

Portraits of Women as Goddesses and Heroines in Cross-Gendered Dress
from the Roman Imperial Period

by

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Abstract

This study focuses on the private portraits of women as goddesses and heroines in cross-gendered dress - Omphale, Penthesilea, Virtus, Diana, Atalante, as well as the deymythologized versions thereof - which were set-up in funerary contexts of Rome especially, between the late 1st and early 4th centuries CE. This is the first comprehensive analysis of these portrait types, connected on the basis of their cross-gendered dress.

The production of these portrait types for women initially seems surprising. Female-to-male cross-dressing was perceived as a transgressive act in Roman society; moreover, the portrait types for women typically emphasized their femininity, modesty and passivity. As such, the primary aim is to determine how the visualization of women in cross-gendered dress became a praiseworthy form of commemoration. It is possible to approach these monuments using semiotics, against the background of theories of gender, dress and social memory.

The private portraits of women as goddesses and heroines in cross-gendered dress serve as “sites of memory” not just for their families and closest friends, but also for their social groups. This presents certain possibilities for representing the female deceased, while imposing certain constraints. It appears that the sartorial code expresses *a particularly “female” virtus* not only in its own right, but also in conjunction with other signs, which complements their more traditional virtues in meaningful ways. In the final analysis, this seeming cultural “violation” is certainly striking and exceptional, yet the messages it conveys hardly challenge traditional gender roles, relations and hierarchies.



For my mom

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I gratefully acknowledge all of the institutions and museums that have placed their images in the public domain or under similar licenses, or have provided me with images and reproduction rights at no charge, due to the educational and non-commercial nature of this project. No amount of words can possibly replace an image itself - and this thesis is first and foremost about visual culture - so being able to show these images has been crucial for sharing my thoughts about them, as well as for letting the readers get their own impressions and form their own opinions.

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21b. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Greece), inv. 4019. Portrait statue of a woman as Diana (cat. DIA13), 150-170 CE. Digital image courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Photographer: Michalis Zorgias. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development (H.O.C.R.E.D.).

22a. Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, Rome (Italy), inv. 9778. Statue group of Diana and Iphigenia (cat. DIA14), middle of the 2nd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/689302>> (28.11.2020). Photographer: Barbara Malter. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

23a. Lost. Roman sarcophagus featuring the life of Hippolytus, with a portrait group of a man and woman as Hippolytus and Diana (cat. DIA15), first few decades of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <arachne.dainst.org/entity/5549084> (07.04.2021). Photographer: Singer. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

23b. Palazzo Lepri-Gallo, Rome (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring a boar hunt, with a portrait group of a man and women as a *venator* and Artemisian huntress (cat. DIA16), 220-230 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3290471>> (28.11.2020). Photographer: Singer. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

24a. Palazzo Lepri-Gallo, Rome (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring a boar hunt, with a portrait group of a man and women as a *venator* and Artemisian huntress (detail: hunt scene) (cat. DIA16), 220-230 CE. © S. Hollaender.

24b. Palazzo Lepri-Gallo, Rome (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring a boar hunt, with a portrait group of a man and women as a *venator* and Artemisian huntress (detail: “departure” scene) (cat. DIA16), 220-230 CE. © S. Hollaender.

25a. Palazzo Lepri-Gallo, Rome (Italy). Kline lid with a portrait group of a man and woman reclining (cat. DIA16), 220-230 CE. © S. Hollaender.

25b. Museo de Arqueología de Cataluña, Barcelona (Spain), inv. 870. Roman sarcophagus featuring a lion hunt, with a portrait group a man and woman as a lion hunter and Artemisian huntress (cat. DIA17), ca. 230 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4627384>> (29.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

26a. Musei Civici di Belluno, Museo Archeologico, Belluno (Italy), inv. MBCL16445. Northern Italian sarcophagus of C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus and Domitia Severa (front side: portrait of the man as a togate figure and of the woman as a palliata figure) (cat. DIA18), ca. 230 CE. Museo Civico di Belluno, Archivio fotografico. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

