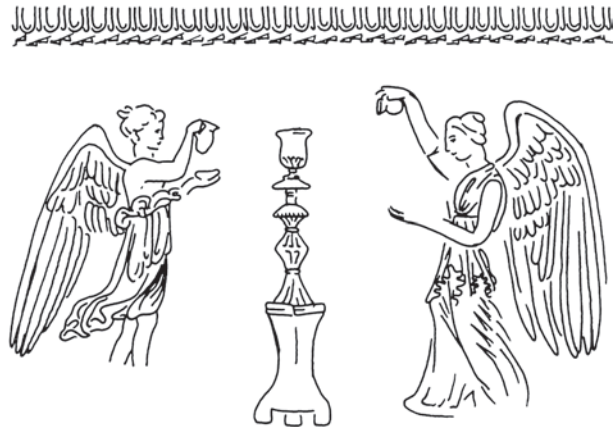

Fig. 10. On Arretinian Terra Sigillata vessels produced at the workshop of Cn. Ateius, Victoriae are depicted performing a libation, wearing both long and short garments. Illustration: J. Habetzeder, after Porten Palange 2009b, pl. 92, Komb. At. 28.

this context is that on the well-head in the Museo Nazionale Romano the winged females wear no headdresses (Fig. 9).[44]

As mentioned above, earlier scholars have interpreted these winged females as representing the goddess Victoria. Such an interpretation is close at hand, as wings constitute one of the most characteristic features in the iconography of the goddess of victory in the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman visual cultures. The short chiton, however, was a rare feature among the depictions of this goddess, one which is seemingly only represented in Roman visual culture. Victoria is generally depicted as wearing a gown which reaches down to her ankles (see, for instance, the right-hand figure in Fig. 10).

At times the garment is open, leaving the chest of the goddess visible, and at other times she is rendered in the nude.[45]

There are, however, other traits (beside the wings) that speak in favour of interpreting the winged figures as representing the goddess of victory. On a candelabrum in Naples, a winged female wearing a short chiton performs a libation, pouring liquid from a wine jug—an *oinochoe*—to a shallow dish—a *patera* (Fig. 11).[46] This particular type of figure is also represented on a base in Arrezzo, and on Terra Sigillata vessels produced in the same area (Fig. 10).[47] There is also a slightly altered variation, showing these winged females standing in the same pose, but instead of pouring liquid the raised hand holds incense to be placed in an incense burner. The incense is kept in the shallow dish held in the lowered hand. Such winged females are depicted on three terracotta plaques (Fig. 7).[48] On the breastplates of cuirass statues these winged females are rendered in the same pose, but instead of holding a shallow dish the figures hold the incense burner in their lowered hands.[49] Yet another variant displaying such winged females standing in this particular pose can be found on Arretinian Terra Sigillata, where the vessels held by the females have been exchanged for a garland. One recurring composi-

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[44]   *Table 1*, no. 48.

[45]   Hölscher 1967; Moustaka, Goulaki-Voutira & Grote 1992; Vollkommer 1997.
[46]   *Table 1*, no. 37.
[47]   *Table 1*, no. 35. For the Arretinian Terra Sigillata, see Porten Palange 2009a, 207 (XXI.2).
[48]   *Table 1*, nos. 49, 50 & 52.
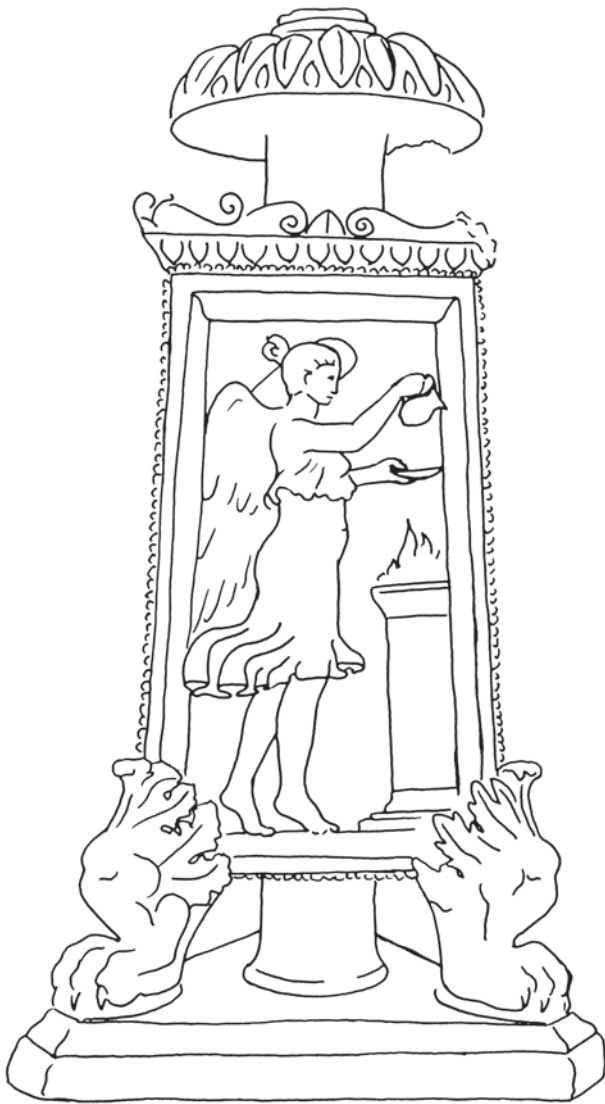[49]   *Table 1*, nos. 10, 23 & 39.

Fig. 11. One of the three sides of a marble candelabrum in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples depicts Victoria dressed in a short chiton, performing a libation (Inv. 6858). On the other two sides of the candelabrum, Apollo and a priestess are depicted respectively. Illustration: J. Habetzeder, after Cain 1985, pl. 52, fig. 4.

tion consists of two winged females holding garlands which will be placed on an altar standing between them.[50]

Thus, this particular pose is a recurring feature among the representations of these winged females. As Cain has noted, in relation to the candelabrum in Naples, the pose can be related to Classical and Hellenistic depictions of Vic-

toria performing libation.[51] One should, nevertheless, note that the motif including Victoria standing in this particular pose, placing incense on an incense burner is represented in at least one pre-Roman depiction.[52] Thus, this motif was most likely appropriated in Roman visual culture from earlier iconographical traditions. The crucial point is that the recurring pose speaks in favour of interpreting the winged females wearing short chitons as Victoriae, despite the fact that the short chiton is not a garment commonly used for depictions of Victoria. In fact, Victoriae standing in this particular pose and wearing ankle-length gowns are more common in Roman visual culture than the corresponding winged females wearing short chitons.[53]

Another argument in favour of interpreting these winged females as Victoriae is that they are, at times, paired with Victoriae wearing ankle-length gowns. This is, for example, the case on the base in Arrezzo.[54] Of particular interest here is a composition known from Arretinian Terra Sigillata vessels (*Fig. 10*). These compositions show two winged females flanking an incense burner. Both are depicted performing libation, standing in the pose discussed above. While one of the females wears a short chiton, the other wears the long gown which is traditionally worn by Victoria.[55] Most likely, both of these females were understood as representing the goddess of victory, regardless of the length of their dress.

The discussion above includes most of the compositions where winged females of this kind are included. Among the remaining compositions, there is no example that would speak against interpreting the females as Victoriae. These compositions appear on the breastplates of cuirass statues, where the winged females stand with their arms in other positions than those discussed above. On five such statues, the winged figures are rendered in pairs, holding an incense burner between them (*Fig. 12*).[56] The composition—with two females flanking a candelabrum or an incense burner—may well have its origin in depictions such as the one found on the bronze cuirass statue from Ameria.[57] There are also

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[50]   Porten Palange 2009a, 44 (VI.1).

[51]   Cain 1985, 114 (Nike, libierend 1–4).
[52]   Brandt 1968, cat. no. 333.
[53]   Borbein 1968, 186–187; Cain 1985, cat. nos. 29, 34, 110 & 152; Corswandt 1982, cat. nos. B, K 58 & K 66; Fossing 1929, cat. no. 622; Golda 1997, cat. no. 33; Porten Palange 2004, cat. GM li 4a–b, wMG; Stemmer 1978, cat. nos. IIa 1, IIa 2, IIa 6, V 17a, VII 17, VII 19, VIII 3, VIIIa 2 & XIIa 1; Zazoff, Schlüter & Platz-Horster 1975, cat. no. 1502; Zwierlein-Diehl 1969, cat. no. 460 (Fig. 21). At times Victoriae are depicted in this pose, wearing a gown which reaches below the knee, but not all the way to the ankles: Cain 1985, cat. no. 8; Gatti & Fornari 1918, 44 & fig. 15; Mielsch 1975, cat. no. K 16.
[54]   *Table 1*, no. 35.
[55]   Porten Palange 2009a, 207 (XXI.2).
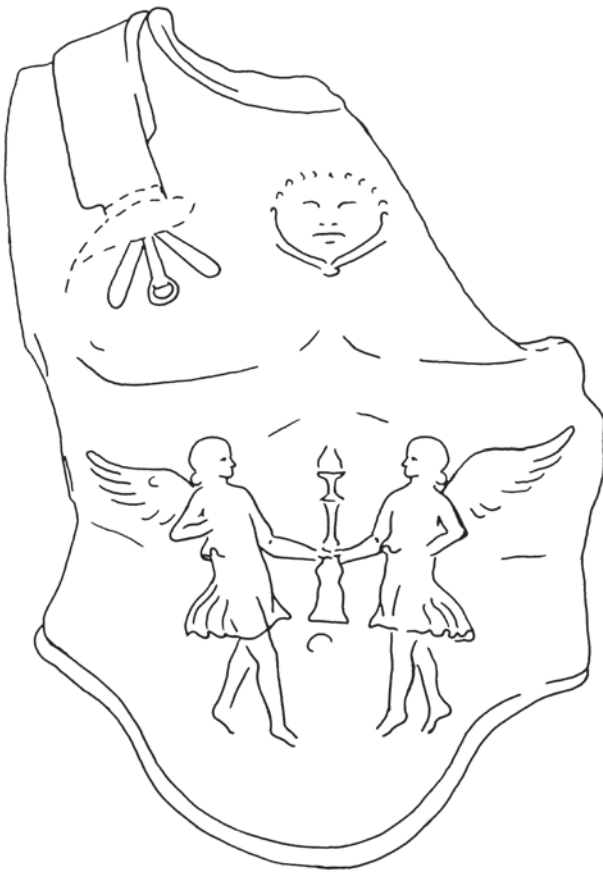[56]   *Table 1*, nos. 24, 27, 58, 65 & 75.
[57]   *Table 1*, no. 40.

Fig. 12. A marble cuirass statue depicting two Victoriae wearing short chitons, holding a candelabrum. The sculpture belongs to the Glyptothek in Munich (Inv. 331). Illustration: J. Habetzeder, after Stemmer 1978, pl. 5, fig. 2.

Fig. 13. A marble cuirass statue in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston MA, depicts two eclectic Victoriae flanking a palladium. *Illustration: J. Habetzeder, after Stemmer 1978, pl. 55, fig. 2.*

four cuirass statues that bear depictions of pairs of Victoriae flanking *palladia* (*Fig. 13*).[58] These compositions seem to hint at the close relationship between the kalathiskos dancers and the eclectic Victoriae, as the first mentioned figures are frequently depicted flanking *palladia*.

In the discussion above we have come across two categories of motifs: one depicts females with both basket-like headdresses and wings, the other depicts females with wings. There are, however, two depictions of females wearing short chitons rendered in the manner discussed, that cannot—securely—be included in either of these categories. Each of these two objects show a female depicted in profile. They share the same pose (*Fig. 14*); in their left hands, held in front of their chests, they hold vessels, in one case a bowl, in the other a basket. Their right arms, held behind their backs, hold torches. Un-

fortunately, both marble objects bearing these depictions, an *oscillum* and a plaque, are broken: in both instances the head of the female is missing. Thus, we cannot know whether they wore headdresses or not. A somewhat confusing feature is that the female on the plaque has wings, while the female on the *oscillum* does not.[59]

Based on the arguments outlined above, the winged females wearing short chitons will henceforth be referred to as "eclectic Victoriae". They constitute a combination of iconographical traits which are known from depictions of both kalathiskos dancers and the goddess of victory. The rendering of the dresses worn by these females is a feature taken from the

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[58]   *Table 1*, nos. 7, 9, 66 & 69.

[59]   *Table 1*, nos. 32 & 68.

Fig. 14. *A marble* oscillum *depicting a female wearing a short chiton rendered in the fashion characteristic of the kalathiskos dancers. As the* oscillum *is damaged we do not know whether the figure wore a headdress or not. The* oscillum *is kept in the Martin von Wagner Museum of the Julius-Maximilianus-Universität in Würzburg (Inv. 2449). Illustration: J. Habetzeder, after a photograph kindly provided by the museum.*

iconography of the kalathiskos dancers. The wings and recurring poses are aspects taken from the iconography of Victoria. Thus, these winged females constitute a clear example of the Roman practice of creating eclectic novelties.

APPROPRIATE DANCERS

Table 3 illustrates the occurrence of kalathiskos dancers and females modelled on kalathiskos dancers in Roman visual culture. Both kalathiskos dancers and eclectic Victoriae are represented on a wide variety of media. Contrary to this, the depiction of a winged female wearing the headdress characteristic of the kalathiskos dancers appears to be an exceptional occurrence (*Fig. 8*). Kalathiskos dancers are, in general, more common than the eclectic Victoriae. Thus, it seems that the Roman eclectic novelty was not as successful as either of the two appropriated motifs on which it was based.

Accordingly, the occurrence of kalathiskos dancers and eclectic Victoriae on cuirass statues constitutes an exception. On such sculptures, the eclectic Victoriae outnumber the kalathiskos dancers. This is, however, not surprising: what motif could be better suited to adorn the breastplate of a victorious general, than the goddess of victory herself? The bronze statue from Ameria suggests that kalathiskos dancers adorned cuirass statues within Hellenistic iconographical traditions as well. Within the Roman cultural context, it seems as though

the eclectic Victoriae came to be considered as more appropriate depictions than kalathiskos dancers, in this particular context. Victoria is one of the most common motifs on the breastplates of cuirass statues. In most cases, however, she wears the long garment traditionally used for depictions of Victoria.[60]

If one turns to the chronology of the different motifs, which is visualized in *Table 4*, one can note that they are represented roughly from the reign of Augustus and on into the 2nd century AD. The exceptions are mainly the engraved gems and glass pastes, for which the chronology is uncertain, hence the long time span marked for these material categories. Leaving these two categories aside, there is a clear concentration within the Augustan period among the remaining categories. This, I believe, is partly because the motifs discussed all share a trait that had a special appeal in the aesthetics that came to the fore primarily during this period of time: the rendering of their dress.

The fact that Victoria came to be depicted as wearing the short fluttering garment which was characteristic of the kalathiskos dancers, hints at the popularity of garments depicted in this fashion. However, not only kalathiskos dancers and eclectic Victoriae were shown dressed in short chitons fluttering out behind or around them; the Lares were also often depicted wearing such garments (*Fig. 15*). These images of the Lares are generally referred to as belonging to the "dancing type". This is to separate them from representations where the Lares are shown standing in a static stance. In the 1890s, Georg Wissowa suggested that the "dancing type" was introduced in connection with the reform of the cult of the Lares in 7 BC.[61] From then on the Lares were referred to as the *lares Augusti* and worshipped together with the *genius Augusti*.[62] Though Wissowa's hypothesis has received much attention, it has since become clear that the iconography of this "dancing type" predates the Augustan reform of the cult of the Lares.[63] Even so, on marble altars that have been found in Rome and can be dated securely to the years shortly after this reform, the Lares are shown wearing short chitons fluttering out around them in the aforementioned manner.[64] Judging from such occurrences, this particular iconography of the Lares seems to have been the one favoured in Rome at this particular time.

Fluttering, short chitons are also represented elsewhere. As will be discussed in detail below, the curetes—mythological figures that are present at the infancy of both Jupiter and

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[60] Stemmer 1978, 152–162.
[61] Fröhlich 1991, 120–125.
[62] Hor. *Carm*. IV.5.33–35; Ov. *Fast*. V.145–146. Fröhlich 1991, 27.
[63] Fröhlich 1991, 123–125.
[64] Hermann 1961, cat. nos. 15 & 18; Mansuelli 1958, cat. no. 205; Stuart Jones 1926, Fasti Moderni 2, no. 2.

Fig. 15. The Lares are, at times, depicted dressed in short chitons which flutter out behind and/or around them. Two Lares of this so-called "dancing type" are depicted on an Augustan altar in the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence (Inv. 972). See Mansuelli 1958, cat. no. 205. Photo: Rossa, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom, Neg. D-DAI-ROM-75.291. All rights reserved.
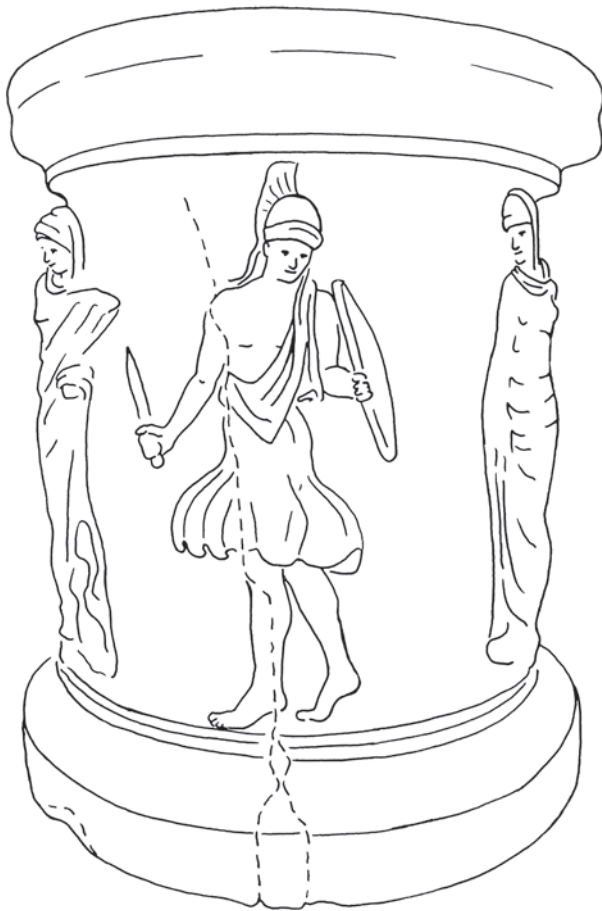
Fig. 16. On a marble base/altar in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, three curetes and three nymphs are depicted (Inv. 513). See Dräger 1994, cat. no. 16. Illustration: J. Habetzeder, after a photograph taken by C. Habetzeder.

Bacchus—generally wear short chitons. In this context we can note that, on depictions which are ascribed a Late Republican or Early Imperial date, the garments worn by the curetes are rendered as moving, in a manner reminiscent of the depictions of kalathiskos dancers (*Fig. 16*).[65] In both earlier and later depictions of the curetes, these mythological dancers generally wear short chitons that are rendered in a static manner with parallel, vertical folds.[66] Here one should also mention another kind of mythological, armed, male dancer. On an Augustan base in Sorrento a corybant, a dancing compan-

ion of Cybele, is depicted wearing a dress with the discussed characteristics (*Fig. 17*).[67]

Judging from these examples, I would suggest that garments depicted in this particular way had a certain aesthetic appeal during the final decades of the Republican era and the Early Imperial period. Considering the fact that garments rendered in this fashion are worn by figures characterized as dancers, such as the kalathiskos dancers, the curetes, and the corybantes, this feature might have been considered appropriate especially for depictions of dancers. This must not have always been the case, however, as the goddess Diana was also depicted wearing garments rendered in a similar manner. In such instances the goddess is generally interpreted as hunting, which explains the sense of movement inherent in her pose and garments.[68]

The reason why traits from the iconographies of kalathiskos dancers and Victoriae came to be combined may have been due to the similarity between the two motifs. Although Victoriae are traditionally depicted wearing long garments, these garments often flutter out behind or around the goddesses in much the same manner as the short dresses worn by the kalathiskos dancers (*Fig. 10*). Due to these iconographical similarities, the combination of traits from the two motifs may have been close at hand. Considering that the goddess of victory was a key figure in Roman visual culture from the Republican era onwards,[69] the transformation of the seemingly lesser-known kalathiskos dancers into eclectic Victoriae may well have been an attempt to adjust the kalathiskos dancers to this new, Roman context.

As we have seen, the motifs discussed seem to have flourished during the reign of Augustus, seemingly only shortly after the kalathiskos dancers were first appropriated. Thereafter, representations of both kalathiskos dancers and eclectic Victoriae gradually become rarer. The latest depictions belong to the middle of the 2nd century AD (*Table 4*). I have argued that the fluttering, short garments worn by both kalathiskos dancers and eclectic Victoriae constituted a trait which was considered particularly appealing within Augustan aesthetics. After this period the interest in these two motifs seems to have diminished, perhaps because this particular feature gradually lost its appeal, as garments in general came to be depicted with other stylistic characteristics.

Another important reason why the motifs fell out of use was, doubtlessly, that many of the material categories on which they were represented ceased to be produced during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. This is true of marble altars/

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[65]   Borbein 1968, 143–146, type 1 & 2; Dräger 1994, cat. no. 16; Stemmer 1978, cat. no. I 3.
[66]   Baumeister 2007, pl. 19; Gasparri 1986, cat. no. 267; Hanfmann & Ramage 1978, cat. no. 213; Lindner 1997a, cat. no. 31; Lindner 1997b, cat. nos. 5 & 6.

[67]   Hölscher 1984, 30–32; Lindner 1997a, cat. no. 15.
[68]   Bieber 1977, 71–83.
[69]   Hölscher 1967.

Fig. 17. A corybant, an armed companion of Cybele, is depicted on an Augustan statue base in the Museo Correale in Sorrento (Inv. 3657). He wears a short chiton reminiscent of those worn by the kalathiskos dancers. See Hölscher 1984, 30–32. Photo: Hutzel, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom, Neg. D-DAI-ROM-57.1473. All rights reserved.
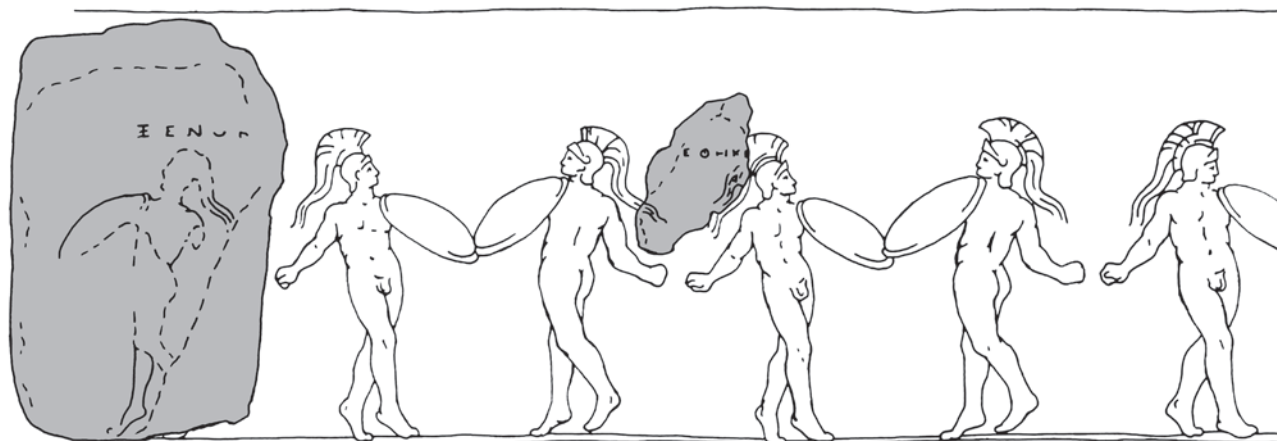
Fig. 18. To illustrate the close relationship between the Roman marble plaque depicting pyrrhic dancers and the Attic Late Classical base of Xenokles the fragments of the latter (in gray) have here been superimposed on the former (in white), maintaining the correct proportions between the two. The Roman marble plaque is kept in the Sala delle Muse of the Museo Pio Clementino in the Vatican (Inv. 321). The two fragments of the Attic base belong to the Acropolis Museum in Athens (Inv. 6465 & 6465a). Illustration by J. Habetzeder, after Kosmopoulou 2002, cat. no. 33, fig. 52; Lippold 1936, cat. no. 489, pl. 28; Walter 1923, cat. no. 402.