26b. Musei Civici di Belluno, Museo Archeologico, Belluno (Italy), inv. MBCL16445. Northern Italian sarcophagus of C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus and Domitia Severa (right side: portrait of the man as a hunter on horseback pursuing a boar) (cat. DIA18), ca. 230 CE. Museo Civico di Belluno, Archivio fotografico. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

27a. Musei Civici di Belluno, Museo Archeologico, Belluno (Italy), inv. MBCL16445. Northern Italian sarcophagus of C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus and Domitia Severa (back side: portrait of the man as a

hunter on horseback returning from a bear hunt) (cat. DIA18), ca. 230 CE. Museo Civico di Belluno, Archivio fotografico. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

27b. Musei Civici di Belluno, Museo Archeologico, Belluno (Italy), inv. MBCL16445. Northern Italian sarcophagus of C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus and Domitia Severa (left side: portrait of the woman as an Artemisian huntress subduing a deer) (cat. DIA18), ca. 230 CE. Museo Civico di Belluno, Archivio fotografico. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

28a. Wilton House, Wiltshire (England), inv. 1963,25. Roman sarcophagus with an (unfinished) portrait group of a man and woman as Atalante and Meleager (cat. ATA1), middle of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/394142>> (11.11.2020). Photographer: Gisela Geng. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

28b. Wilton House, Wiltshire (England), inv. 1963,25. Roman sarcophagus with an (unfinished) portrait group of a man and woman as Atalante and Meleager (detail: portrait group) (cat. ATA1), middle of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3381571>> (11.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

29a. Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, Basel (Switzerland), inv. Lu 257. Roman sarcophagus featuring a (partially unfinished) portrait group of a boy as a boar hunter and a girl as an Atalantian huntress (cat. ATA2), final quarter of 3rd century CE. © Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig. Reproduced with permission from the museum.

29b. San Sebastiano fuori le mura, Museo, Rome (Italy). Roman hunt sarcophagus with a portrait of a woman (Bera) as a lion hunter, 280-300 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4199529>> (16.04.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

30a. Nieborów Palace, Nieborów (Poland). Roman sarcophagus with a portrait of a woman as a lion hunter (detail: portrait figure), 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2025143>> (03.06.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

30b. British Museum (London, England), inv. 1847,0424.19. Marble relief commemorating two female gladiators, Amazon and Akhillia, 1st-2nd century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

31a. J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 70.AA.113. Portrait statue of Faustina Maior (Large Herculaneum Woman type), 140-160 CE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.

31b. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (USA), inv. 23.88. Portrait statue of a woman (Pudicitia type), 1st century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Walters Art Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

32a. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen (Denmark), inv. 711. Portrait statue of a woman as Venus (Capitoline type), Trajanic Period. © Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

32b. J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 83.AA.275.1. Roman sarcophagus featuring Bacchus' discovery of Ariadne, with an (unfinished) portrait of a woman as Ariadne, 210-220 CE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.

33a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 56.171.11. Attic black-figure amphora featuring Herakles (tanned skin) fighting the Nemean Lion, with Athena (pale skin) observing, ca. 540 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

33b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 10.210.8. Attic neck-amphora featuring men in chariots (nude) and women mourning (long robes), final quarter of the 8th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

34a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 14.130.12. Attic black-figure amphora featuring running athletes (nude) (detail), ca. 530 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

34b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 41.162.84. Attic red-figure lekythos featuring a Greek hoplite (nude but armed), second quarter of 5th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

35a. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (USA), inv. 48.2115. Attic red-figure kylix featuring a Greek boar hunter (nude), ca. 480 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Walters Art Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

35b. J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 86.AE.230. Attic red-figure kalpis featuring Herakles (nude) wrestling the Nemean Lion, ca. 470 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.

36a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 08.258.41. Attic marble stele with portrait of Sostratos as an athlete (nude), ca. 375-350 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

36b. J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 80.AE.31. Attic red-figure kylix featuring a *hetaira* (nude) pleasuring a male client, ca. 510 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.