Fig. 19. *The base of Atarbos is dated to 323–322 BC, and kept in the Acropolis Museum in Athens (Inv. 1338). This photograph shows four pyrrhic (?) dancers. On the base, another such group of four is depicted on the right-hand side. Photo: Emil Kunze, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen, Neg. D-DAI-ATH-Akropolis 1226. All rights reserved.*

bases, candelabra, *oscilla*, well-heads and terracotta plaques.[70] Some of the motifs which were characteristic of the eclectic classicizing repertoire were taken on, for instance on marble sarcophagi.[71] Neither kalathiskos dancers nor eclectic Victoriae, however, seem to have outlasted this transitional period in Roman visual culture.

Pyrrhic dancers

Within the eclectic classicizing repertoire there are a few armed males that have been identified as pyrrhic dancers because their iconography corresponds to depictions of such dancers in Attic Late Classical iconography. The *pyrrhica* is a well-attested ancient dance with weapons, but other armed dances were also practised within Classical and Hellenistic cultures.[72] The depictions of pyrrhic dancers that occur in Roman visual culture have been viewed as closely related to three, Attic marble bases from the 4th century BC. Due to their shape and inscriptions, these three items can be interpreted as statue bases that were part of votive dedications, made to commemorate victories in competitions of armed dances. All three are decorated with naked males holding round shields. Two out of the three, the so-called base of Xenokles (*Fig. 18*) and another base, now in the Acropolis Museum,[73] are believed to depict pyrrhic dancers, while it has

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[70] Borbein 1968, 28–29; Cain 1985, 5–6; Corswandt 1982, 70; Dräger 1994, 174–175; Golda 1997, 19–20.
[71] Fittschen 2008, 329; Zanker & Ewald 2004, 51–52 & 137.

[72] Ceccarelli 1998.
[73] Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. 3854.

Fig. 20. The frieze of figures depicted on the body of the krater of Sosibos in the Musée du Louvre in Paris (Inv. MR 987/MA 442). Illustration: J. Habetzeder, after Grassinger 1991, Textabb. 25.
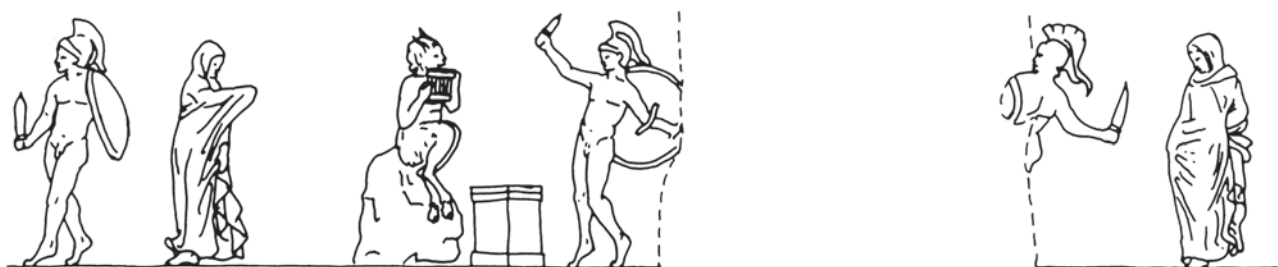

Fig. 21. The preserved figures depicted on the body of a marble krater in the Villa Borghese in Rome. Illustration: J. Habetzeder, after Grassinger 1991, Textabb. 56 & 57.

been suggested that the dancers on the third, the so-called base of Atarbos (*Fig. 19*), allude to a similar armed dance.[74]

In the Roman cultural context, armed males modelled on pyrrhic dancers only appear on seven objects made of marble: four kraters (*Figs. 20–23*), two plaques (*Figs. 18* & *24*) and one *oscillum* (*Fig. 25*).[75] Despite their rarity, these armed male dancers have been given much attention by scholars adhering to the tradition of copy criticism. The main reason for this is that these dancers constitute an example of an eclectic classicizing motif, for which the actual model is believed to be partly preserved. The dancers depicted on the Late Classical base of Xenokles are generally interpreted as the models for the Roman depictions of such dancers on the objects presented above. Therefore, the armed dancers on these Roman decorative items are generally interpreted as pyrrhic dancers.[76]

Only two fragments of the supposed model are preserved.[77] The model can, however, be reconstructed in such a manner that the Roman plaque in the Vatican would be a direct copy of the decorated front of the Attic base, leaving only the inscriptions on the supposed model aside (*Fig. 18*).[78] As far as I can see, there are three main arguments in favour of viewing this Roman plaque as being closely related to the Late Classical base of Xenokles.

The first concerns the composition of the plaque in the Vatican, which is very repetitive. Six dancers are lined up against a flat background. All stand in the same pose, but the figure on the far left is rendered with his back towards the viewer. The next dancer is turned 180° and stands with the chest visible. This pair of dancers is then followed by two other pairs, rendered in the same way (*Fig. 18*).[79] None of the other six Roman depictions include such a repetitive composition. As we will see, the dancers in all the other Roman depictions are either combined with other kinds of characters (*Figs. 20, 22* & *25*),[80] or rendered standing in differing poses (*Fig. 23*).[81] In

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[74] Agelidis 2009, 55–64 & cat. nos. 102, 103 & 105; Kosmopoulou 2002, cat. nos. 23, 33 & 39; Lesky 2000, 124–130; Shear 2003. For pre-Roman depictions of armed male dancers in general, and pyrrhic dancers in particular, see Ceccarelli 1998, 233–251; Lesky 2000.
[75] *Table 5*. I have not managed to find out which collection the krater from the Villa Oplontis currently belongs to and, hence, its whereabouts are given as unknown (*Table 5*, no. 7). Nevertheless, I would like to point out that this krater was included in the exhibition *Nero. Sulle tracce dell' imperatore Nerone*, from April 2011 to January 2012. During this period, the krater was displayed in the Colosseum.
[76] Fuchs 1959, 41–44; Helbig, Speier, Andreae *et al.* 1963, cat. Sala delle Muse no. 58.

[77] Kosmopoulou 2002, cat. no. 33.
[78] Fuchs 1959, 41–44; Helbig, Speier, Andreae *et al.* 1963, cat. Sala delle Muse no. 58.
[79] *Table 5*, no. 6. Lippold 1936, cat. no. 489 & pl. 28.
[80] *Table 5*, nos. 1, 2 & 5.
[81] *Table 5*, no. 7.
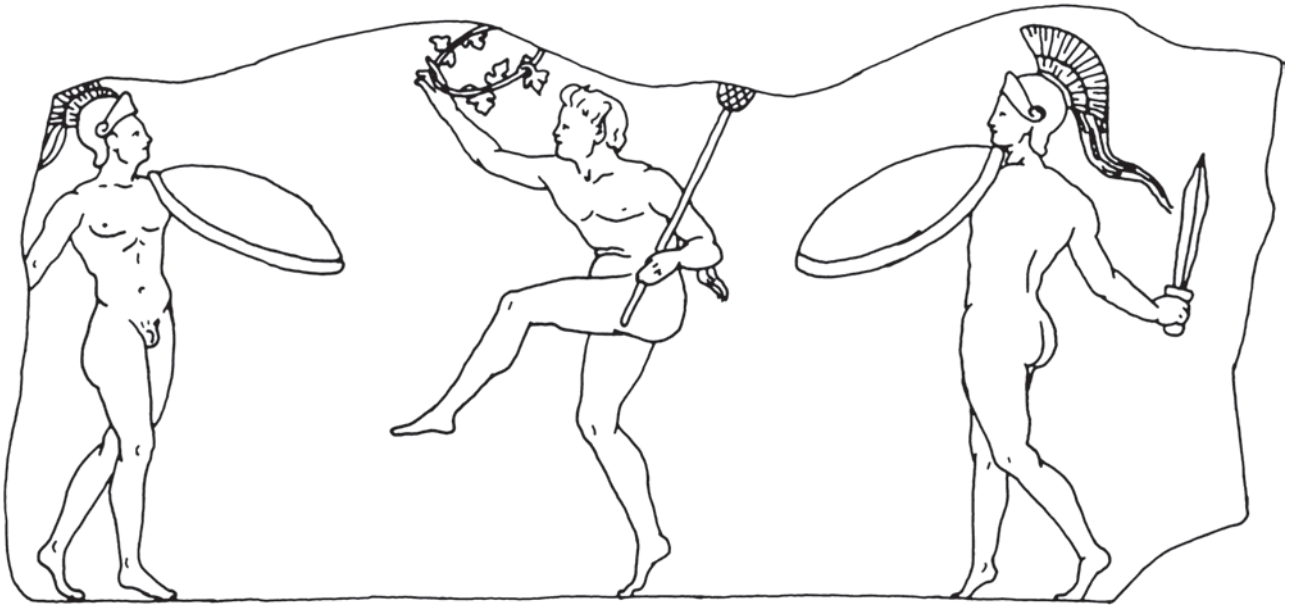
Fig. 22. Fragment of a marble krater kept in the Galleria dei Candelabri of the Musei Vaticani (Inv. V33, 2749). Illustration: J. Habetzeder, after Weege 1926, fig. 65.
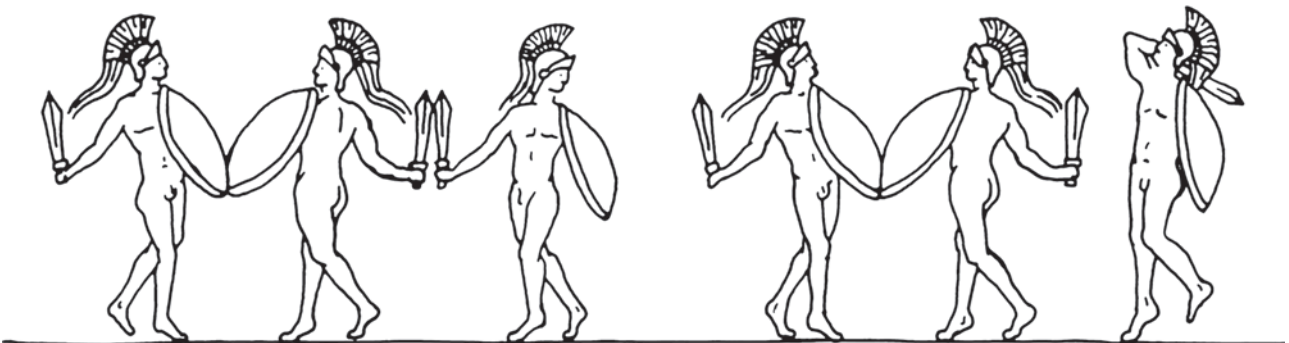
Fig. 23. Pyrrhic dancers rendered on a marble krater found in the so-called Villa Oplontis in Torre Annunziata, Naples. Illustration: J. Habetzeder, after De Caro 1987, fig. 14.

one case both of these differences apply (*Fig. 21*).[82] The plaque in the Galleria Colonna may also have been decorated with a repetitive composition, but here only two figures, both standing in the same pose, are preserved (*Fig. 24*).[83]

The repetitive nature of the composition of the plaque in the Vatican is similar to that on the base of Atarbos; the best

preserved of the three, Late Classical Attic bases. Here eight dancers are portrayed. They all stand in the same pose, divided into two groups of four (*Fig. 19*).[84] If we hypothesize that the Late Classical base of Xenokles (*Fig. 18*) once showed a composition similar to that on the roughly contemporary base of Atarbos, the repetitive composition of the Roman plaque in the Vatican can be seen as an argument for interpreting this

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82   *Table 5*, no. 4.
83   *Table 5*, no. 3.

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84   Kosmopoulou 2002, cat. no. 39; Shear 2003.

Roman plaque as closely related to the Late Classical base of Xenokles.

The second argument presupposes that the composition known from the model would generally be preferred—or at least alluded to—when armed male dancers of this kind were depicted in a Roman context. Among our seven Roman depictions, there is one that is remarkably similar to the plaque in the Vatican. On a krater from Torre Annunziata, there is a line-up of six dancers, as is the case on the plaque in the Vatican. On the krater, however, two of the dancers stand in differing poses (*Figs. 18 & 23*).[85] As a line-up of six dancers is repeated among the few, known Roman depictions including this kind of dancers, this feature may have been one established by the model.

The third argument works on the same premise as the second, only now it concerns the individual figures rather than the whole composition. In this case one presupposes that the figure types known from the model would generally be preferred—or at least included among other similar figures—when armed male dancers of this kind were depicted. The two figure types which are represented on the Roman plaque in the Vatican (*Fig. 18*) are the only ones that recur on the other Roman depictions of such armed male dancers. Indeed, at least one of the two types seems to be included in all but one of the Roman depictions. I write "seems to be" because on the krater in the Villa Borghese the dancer that may belong to one of these types is only partly preserved (*Figs. 20–23 & 25*).[86]

The exception is the plaque in the Galleria Colonna, where both of the two, preserved dancers stand in a pose that differs from the two depicted on the plaque in the Vatican (*Fig. 24*).[87] Leaving the plaque in the Galleria Colonna aside, the figure types from the plaque in the Vatican are only combined with armed male dancers standing in different poses two times (*Figs. 21 & 23*).[88]

As earlier scholars have done, we will presuppose that the Roman plaque in the Vatican replicates the Late Classical base of Xenokles (*Fig. 18*).[89] Were these dancers, in their new Roman context, still identified as pyrrhic dancers? If both the Roman plaque and the krater from Torre Annunziata are closely related to a model depicting pyrrhic dancers, one may assume that the dancers shown in these two Roman depictions were interpreted in the same manner as the model. I would argue that the figures in these two Roman compositions were, in their original context, interpreted as troupes of
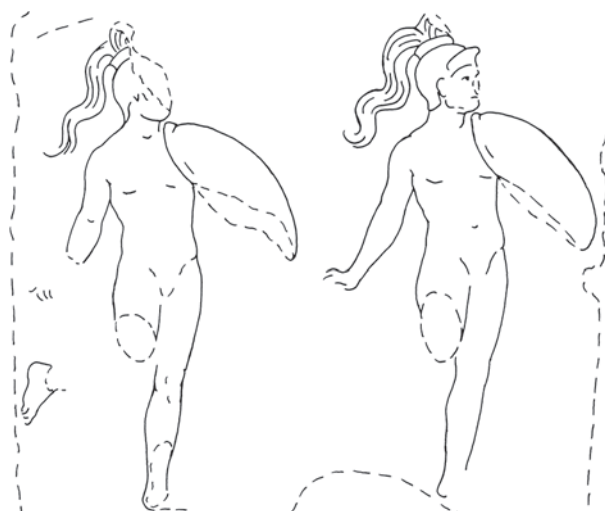
Fig. 24. A fragmentary marble plaque in the Galleria Colonna depicts two armed, male dancers. Illustration: J. Habetzeder, after Carinci, Keutner, Musso et al. *1990, cat. no. 86.*
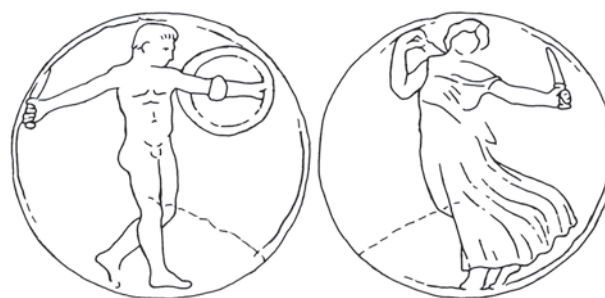
Fig. 25. An oscillum *depicting an armed male dancer and an armed bacchant found in the Casa degli Amorini dorati in Pompeii. It is now kept in the Soprintendenza Archeologica of Pompeii (Inv. 55404). Illustration: J. Habetzeder, after Seiler 1992, figs. 605 & 606.*

pyrrhic dancers (*Figs. 18 & 23*).[90] Therefore, the armed males depicted on these two Roman items will henceforth be referred to as pyrrhic dancers. Perhaps the plaque in the Galleria Colonna originally displayed a similar line-up of armed, male dancers. As only two figures are preserved, however, we cannot know whether this was the case (*Fig. 24*).[91]

On the four remaining Roman objects, where such armed male dancers are depicted, the dancers are combined with characters that should not be associated with pyrrhic dances as performed in Classical Greece. On the krater in the Villa Borghese, three of these dancers are shown lined up together with two mantle nymphs. It is most likely that, originally,

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85 *Table 5*, nos. 6 & 7.
86 *Table 5*, nos. 1, 2, 4–7.
87 *Table 5*, no. 3.
88 *Table 5*, nos. 4 & 7.
89 Fuchs 1959, 41–44; Helbig, Speier, Andreae *et al.* 1963, cat. Sala delle Muse no. 58; Lippold 1936, cat. no. 489.

90 *Table 5*, nos. 6 & 7.
91 *Table 5*, no. 3.

there were three mantle nymphs; as mentioned above, the vessel is damaged. These figures approach an altar, at which Pan sits, playing his *syrinx* (*Fig. 21*).[92] On the fragment of a marble krater in the Vatican, two such dancers flank a satyr (*Fig. 22*).[93] On the *oscillum* from Pompeii, an armed male dancer is depicted on one side and an armed bacchant on the other (*Fig. 25*).[94] The most puzzling combination of different characters, however, is that which is rendered on a krater in the Louvre (*Fig. 20*). Here, Diana leads a muse and a satyr towards an altar. Approaching the altar from the other side are a bacchant and an armed male dancer, led on by Mercurius. On the opposite side of the altar are two bacchants.[95]

If one wishes to find a common denominator for these four depictions, beside the armed male dancers, the inclusion of Bacchic figures should be considered. Once appropriated into Roman visual culture, why were armed male dancers included in these mainly Bacchic depictions? Were they still interpreted as humans performing an armed dance in these constellations? Or was this appropriated Late Classical motif given a new content? The answers to these questions cannot be obtained by comparing the Roman depictions to their predecessors. I will argue that, in at least one instance, these armed male dancers were given a quite different identity by means of eclectic changes.

ECLECTIC USES OF PYRRHIC DANCERS

Unlike the females modelled on kalathiskos dancers, the iconography of the males modelled on pyrrhic dancers does not seem to have been changed by adding or removing attributes. Even so, the identity of these dancers may have changed, judging from the tendency to depict them together with Bacchic figures. One suggestion, put forward by Dagmar Grassinger, is that in these cases the males modelled on pyrrhic dancers should be interpreted as curetes.[96]

The curetes (interchangeable with the corybantes) were mythological figures who were seen as friendly protectors of nature and its agrarian use. They were characterized as performers of armed dances which were believed to have an apotropaic function in keeping hostile demons away from fields, cities, hearths and so on.[97]

The curetes appear in at least one Bacchic mythological narrative. Nonnus (ca AD 500) wrote the following in his *Dionysiaca*:

"The goddess took care of him [Bacchus/Dionysos]; and while he was yet a boy, she set him to drive a car drawn by ravening lions. Within that godwelcoming courtyard, the tripping Corybants would surround Dionysos with their childcherishing dance, and clash their swords, and strike their shields with rebounding steel in alternate movements, to conceal the growing boyhood of Dionysos; and as the boy listened to the fostering noise of the shields he grew up under the care of the Corybants as his father."[98]

At the end of this quote, Nonnus mentions that Jupiter, Bacchus' father, also grew up in the care of the curetes. There are at least two other written sources that hint at a connection between the dancing curetes who were present at the infancy of Jupiter, and the Bacchic sphere. In the *Bacchae*, Euripides (ca 480–406 BC) relates the music and dance of the curetes to Bacchic revelry.[99] Strabo (64/63 BC–AD 25), quoting Euripides, does the same.[100]

The mythological episode concerning the infancy of Jupiter is better attested in the written sources, than the corresponding episode concerning the infant Bacchus. It can be summarized as follows: after Rhea gave birth to Jupiter, the infant was hidden from Saturn, its father, on Crete. In order to keep the whereabouts of the child secret, the curetes performed a noisy armed dance so that the sound of clashing armour would drown out the infant's cries.[101]

Due to the connection between Bacchus and the dancing curetes hinted at in the ancient sources, one may ask the following: when combined with Bacchic characters, are the armed males, modelled on pyrrhic dancers, to be interpreted as curetes? To answer this question we should first determine how the curetes were generally depicted.

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[92] *Table 5*, no. 4.
[93] *Table 5*, no. 5.
[94] *Table 5*, no. 2.
[95] *Table 5*, no. 1.
[96] Grassinger 1991, 115–118.
[97] Schwenn 1922, 2208–2209.

[98] Nonnus IX.160–168:
τὸν δὲ θεὰ κομέεσκε καὶ εἰσέτι κοῦρον ἐόντα
ἅρματος ὠμοβόρων ἐπιβήτορα θῆκε λεόντων:
καὶ τροχαλοὶ Κορύβαντες ἔσω θεοδέγμονος αὐλῆς
παιδοκόμῳ Διόνυσον ἐμιτρώσαντο χορείῃ,
καὶ ξίφεα κτυπέεσκον, ἀμοιβαίῃσι δὲ ριπαῖς
ἀσπίδας ἐκρούσαντο κυβιστητῆρι σιδήρῳ
κουροσύνην κλέπτοντες ἀεξομένου Διονύσου:
καὶ πάις εἰσαΐων σακέων μαιήϊον ἠχὼ
πατρῴαις κομιδῇσιν ἀεξήθη Κορυβάντων.
Transl. Rouse, Rose & Lind 1984, 314–315.
[99] Eur. *Bacch*. 120–134.
[100] Strabo, *Geography*, X.3.11–13.
[101] Callim. *Hymn* I.45–53; Apollod. *Bibl*. I.1.5–7; Diod. Sic. V.70.2–3; Lucr. II.629–643; Strabo, *Geography*, X.3.11; Ov. *Fast*. IV.207–210; Lucian *Salt*. 8; Hyg. *Fab*. 139; Lib. *A reply to Aristides on behalf of dancers* 14; Lactantius Placidus on Stat. *Theb*. IV.783–785; Serv. on Verg. *Aen*. III.104; *Myth. Vat*. I.104 & II.16.