37a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 1972.118.148a, b. Attic red-figure pyxis featuring a women (nude) taking her nuptial bath, ca. 420-400 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

37b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 56.171.41. Attic red-figure neck-amphora featuring Ajax assaulting Cassandra (nude), ca. 450 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

38a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1862,0530.1. Attic red-figure pelike featuring Peleus abducting Thetis (nude), 360-350 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

38b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 06.1021.176. Attic red-figure stamnos featuring a warrior (short *chiton*, also with a short overfold) departing for battle, ca. 450 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

39a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 08.258.27. Attic red-figure alabastron featuring a woman (long *chiton*, *himation*), ca. 440 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

39b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1816,0610.77. Marble block featuring men (short *chiton*) in a calvacade from the south frieze of the Parthenon, 438-432 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

40a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1886,1008.1. Attic funerary stele featuring warriors (short *chiton*) (detail), ca. 400 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

40b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 07.286.70. Attic red-figure loutrophoros featuring two warriors (one in a cuirass and short *chiton*, the other just in a short *chiton*), ca. 460 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

41a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 76.12.7. Attic red-figure skyphos featuring Theseus (short *chiton*) pursuing the Minotaur (side a), ca. 460 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

41b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 76.12.7. Attic red-figure skyphos featuring Theseus (short *chiton*) pursuing the Minotaur (side b), ca. 460 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

42a. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Greece), inv. 3273. Funerary lethykos of Antiphon as a hunter (short *chiton*). Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/149241>> (12.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

42b. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. G 637. Attic red-figure cup featuring a hunter (short *chiton*) pursuing a boar, second quarter of the 5th century BCE. © 1992 Musée du Louvre / Patrick Lebaube. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

43a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 2011.604.3.2599a, b. Fragments of an Attic black-figure kylix featuring hunters (short *chiton*) in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

43b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1856,1213.1. Attic kalyx-krater featuring women (one wearing an *ependytes* over a long *chiton*) dancing (upper register), 460-450 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

44a. Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), F 2588. Attic skyphos featuring Odysseus (*exomis*) shooting the suitors of Penelope, ca. 440 BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Jürgen Liepe. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

44b. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (England), inv. AN1896-1908.G.287. Attic red-figure bell-krater featuring a potter (*exomis*), ca. 430-425 BCE. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

45a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 21.88.17. Attic white-ground lekythos featuring Charon (*exomis*), ca. 450 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

45b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1849,0620.13. Apulian red-figure bell-krater featuring actors (*exomis*) performing a scene from comedy (parody of the myth of Cheiron cured by Apollo), ca. 380-370 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

46a. Akropolis Museum, Athens (Greece), inv. 859. Marble block featuring a charioteer (*exomis*) in a calvacade from the north frieze of the Parthenon, 438-432 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/391480>> (12.11.2020). Photographer: Hermann Wagner. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

46b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 40.11.23. Attic funerary stele featuring a man as a warrior (*exomis*), ca. 390 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

47a. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Ferrara, Ferrara (Italy), inv. 3066 T. 512. Attic bell-krater featuring Theseus (*exomis*) fighting Sinis, ca. 430 BCE. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura - Archivio Fotografico Direzione regionale Musei dell'Emilia-Romagna. Any further reproduction or duplication of this image is prohibited.

47b. Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, Basel (Switzerland), inv. BS 233. Attic funerary stele of a youth (*himation* draped like an *exomis*) as a hunter, beginning of the 4th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/397749>> (12.11.2020). Photographer: Hermann Wagner. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

48a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 25.78.2. Attic red-figure lekythos featuring Hermes (*chlamys* pinned on right shoulder) running, ca. 480-470 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

48b. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques, Paris (France), inv. De Ridder.422. Lucanian bell-krater featuring Odysseus, between Eurylochos and Perimedes (*chlamys* bunched on the left shoulder), consulting the spirit of Tiresias, ca. 390 BCE.

49a. Akropolis Museum, Athens (Greece). Marble block featuring a charioteer (*chlamys*) in a calvacade from the west frieze of the Parthenon, 438-432 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4389566>> (12.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

49b. Dipylon Cemetery, Athens (Greece). Attic funerary relief with a cavalryman (*chlamys*), early 4th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3779640>> (13.11.2020). Photographer: Walter Hege. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

50a. J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 84.AE.974. Attic red-figure volute krater featuring Athena and Herakles (using his lion skin as a *chlamys*) preparing to attack Alkyoneos, 480-470 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.