The two mythological episodes described above are closely related in contents, and this relationship is also noticeable when the two episodes are rendered visually. One cannot speak of a recognized, preserved model for the depictions of the curetes, as the mythological events are often rendered in different ways. Within the Roman cultural context, these myths are represented on a wide array of media, for instance on architectural friezes, coins, cuirass statues, terracotta plaques, textiles and ivory vessels.[102] Just as the medium varies, so do the compositions of the mythological scenes. For our purposes it will suffice to look more closely at how the curetes are depicted, in order to see if there may be a relationship between the iconographies of the armed males modelled on pyrrhic dancers, and representations of the curetes.

The noisy, armed dance is a crucial element in this mythological narrative, and the clashing of armour is also clearly rendered in most of the depictions.[103] The movement of the dance is often signalled by the curetes standing on their toes.[104] It is further emphasized by their garments. The curetes wear short chitons and/or mantles which flutter out behind or around them, signalling movement.[105] As noted earlier, the rendering of the garments is often remarkably similar to that used for the kalathiskos dancers. The weapons carried by the curetes are, as far as we can tell, always the same: a short sword serves as the offensive weapon, and a shield, most often oval in shape, is used as defensive equipment.[106] The curetes often wear helmets (for examples of the traits mentioned so far, see *Figs. 16 & 26*).[107] In some cases they also wear body armour.[108] In one instance, the curetes wear nothing but helmets and
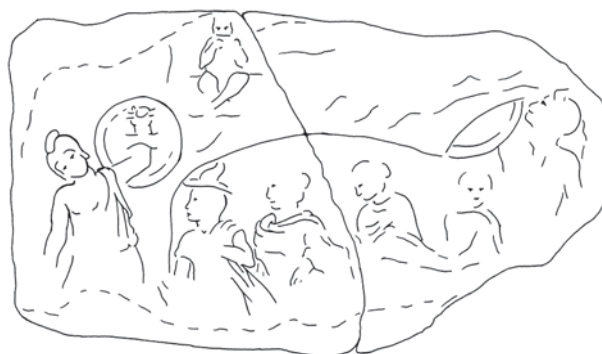

Fig. 26. This votive relief, dated to the Roman Imperial era, is kept in the Archaeological Museum of Heraklion (Inv. 1517). The relief shows two curetes flanking the entrance to Pan's cave. Illustration: J. Habetzeder, after Lindner 1997a, cat. no. 41.

Fig. 27 (right). On a marble altar/base in the Museo Capitolino in Rome (inv. 1944) two curetes are rendered in the nude, except for helmets and mantles. The altar/base has been dated to the reign of Hadrian. See Dräger 1994, cat. no. 55. Photo: Schwanke, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom, Neg. D-DAI-ROM-80.662. All rights reserved.

mantles (*Fig. 27*),[109] in another they are, as far as I can tell, depicted nude.[110]

Returning to the armed males modelled on pyrrhic dancers, we can note that their iconography is very similar to that of the curetes. The main difference is that the armed males modelled on pyrrhic dancers are rendered in the nude—a trait only represented once among depictions of the curetes. Leaving the fluttering garments aside, the movement of their dance is, as with the curetes, emphasized by depicting the dancers standing on their toes. They too carry round shields and, except in two instances where the offensive weapons are not preserved, short swords. In all instances but one, they also carry helmets. The males modelled on pyrrhic dancers are, however, not depicted as clashing their swords against their shields (*Figs. 18 & 20–25*).[111] Thus, though similar, the iconographies of the curetes and the armed males modelled on pyrrhic dancers do have different characteristics.

If we turn, instead, to the compositions that include armed males modelled on pyrrhic dancers, we can note that these dancers are, in one instance, accompanied by nymphs (*Fig. 21*). As both Jupiter and Bacchus were, according to the

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[102] Lindner 1994, 158–190; Lindner 1997a, cat. nos. 20–33.

[103] Baumeister 2007, pl. 19; Borbein 1968, 143–157; Dräger 1994, cat. nos. 16 & 55; Lindner 1994, pl. 21, no. 1, pl. 22, nos. 1 & 6; Lindner 1997b, cat. no. 5; Stemmer 1978, cat. no. I 3.

[104] Baumeister 2007, pl. 19; Borbein 1968, 143–157; Dräger 1994, cat. nos. 16 & 55; Lindner 1994, pl. 21, nos. 1 & 3, pl. 22, no. 1; Lindner 1997b, cat. no. 5.

[105] Borbein 1968, 143–157; Canciani & Costantini 1997, cat. no. 283; Dräger 1994, cat. nos. 16 & 55; Lindner 1997b, cat. nos. 2 & 5; Stemmer 1978, cat. no. I 3.

[106] Baumeister 2007, pl. 19; Borbein 1968, 143–157; Canciani & Costantini 1997, cat. no. 283; Dräger 1994, cat. nos. 16 & 55; Gasparri 1986, cat. no. 267; Hanfmann & Ramage 1978, cat. no. 213; Lindner 1994, 158–159, pl. 20, pl. 21 nos. 1–3, pl. 22, nos. 1–6; Lindner 1997a, cat. nos. 8, 31, 35 & 41; Lindner 1997b, cat. nos. 2 & 5; Stemmer 1978, cat. no. I 3; Sturgeon 1977, 32–37.

[107] Baumeister 2007, pl. 19; Borbein 1968, 143–157; Dräger 1994, cat. nos. 16 & 55; Gasparri 1986, cat. no. 267; Lindner 1994, pl. 21 nos. 2–3, pl. 22 nos. 1 & 4; Lindner 1997a, cat. nos. 8, 31, 35 & 41; Lindner 1997b, cat. no. 2 (?).

[108] Borbein 1968, 143–157; Gasparri 1986, cat. no. 267; Stemmer 1978, cat. no. I 3.

[109] Dräger 1994, cat. no. 55.

[110] Sturgeon 1977, 32–37.

[111] *Table 5*. For the two marble plaques (nos. 3 & 6), the main references suggest that swords were originally rendered in paint and/or in bronze.

mythological narratives, reared by nymphs[112] one may ask whether their armed, male companions should, in this case, be interpreted as curetes, even though their iconography is that used for depicting pyrrhic dancers. As Pan is also present, the mythological narrative referred to is, in this case, most likely that of Bacchus.[113] Can this particular composition be interpreted as one which alludes to the myth of Bacchus' infancy?

Such an interpretation is made plausible when this scene is compared to three other depictions which include both nymphs and armed males. Depictions of the curetes accompanied by nymphs were used as a motif for dedications made to Pan and the nymphs. This we know from one such votive relief, which was dedicated to the nymphs by Adamas, ca 300 BC (*Fig. 28*). In its upper register the scene includes a female head, a seated figure which, I would suggest, is to be interpreted as the infant Bacchus himself, three nymphs, a river deity, Pan and three curetes. However, only the heads and shields of the curetes are shown.[114]

The base/altar in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen (*Fig. 16*) belongs to the same tradition of Roman decorative objects as the krater in the Villa Borghese. Here three armed male dancers are again lined up together with three mantle nymphs, two of which are identical to the nymphs depicted on the krater in the Villa Borghese. Pan is not present on the base, but one can note that the three males wear short chitons and that two of them clash their swords towards their shields. Therefore, they should most likely be interpreted as curetes.[115]

The third depiction of curetes in the company of nymphs has been interpreted as a votive relief of Imperial date (*Fig. 26*). It displays Pan seated on top of his cave, the entrance of which is flanked by two curetes. At the opening of the cave Mercurius is shown together with three mantle nymphs. Mercurius also played an important part in the myth of Bacchus'

childhood, as he brought the child to safety.[116] The curetes wear garments, most likely short chitons, but the relief is broken below the dancers' waists. Pan's pose is the same as on the votive relief of Adamas (*Fig. 28*).[117]

Fig. 28. A votive relief dated to ca 300 BC depicts, in its upper register, from left to right: the head of a female (?), the infant Bacchus, three nymphs, a river deity, Pan and three curetes. The relief is still in situ at the marble quarry on Paros, but its surface is now badly eroded. See Edwards 1985, cat. no. 89. Illustration: Reinach 1888, pl. 122 (scanned by Google).

When seen as a group of four, these depictions seem to depict the same scene; that of the curetes present at the infancy of Bacchus (*Figs. 16, 21, 26 & 28*). As we have seen, however, the curetes were generally depicted wearing short chitons and, at times, body armour and mantles. On the krater in the Villa Borghese, the craftsman has instead used the iconography derived from pyrrhic dancers for this different, but already established motif. Thus, the krater in the Villa Borghese exemplifies the eclectic blending of two already established motifs—pyrrhic dancers and curetes—into a new version of the curetes. Therefore the armed males depicted on this krater will henceforth be referred to as eclectic curetes (*Fig. 21*).[118]

But what of the three remaining compositions where armed males modelled on pyrrhic dancers are depicted to-

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[112] Jupiter reared by nymphs: Callim. *Hymn* 1.31–44; Apollod. *Bibl.* I.1.5–7; Diod. Sic. V.70.2–3; Ov. *Fast.* V.111–128; Hyg. *Poet. astr.* II.13; Lactantius Placidus on Stat. *Theb.* IV.783–785; Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* III.104; *Myth. Vat.* I.104 & II.16. Bacchus reared by nymphs: *Hymn. Hom. Bacch.* 26; Apollod. *Bibl.* III.IV.3; Ov. *Fast.* III.769–770; Ov. *Met.* III.313–315.

[113] *Table 5*, no. 4.

[114] Edwards 1985, cat. no. 89; Lindner 1997a, cat. no. 8. The rendering of the seated figure can be compared to the infants depicted, for instance, on the cuirass statue, the sarcophagus lid and the terracotta plaques including three curetes: Borbein 1968, 143–157; Lindner 1997b, cat. no. 5; Stemmer 1978, cat. no. I 3.

[115] Dräger 1994, cat. no. 16.

[116] Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* IV.1134–1137; Apollod. *Bibl.* III.IV.3; Hyg. *Fab.* 179; Nonnus, *Dion.* IX.132–159.

[117] Lindner 1997a, cat. no. 41.

[118] *Table 5*, no. 4.

gether with other figures (*Figs. 20, 22* & *25*)? As already mentioned, these dancers are most often shown together with Bacchic figures. This led Grassinger to interpret these dancers as eclectic curetes too.[119] I would, however, not jump to this conclusion. These males may well have been viewed mainly as dancers depicted together with other dancers. In general, dancing figures abound within the eclectic classicizing repertoire, and the notion of dance and revelling in this context seems to have been closely intertwined with the Bacchic retinue.[120] Leaving the members of the Bacchic entourage aside, there are not many recurring figure types that represent dancers. There are a number of draped female figures that seem to represent dancers,[121] and then there are the figures modelled on pyrrhic dancers, as well as the kalathiskos dancers.

Dance and revelling, then, seem to have been features which were primarily characteristic of Bacchic imagery, within the eclectic classicizing repertoire. This, I would suggest, is the reason why males modelled on pyrrhic dancers and kalathiskos dancers are, at times, found in compositions including Bacchic characters. My view is that these compositions have dance as their general theme, and that coherence to this theme was at times seen as more important than any coherence concerning the identities of the figures combined. The general idea may have been to create compositions based on the theme of music and dance. If so, most of the figures available for such a thematic composition, within the eclectic classicizing repertoire, belonged to the Bacchic sphere. No wonder, then, that non-Bacchic dancers were at times combined with their far more numerous Bacchic equivalents. Such a thematic reasoning would, for instance, explain the combination of two kalathiskos dancers and a dancing bacchant, which occurs on four marble candelabra.[122]

Returning to the depictions of armed males modelled on pyrrhic dancers, we can note that the krater fragment in the Vatican (*Fig. 22*), and the *oscillum* from Pompeii (*Fig. 25*), can both be seen as compositions built around the theme of dance, as all included figures seem to be depicted as dancing or revelling.[123] Even the eclectic scene on the krater in the Louvre may well have been composed along such lines (*Fig. 20*): two divinities each lead a retinue towards an altar. Diana leads two musicians, while Mercurius is followed by two dancers. On the opposite side of the krater, the circular composition is closed by two bacchants—one is a musician and the other is a dancer.[124]

As already stated, I am reluctant to follow Grassinger in interpreting all Roman depictions of males modelled on pyrrhic dancers as curetes. Such an interpretation would imply that armed male dancers rendered in this fashion had become a well-established feature of the Bacchic retinue, and that there was, therefore, no need to include direct references to the myth of Bacchus' infancy for the identity of the armed male dancers to be understood correctly. In this respect, I find it important to keep in mind the very small number of preserved depictions of the myth.[125] Furthermore, as we have seen, only one text of a much later date refers directly to this episode concerning the infancy of Bacchus.[126] On the other hand, from references in the written sources, we know that the pyrrhic dance was a well-known phenomenon among the members of the contemporary Roman elite.[127]

Due to the fact that there are so few depictions preserved, we will probably never know how each composition including armed male dancers rendered in this fashion, was understood. And in any case, one interpretation does not rule out the other: some of the Roman viewers may, of course, have known that, for instance, the krater now in the Villa Borghese (*Fig. 21*) depicted curetes. The same viewers, however, may also have known that the appearance of the male dancers originated from earlier Attic depictions of pyrrhic dancers (*Fig. 18*).

As their interpretation must remain uncertain, the armed male dancers on the marble kraters in Paris (*Fig. 20*) and the Vatican (*Fig. 22*), as well as that on the *oscillum* from Pompeii (*Fig. 25*), will henceforth be referred to as "unidentifiable males modelled on pyrrhic dancers".[128]

To sum up, I have interpreted the figures on the Roman plaque in the Vatican (*Fig. 18*), and the krater from Torre Annunziata (*Fig. 23*), as pyrrhic dancers. The dancers on the krater in the Villa Borghese (*Fig. 21*) are, however, interpreted as curetes rendered in an eclectic fashion. On the remaining four items, the identity of the armed male dancers must remain uncertain (*Figs. 20, 22, 24* & *25*).

INAPPROPRIATE DANCERS

The males modelled on pyrrhic dancers do not seem to have become well-integrated into Roman visual culture. The occurrence of the motif is illustrated in *Table 6*. It is interesting to note that, while kalathiskos dancers are present on a wide

[119] Grassinger 1991, 115–118.
[120] Dräger 1994, 102–107. Some publications include compilations of figure types which give an idea of the extent to which emphasized movement, presumably to be interpreted as dance and/or raging, is connected to the members of the Bacchic retinue. See for instance Cain 1985, Beilage 5–14; Golda 1997, Beilage 5–12; Hauser 1889, pl. 1–3.
[121] See for instance Fuchs 1959, 63–67; Hauser 1889, pl. 3, nos. 39–44.
[122] *Table 1*, nos. 5, 44, 63 & 64.
[123] *Table 5*, nos. 2 & 5.

[124] *Table 5*, no. 1.
[125] Lindner 1994, 171–187; Lindner 1997a, cat. nos. 8, 28–33.
[126] Nonnus, *Dion.* IX, 160–168.
[127] Ceccarelli 1998, 147–156.
[128] *Table 5*, nos. 1, 2 & 5.

array of media, the males modelled on pyrrhic dancers are only represented on items made of marble.

In studies concerning the eclectic classicizing repertoire, there has generally been a special emphasis on items made of marble. This is partly because there was no indigenous tradition of producing decorative items made of marble before the Late Republican era. Therefore, during the Late Republican era, both stonemasons and marble were imported to Rome, and with the imported workforce, it is generally assumed, came the eclectic classicizing repertoire.[129] At the same time, there seem to have been workshops in Athens which produced decorative marble items intended primarily for export to Rome.[130]

Thus, within the Roman cultural context, the motif of armed males modelled on pyrrhic dancers was introduced on items made of this initially foreign material, possibly by foreign craftsmen, and it never spread to other material categories, as did, for instance, the motif representing kalathiskos dancers. As illustrated in *Table 7*, at least four of the seven depictions belong to the last century BC. Judging from the date ascribed to the *oscillum* from Pompeii, the plaque in the Galleria Colonna, and the krater from Torre Annunziata, the motif appears to have lingered on well into the 1st century AD.

Considering the rarity of the motif, and the fact that it is only represented on items made of marble, depictions of this kind of armed male dancers appear to have been perceived as inappropriate within Roman visual culture. The reason is, I believe, to be found in the Roman attitude towards male dancing. In numerous texts, dancing is described as a disgraceful practice when performed by men. Male dancers are frequently characterized as effeminate and dancing itself as an immoral practice, when performed by males.[131] As Edith Hall has recently shown:

"... dance has been associated with decadent pleasure-seeking, unmanliness, and the arousal of sexual desire from its very first appearance in western cultural history. These associations resulted from an early symbolic opposition of dancing and fighting, an opposition which paradoxically may have been partly a result of the intimate relationship and parallelism between dancing and drill-training in educational practice. The result, in any case, was that dancing for pleasure, especially for men, was an activity under a moral ques-

tion mark from the moment that discourse on dance begins."[132]

This attitude towards male dancing had an impact on Roman visual culture as well. Friederike Fless and Katja Moede have discussed the translation of ritual armed dances performed by males into literary and pictorial representations. While the written sources are free to emphasize the movement of armed dances, such as that performed by the honoured Roman priesthood of the *salii*, historical reliefs do not depict these priests performing their characteristic dance. Instead they are depicted as standing, carrying multiple shields fastened on a pole. Fless and Moede suggest that the depiction of the dance itself was avoided, because the dance movement would contradict not only the conventions that shaped depictions of ritual processions, but also the ideals associated with its honourable practitioners.[133] They conclude that:

"The pictorial representation of dance as part of Roman ritual seems to depend on the context and specific type of the imagery. Depictions of rituals on monuments in the city of Rome mostly refrain from showing dance, since the specific intention of these monuments stands in contrast to the imagery of rituals. Here the intention is the depiction of significant moments, the visualization of the ritually correct sequence of events and the graceful representation of the participants."[134]

It seems then, that such representations refrain from rendering the *salii* in a state of movement, performing their dance, partly because such depictions would not constitute honourable portraits of the members of the priesthood.

Most likely this was also the Achilles heel of the motif depicting males modelled on pyrrhic dancers: due to the negative attitude towards male dancing, a motif referring to actual male dancers could no doubt be seen as problematic. A patron who displayed a troupe of pyrrhic dancers, for example on a marble krater placed in his garden, might be seen as indulging male dancing for pleasure, even if the dance depicted was one including masculine attributes such as weapons.

As discussed above, dance constituted an important theme within the eclectic classicizing repertoire, but the dancers were generally clearly marked as mythological beings. As mentioned previously, the male dancers depicted are almost exclusively satyrs; creatures that in many respects sym-

[129] Cain 1985, 9–12 & 148; Grassinger 1991, 140–144.
[130] Fittschen 2008, 327–329.
[131] For discussion of, and references to, the ancient sources see Hall 2010; Wille 1967, 192–194.

[132] Hall 2010, 168.
[133] Fless & Moede 2007, 253–257.
[134] Fless & Moede 2007, 257.

bolized "the other". Therefore, they could be depicted acting in a manner no decent, actual human could.[135] Along this line of reasoning, one may well see the eclectic curetes represented on the krater in the Villa Borghese as an attempt to find a more appropriate way to depict the armed males modelled on pyrrhic dancers (*Fig. 21*). By turning them into mythological beings, the craftsman or patron may have tried to make these armed male dancers more appropriate to their new, Roman cultural context.

As mentioned above, there are two further instances where the curetes are depicted in the nude. On the base in the Museo Capitolino two curetes, naked but for helmets and mantles, flank the infant Jupiter who suckles the goat Amaltheia (*Fig. 27*).[136] The other example is found on the Roman stage front of the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens (the so called *Phaedrus bema*), where the adult Jupiter is shown seated on the right-hand side. On the left side Mercurius carries the infant Bacchus. Two curetes, depicted in the nude, flank the scene.[137] As both of these depictions are dated to the reign of Hadrian, they may constitute a continuation, or a revival, of the eclectic iconography of the curetes represented on the krater in the Villa Borghese, dated to 30–20 BC (*Fig. 21*).

Synthesis: the dynamics of eclecticism

As stated at the outset, the Roman appropriation of Classical and Hellenistic motifs has been viewed as a multifaceted, dynamic process in this article. Therefore, two motifs have been studied in order to illustrate two different manifestations of this process. So far, the motifs have been studied in separate case studies. In conclusion, then, the results of the two cases will be compared.

The discussion above has established that both the kalathiskos dancers and the pyrrhic dancers were changed in an eclectic manner once they had been appropriated by Roman visual culture. One should note that, in both instances, the motifs combined are visually closely related. The short fluttering dress characteristic of the kalathiskos dancers came to be used for depictions of Victoria. Although the goddess of victory is traditionally depicted as wearing a long garment, this long garment mostly flutters out behind or around her in a

manner similar to the short garments worn by the kalathiskos dancers (*Figs. 5 & 10*).

The situation is similar for the iconographies of the pyrrhic dancers and the curetes. Both are characterized as male dancers, and are armed with round shields and short swords. Furthermore, their movement is emphasized by letting the dancers stand on their toes (compare, for instance, *Figs. 16 & 23*). Hence, for both the eclectic Victoriae and the eclectic curetes, the motifs combined are visually closely related. With this in mind, it seems reasonable to suggest that novelties based on an eclectic blending of visually closely related motifs were preferred. One may suppose that such combinations were more likely to be considered appropriate in the Roman cultural context.

There are, however, differences in how the two groups of motifs were transformed. The eclectic Victoriae differ, in terms of iconographic representation, from the kalathiskos dancers. Their attributes are exchanged; a headdress is replaced by a set of wings. The two motifs, however, are also depicted in differing compositions. While the kalathiskos dancers are, in Roman visual culture, often shown in pairs flanking a *palladium*, the eclectic Victoriae are instead more frequently depicted in pairs flanking an incense burner (Compare, for instance, *Figs. 5 & 7*).

The males modelled on pyrrhic dancers, on the other hand, were given a new identity solely by being included in a new composition. Thus, the iconography of the males modelled on pyrrhic dancers came to be used for depictions of the curetes, even though the iconography of these mythological dancers generally included other characteristics (compare, for instance, *Figs. 16, 18 & 21*). The two groups of motifs studied, therefore, exemplify two different manifestations of the strategy of eclecticism. Doubtlessly these were only two of many.

Nevertheless, the most important difference between the two groups of motifs is that, while the females were accepted as appropriate motifs, the males seem to have been deemed as inappropriate. This, I have argued, was mainly due to the notion, among the Roman elite, of dance as an effeminate practice, inappropriate for honourable males. Therefore, the appropriation of a motif representing female dancers had better chances of success within Roman visual culture than its male equivalent.

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135 Schneider 2000.
136 Dräger 1994, cat. no. 55.
137 Sturgeon 1977, 32–37.

Appendices

The two appendices include tables of information concerning the two groups of motifs. The first set (*Tables 1–4*) deals with the kalathiskos dancers and females modelled on kalathiskos dancers, the second (*Tables 5–7*) with pyrrhic dancers and males modelled on pyrrhic dancers. *Tables 1* and *5* are catalogues including objects depicting the motifs discussed. Each item is presented in a separate row. *Table 2* presents the Ar-retinian, provincial and late Italian Terra Sigillata depicting kalathiskos dancers and/or females modelled on kalathiskos dancers. This material category is presented in a separate table, because the present study has not traced each individual shard of pottery depicting the motifs discussed. Instead the number of workshops known to have included kalathiskos dancers in their repertoire of motifs, is listed in a separate table. The remaining tables are based on the information gathered in the above mentioned tables. *Tables 3* and *6* summarize the occurrence of the different motifs, and *Tables 4* and *7* visualize their chronology.

Appendix 1:
Kalathiskos dancers and females modelled on kalathiskos dancers

Table 1. Catalogue. Please note that the chronology of the terracotta plaques remains problematic. The plaques representing kalathiskos dancers vary in size and rendering in a manner signalling that the motif was in use at least from the Augustan era and into the 2nd century AD. Therefore, all terracotta plaques displaying kalathiskos dancers are marked with the time span 25 BC–AD 149 in Table 4. *Nos. 49, 50 & 52 in* Table 1 *constitute exceptions: they have been dated to the reign of Trajan due to the context in which they were found. See: Borbein 1968, 28–42 & 188–189; Rohden 1911, 10–12.*

No.	Fig. no.	Whereabouts	Main reference	Records in online databases, with illustrations unless stated otherwise	Material and object type	Figure type	Date suggested by main reference	Date marked in Table 4
1		Austria, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, VII A 128	Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, cat. no. 507		Engraved gem	Kalathiskos dancer	1st century AD	AD 1–99
2		Denmark, Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, 1095	Fossing 1929, cat. no. 950		Glass paste	Kalathiskos dancer (no headdress?)	1st century BC–2nd century AD	100 BC–AD 199
3		Denmark, Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, 1096	Fossing 1929, cat. no. 951		Engraved gem	Kalathiskos dancer (no headdress?)	1st century BC–2nd century AD	100 BC–AD 199
4		Denmark, Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, 1097	Fossing 1929, cat. no. 952		Engraved gem	Kalathiskos dancer	1st century BC–2nd century AD	100 BC–AD 199
5		France, Paris, Musée du Louvre, MA 239	Cain 1985, cat. no. 61	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne. uni-koeln.de/item/ objekt/204633 (no ill.)	Marble candelabrum	Kalathiskos dancers	Early–middle Augustan	25–1 BC
6		France, Paris, Musée du Louvre	Rohden 1911, 11		Terracotta plaque	Kalathiskos dancers		25 BC–AD 149
7		France, Vaison-la-Romaine, Musée Municipal, inv. 300315	Stemmer 1978, cat. no. VII 4	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne. uni-koeln.de/item/ objekt/19362 (no ill.)	Marble cuirass statue	Eclectic Victoriae	Julio-Claudian	25 BC–AD 74
8		France, Vienne, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie	Corswandt 1982, cat. no. K 133	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne. uni-koeln.de/item/ objekt/120024 (no ill.)	Marble *oscillum*	Kalathiskos dancer	Early Tiberian	AD 1–24
9		Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, 343	Stemmer 1978, cat. no. VII 8		Marble cuirass statue	Eclectic Victoriae	Flavian	AD 75–99

10		Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, 368	Stemmer 1978, cat. no. V 8		Marble cuirass statue	Eclectic Victoriae	Late Claudian	AD 25–74
11		Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, 1456	Blümel 1931, cat. no. K 184	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne. uni-koeln.de/ item/marbilder-bestand/890932 & 890933	Marble plaque	Kalathiskos dancer		Due to the thick, round folds of the garments I would suggest 25 BC–AD 49
12		Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, 1457	Blümel 1931, cat. no. K 185	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne. uni-koeln.de/ item/marbilder-bestand/890929; 890930 & 890931	Marble plaque	Kalathiskos dancer		Due to the thick, round folds of the garments I would suggest 25 BC–AD 49
13		Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, 4162 & 4247	Rohden 1911, 11		Terracotta plaque	Kalathiskos dancers		25 BC–AD 149
14		Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, 6681.72 & 73	Rohden 1911, 10		Terracotta plaque	Kalathiskos dancers?		25 BC–AD 149
15		Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, 8217.68	Borbein 1968, 188, note 998	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne. uni-koeln.de/item/ marbilderbes-tand/983235	Terracotta plaque	Kalathiskos dancers		25 BC–AD 149
16		Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung	Furtwängler 1896, cat. no. 3166		Glass paste	Kalathiskos dancer	1st century BC–Imperial	100 BC–AD 199
17		Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung	Furtwängler 1896, cat. no. 3167		Engraved gem	Kalathiskos dancer	1st century BC–Imperial	100 BC–AD 199
18		Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung	Furtwängler 1896, cat. no. 4735		Glass paste	Kalathiskos dancer (no headdress?)	1st century BC–AD 1st century	100 BC–AD 99
19		Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung	Furtwängler 1896, cat. no. 6248		Glass paste	Kalathiskos dancer (no headdress?)	Augustan	25 BC–AD 24
20		Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung	Furtwängler 1896, cat. no. 7668		Engraved gem	Kalathiskos dancer	1st century BC–Imperial	100 BC–AD 199
21		Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung	Furtwängler 1896, cat. no. 7669		Engraved gem	Kalathiskos dancer	1st century BC–Imperial	100 BC–AD 199
22		Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung	Furtwängler 1896, cat. no. 7670		Engraved gem	Kalathiskos dancer (no headdress?)	1st century BC–Imperial	100 BC–AD 199
23		Germany, Erbach, Schloß Erbach, 20	Stemmer 1978, cat. no. II 2	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne. uni-koeln.de/item/ objekt/37034	Marble cuirass statue	Eclectic Victoriae	Claudian?	AD 25–74
24		Germany, Frank-furt am Main, Liebieghaus Skulp-turensammlung	Stemmer 1978, cat. no. VI 2		Marble cuirass statue	Eclectic Victoriae	Early Flavian	AD 50–99
25		Germany, Han-nover, Kestner Museum, K 838	Zazoff, Schlüter & Platz-Horster 1975, cat. no. 993		Engraved gem	Kalathiskos dancer	1st century AD	AD 1–99

26		Germany, Heidelberg, University, Archaeology Department, bX	Borbein 1968, 188 & note 998		Terracotta plaque	Kalathiskos dancer		25 BC–AD 149
27	12	Germany, Munich, Glyptothek, 331	Stemmer 1978, cat. no. I 8	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne. uni-koeln.de/item/ objekt/12535 (no ill.)	Marble cuirass statue	Eclectic Victoriae	Late Flavian– Trajanic	AD 75–124
28		Germany, Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, A 522	Brandt, Krug, Gercke *et al.* 1972, cat. no. 3307		Glass paste	Kalathiskos dancer (no headdress?)	Early Imperial	25 BC–AD 149
29		Germany, Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, A 2054	Brandt, Krug, Gercke *et al.* 1972, cat. no. 2341		Engraved gem	Kalathiskos dancer	1st century BC–AD 1st century	100 BC–AD 99
30		Germany, Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, A 2055	Brandt, Krug, Gercke *et al.* 1972, cat. no. 2342		Engraved gem	Kalathiskos dancer	1st century BC–AD 1st century	100 BC–AD 99
31		Germany, Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung	Brandt, Krug, Gercke *et al.* 1972, cat. no. 3306		Glass paste	Kalathiskos dancer (no headdress?)	Early Imperial	25 BC–AD 149
32	14	Germany, Würzburg, Julius-Maximilianus-Universität, Martin von Wagner Museum, H 2449	Simon 1975, cat. no. H 2449		Marble *oscillum*	Unidentifiable	Early 1st century AD	AD 1–49
33		Great Britain, Derbyshire, Chatsworth House	Boschung, Hesberg & Linfert 1997, cat. no. 140	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne. uni-koeln.de/item/ objekt/4231	Terracotta plaque	Kalathiskos dancers		25 BC–AD 149
34		Great Britain, London, British Museum, Terracotta D 646	Rohden 1911, 10	*British Museum* 2012, no. 1805,0703.405	Terracotta plaque	Kalathiskos dancer		25 BC–AD 149
35		Italy, Arezzo, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, 24671	Dräger 1994, cat. no. 3		Marble altar/ base	Eclectic Victoria	Augustan	25 BC–AD 24
36	5	Italy, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 6072	Stemmer 1978, cat. no. VII 13	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne. uni-koeln.de/item/ objekt/13023	Marble cuirass statue	Kalathiskos dancers	Late Flavian	AD 75–99
37	11	Italy, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 6858	Cain 1985, cat. no. 49	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne. uni-koeln.de/item/ objekt/13747 (no ill.)	Marble candelabrum	Eclectic Victoria	Early Augustan	BC 25–1
38		Italy, Ostia, Museo Ostiense, 3447	Borbein 1968, 188, note 998		Terracotta plaque	Kalathiskos dancers		25 BC–AD 149
39		Italy, Parma, Museo Nazionale di Antichità, 1952.827	Stemmer 1978, cat. no. I 4	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne. uni-koeln.de/item/ objekt/15328	Marble cuirass statue	Eclectic Victoriae	Late Julio-Claudian	AD 25–74
40		Italy, Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria	Rocco 2008	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne. uni-koeln.de/item/ objekt/33393	Bronze cuirass statue	Kalathiskos dancers	Early 1st century BC	100–51 BC

41		Italy, Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilderbestand/1028397	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilderbestand/1028397	Marble *oscillum*	Kalathiskos dancer	?	?
42		Italy, Pozzuoli, Fondo Caiazzo	Mielsch 1975, cat. no. K 58 III		Plaster relief	Kalathiskos dancers	Vespasian	AD 50–99
43		Italy, Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile, Sala Lapidaria	Ricci 1909, 258 & fig. 10	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilderbestand/890934 & 890935	Marble plaque	Kalathiskos dancer		The plaque is similar to that in the Villa Albani (inv. 967). Therefore, I would suggest a similar date: AD 125–149
44		Italy, Rome, Antiquarium forense, 3167	Cain 1985, cat. no. 71	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/28483 (no ill.)	Marble candelabrum	Kalathiskos dancers	Early–middle Augustan	25–1 BC
45		Italy, Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori	Rohden 1911, 11		Terracotta plaque	Kalathiskos dancers		25 BC–AD 149
46	4	Italy, Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori	Rohden 1911, 11	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilderbestand/982961	Terracotta plaque	Kalathiskos dancers		25 BC–AD 149
47	4	Italy, Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori	Rohden 1911, 11	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilderbestand/982961	Terracotta plaque	Kalathiskos dancers		25 BC–AD 149
48	9	Italy, Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, 8620bis	Golda 1997, cat. no. 35	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilderbestand/890943	Marble well-head	Eclectic Victoriae	Augustan	25 BC–AD 24
49	7	Italy, Rome Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano	Borbein 1968, 189	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilderbestand/1036249	Terracotta plaque	Eclectic Victoriae	Trajanic	AD 100–124
50		Italy, Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano	Borbein 1968, 189		Terracotta plaque	Eclectic Victoriae	Trajanic	AD 100–124
51		Italy, Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano	Rohden 1911, 10		Terracotta plaque	Kalathiskos dancer		25 BC–AD 149
52		Italy, Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano	Borbein 1968, 189 note 1009; Rohden 1911, 197		Terracotta plaque	Eclectic Victoria		The same as that of the corresponding plaques in the same collection (nos. 49 & 50)? AD 100–124
53		Italy, Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano	Mielsch 1975, cat. no. K 64 g 25		Plaster reliefs	Kalathiskos dancer	Vespasian	AD 50–99

54	8	Italy, Rome, Palazzo Doria-Pamphilj, Galleria	Golda 1997, cat. no. 40	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder-bestand/890936; 890937; 890938 & 890939	Marble well-head	Both headdress and wings	Augustan–early Imperial	25 BC–AD 24
55		Italy, Rome, Palazzo Farnese	Matz & Duhn 1882, cat. no. 3499a	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilderbes-tand/890940	Marble plaque?	Kalathiskos dancer		Due to the thick, round folds of the garments I would suggest 25 BC–AD 49
56		Italy, Rome, San Giovanni in Laterano	Matz & Duhn 1882, cat. no. 3499	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder-bestand/890941 & 890942	Marble plaque?	Kalathiskos dancer		The plaque is similar to that in the Villa Albani (inv. 967). Therefore I would suggest a similar date: AD 125–149
57		Italy, Rome, Santa Prisca, Mithraeum	Borbein 1968, 188, note 998		Terracotta plaque	Kalathiskos dancers		25 BC–AD 149
58		Italy, Rome, Villa Albani, 59	Stemmer 1978, cat. no. I 7	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/27588	Marble cuirass statue	Eclectic Victoriae	Late Flavian–early Trajanic	AD 75–124
59		Italy, Rome, Villa Albani, 199	Cain 1985, cat. no. 69	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/131050 (no ill.)	Marble candelabrum	Kalathiskos dancers	Augustan	25 BC–AD 24
60		Italy, Rome, Villa Albani, 967	Bol 1989, cat. no. 94	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/28001; http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder-bestand/890944 & 890945	Marble plaque	Kalathiskos dancers	Hadrianic–early Antonine	AD 125–149
61		Italy, Trieste, Il Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte (?)	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilderbes-tand/983015	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilderbes-tand/983015	Terracotta plaque	Kalathiskos dancer		25 BC–AD 149
62		Italy, Turin, Museo di Antichità	Stemmer 1978, cat. no. VII 1	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/31360	Marble cuirass statue	Kalathiskos dancers	Early Tiberian	AD 1–49
63		Italy, Venice, Museo Archeologico, 96	Cain 1985, cat. no. 124		Marble candelabrum	Kalathiskos dancers	Middle Antonine	AD 125–174
64	1	Italy, Venice, Museo Archeologico, 122	Cain 1985, cat. no. 127	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/22362	Marble candelabrum	Kalathiskos dancers	Late Flavian–early Trajanic	AD 75–124
65		Spain, Sevilla, Museo Arqueológico Provincial, 1058	Stemmer 1978, cat. no. XI 4	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/79903	Marble cuirass statue	Eclectic Victoriae	Trajanic	AD 100–124

66	13	USA, Boston MA, Museum of Fine Arts, 99.346	Stemmer 1978, cat. no. VII 11	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne. uni-koeln.de/item/ objekt/2815	Marble cuirass statue	Eclectic Victoriae	Flavian	AD 75–99
67		Vatican, Casina di Pio IV, 256	Rohden 1911, 11		Terracotta plaque	Kalathiskos dancers		25 BC–AD 149
68		Vatican, Musei Vaticani, depository	Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1936, cat. no. 401		Marble plaque	Unidentifiable	Augustan?	25 BC–AD 24
69		Vatican, Museo Pio Clementino, Galleria delle Statue, 771	Stemmer 1978, cat. no. VII 10	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne. uni-koeln.de/item/ objekt/21168	Marble cuirass statue	Eclectic Victoriae	Flavian	AD 75–99
70		Whereabouts unknown, found in Italy, Palestrina	Rohden 1911, 10–11		Terracotta plaque	Kalathiskos dancers		25 BC–AD 149
71		Whereabouts unknown, found in Italy, Pompeii, regio 1, *insula* VI	Della Corte 1915, 287		Terracotta amphora	Kalathiskos dancers	Before 79 AD	AD 1–74 (?)
72		Whereabouts unknown, previously in Italy, Rome, collection of Martinetti	Rohden 1911, 11		Terracotta plaque	Kalathiskos dancers		25 BC–AD 149
73		Whereabouts unknown, previously in Italy, Rome, collection of Spithöver	Rohden 1911, 11		Terracotta plaque	Kalathiskos dancers		25 BC–AD 149
74		Whereabouts unknown, previously in Italy, Rome, Museo Kircheriano (Museo Nazionale Romano?)	Rohden 1911, 11–12		Terracotta plaque	Kalathiskos dancers		25 BC–AD 149
75		Whereabouts unknown, previously in Italy, Turin	Stemmer 1978, cat. no. I 15		Marble cuirass statue	Eclectic Victoriae	Antonine	AD 125–174
76		Whereabouts unknown, previously in Switzerland, Geneva, Musée Fol (Musées d'Art et d'Histoire?)	Rohden 1911, 10		Terracotta plaque	Kalathiskos dancers		25 BC–AD 149

Table 2. Terra Sigillata.

Fig. no.	Type	Workshop	Figure type	Main reference	Date suggested by main reference	Date marked in Table 1:3
	Arretinian	M. Perennius	Kalathiskos dancers & Eclectic Victoriae	Porten Palange 2009a, 32–33, 44 & 55–58	30 BC–AD 10	25 BC–AD 24
6	Arretinian	Rasinius	Kalathiskos dancers	Porten Palange 2009a, 141 & 151–152	20 BC–AD 15	25 BC–AD 24
10	Arretinian	Cn. Ateius	Kalathiskos dancers & Eclectic Victoriae	Porten Palange 2009a, 174, 207 & 209–210	20–15 BC–AD ?	25 BC–AD 24
	Arretinian	P. Cornelius	Kalathiskos dancers	Porten Palange 2009a, 260 & 266–267	AD 1–40	AD 1–49
	Arretinian	(C.) Vibenius	Kalathiskos dancers	Porten Palange 2009a, 285–286 & 288–289	10 BC–AD 15	25 BC–AD 24
	Arretinian	"Rasini Memmi"- group	Kalathiskos dancers	Porten Palange 2009a, 297–298 & 303–305	10 BC–?	25 BC–AD 24
	Arretinian	L. Pomponius Pisanus	Kalathiskos dancers	Porten Palange 2009a, 321–322 & 326–327	10 BC–?	25 BC–AD 24
	Arretinian	C. Volusenus	Kalathiskos dancers	Porten Palange 2009a, 373–374	*AD 1–20*	AD 1–24
	Arretinian	Camurius	Kalathiskos dancers	Porten Palange 2009a, 395–396	?	?
	Provincial	Cn. Ateius	Kalathiskos dancers	Fiches 1973–1974, 267, cat. nos. 88 & 89	Tiberian	AD 1–24
	Late Italian	L. Rasinius Pisanus	Kalathiskos dancers	Medri 1992, 122–123 & no. 1.4.2.03	Domitian–Hadrian	AD 75–149
	Late Italian	C. P() P()	Kalathiskos dancers	Medri 1992, 123 & no. 1.4.203	Domitian–before Hadrian	AD 75–124
	Late Italian	Sex. Murrius Pisanus & Sex. Murrius Festus	Kalathiskos dancers	Medri 1992, 123–124 & no. 1.4.2.03	ca AD 90–Antonine	AD 75–174

Table 3. Occurrence.

	Kalathiskos dancers	Both headdress and wings	Eclectic Victoriae	Unidentifiable females
Bronze cuirass statues	1			
Engraved gems	10			
Glass pastes	6			
Marble altars/bases			1	
Marble candelabra	5		1	
Marble cuirass statues	2		12	
Marble *oscilla*	2			1
Marble plaques	6			1
Marble well-heads		1	1	
Plaster reliefs	2			
Terracotta amphora	1			
Terracotta plaques	20		3	
Terra Sigillata, Arretinian	9*		2*	
Terra Sigillata, Late Italian	3*			
Terra Sigillata, Provincial	1*			

*Number of workshops that featured the motif.

Table 4. Chronology.

	100–76 BC	75–51 BC	50–26 BC	25–1 BC	AD 1–24	AD 25–49	AD 50–74	AD 75–99	AD 100–124	AD 125–149	AD 150–174	AD 175–199
Kalathiskos dancers												
Bronze cuirass statues	X	X										
Engraved gems	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Glass pastes	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Marble candelabra				X				X				
Marble cuirass statues					X	X		X				
Marble *oscilla*					X							
Marble plaques				X	X	X				X		
Plaster reliefs							X	X				
Terracotta amphora					X	X	X					
Terracotta plaques				X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Terra Sigillata, Arretinian				X	X							
Terra Sigillata, Late Italian								X	X	X	X	
Terra Sigillata, Provincial					X							
Both headdress and wings												
Marble well-heads				X	X							
Eclectic Victoriae												
Marble altars/bases				X	X							
Marble candelabra				X								
Marble cuirass statues				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Marble well-heads				X	X							
Terracotta plaques										X		
Terra Sigillata, Arretinian				X	X							
Unidentifiable												
Marble plaques				X	X							
Marble *oscilla*					X	X						

Appendix 2:
Pyrrhic dancers and males modelled on pyrrhic dancers

Table 5. Catalogue.

No.	Fig. no.	Whereabouts	Main reference	Records in online databases, with illustrations unless stated otherwise	Material and object type	Figure type	Date suggested by main reference	Date marked in Table 7
1	20	France, Paris, Musée du Louvre, MR 987 (MA 442)	Grassinger 1991, cat. no. 25	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne. uni-koeln.de/item/ objekt/24435 (no ill.); *Musée du Louvre* 2012, MR 987	Marble krater	Unidentifiable male	Middle of the first century BC	75–26 BC
2	25	Italy, Pompeii, Soprintendenza Archeologica, 55404	Seiler 1992, cat. no. 35		Marble *oscillum*	Unidentifiable male	Neronian	AD 50–74
3	24	Italy, Rome, Galleria Colonna	Carinci, Keutner, Musso *et al.* 1990, cat. no. 86		Marble plaque	Unidentifiable males	Tiberian or Claudian	AD 1–49
4	21	Italy, Rome, Villa Borghese	Grassinger 1991, cat. no. 51	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne. uni-koeln.de/item/ objekt/15823 (no ill.)	Marble krater	Eclectic curetes	ca 30–20 BC	50–1 BC
5	22	Vatican, Museo Pio Clementino, Galleria dei Candelabri, V33, 2749	Grassinger 1991, cat. no. 47	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne. uni-koeln.de/item/ objekt/20032 (no ill.)	Marble krater	Unidentifiable males	ca 10 BC	25–1 BC
6	18	Vatican, Museo Pio Clementino, Sala delle Muse, 321	Helbig, Speier, Andreae *et al.* 1963, cat. Sala delle Muse no. 58	*Arachne* 2012, http://arachne. uni-koeln.de/item/ objekt/21014 (no ill.)	Marble plaque	Pyrrhic dancers	Sullan	100–76 BC
7	1 & 23	Whereabouts unknown, found in Italy, Naples, Torre Annunziata (Villa Oplontis)	Grassinger 1991, cat. no. 60		Marble krater	Pyrrhic dancers	Julio-Claudian, before AD 62	25 BC–AD 74

Table 6. Occurrence.

	Pyrrhic dancers	Eclectic curetes	Unidentifiable males
Marble kraters	1	1	2
Marble *oscilla*			1
Marble plaques	1		1

Table 7. Chronology.

	100–76 BC	75–51 BC	50–26 BC	25–1 BC	AD 1–24	AD 25–49	AD 50–74	AD 75–99	AD 100–124	AD 125–149	AD 150–174	AD 175–199
Pyrrhic dancers												
Marble kraters				■	■	■	■					
Marble plaques	■											
Eclectic curetes												
Marble kraters			■	■								
Unidentifiable males												
Marble kraters		■	■	■								
Marble *oscilla*							■					
Marble plaques					■	■						

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