50b. Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), SK 809. Funerary relief with a heroized deceased (*chlamys*), middle of the 2nd century BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Ingrid Geske. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

51a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 96.18.68. Attic red-figure kylix featuring a man (*himation* leaving the right shoulder and arm free), middle of the 5th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

51b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 53.149. Attic white-ground lekythos featuring a trainer (*himation*), first quarter of the 5th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

52a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1849,0518.3. Attic red-figure amphora featuring Herakles (club, lion skin, bow) accompanied by Nike and Zeus. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

52b. J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 86.AE.298. Attic red-figure cup featuring a nude athlete pouring oil from an *aryballos* (with a discus and two javelins in the background), ca. 510 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.

53a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 2011.604.1.7732. Attic red-figure kylix featuring an athlete using a *strigil*, second quarter of the 5th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

53b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1836,0224.122. Attic black-figure amphora featuring the Judgement of Paris, including Hermes (*endromides*), ca. 520 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

54a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1816,0610.70. Marble block featuring men (*embades*) in a calvacade from the south frieze of the Parthenon, 438-432 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

54b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1816,0610.128. Marble caryatid (*peplos*) from the Erechtheion, 421-406 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

55a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1910,0711.1. Attic red-figure loutrophoros featuring a groom and bride (*himation* drawn over her head), ca. 425 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

55a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 13.232.3. Apulian red-figure lekythos featuring a woman (long *chiton*) pushing a girl (long *chiton*) on a swing (perhaps during a festival), ca. 375-350 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

56a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1856,0512.12. Apulian oinochoe featuring a girl (?) (short tunic) playing with a tortoise, 360-350 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

56b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1873,0820.354. Attic red-figure hydria featuring girls (short *chiton*, *ependytes*) taking dance lessons, 430 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

57a. Herbert Cahn Collection, Basel (Switzerland), inv. HC 501. Krateriskos featuring girls (short *chiton*) running, as part of the ritual for the (side a), 430-430 BCE.

57b. Herbert Cahn Collection, Basel (Switzerland), inv. HC 501. Krateriskos featuring girls (short *chiton*) running, as part of the ritual for the Arkteia (side b), 430-420 BCE..

58a. Herbert Cahn Collection, Basel (Switzerland), inv. HC 502. Krateriskos featuring girls (nude) running, as part of the ritual for the Arkteia, 430-420 BCE.

59a. Archaeological Museum, Brauron (Greece), inv. 5, 1151. Votive relief of Aristonike, by 356 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2100115>> (13.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

59b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 21.88.2. Attic red-figure hydria featuring men dancing the Pyrrhiche, ca. 500 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

60a. Thiva Archaeological Museum, Thebes (Greece), inv. Th.P. 699. Boeotian red-figure lekythos featuring a girl dancing the Pyrrhiche, 440-430 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2092939>> (14.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

60b. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. H 3010. Attic red-figure pyxis featuring prenuptial rituals, including a girl dancing the Pyrrhiche in front of a statue of Artemis, ca. 440 BCE.

61a. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. Stg 281. Attic bell-figure krater featuring a girl dancing the Pyrrhiche at the symposium, 450-430 BCE.

61b. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Greece), inv. 24. Laconian bronze statuette featuring a girl wearing a short *chiton* and running (female athlete at Sparta?), 550-540 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/1506874>> (15.11.2020). Photographer: Gösta Hellner. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

62a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 38.11.3. Laconian bronze mirror with a support in the form of a nude girl (female athlete at Sparta?), second half of the 6th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

62b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 41.11.5a. Bronze mirror with a support in the form of a girl wearing a *perizoma* (female athlete at Sparta?), final quarter of the 6th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

63a. J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 86.AE.297. Attic red-figure cup featuring a female charioteer, ca. 430-420 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.

63b. Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels (Belgium), inv. A 11. Attic red-figure skyphos featuring a male courtship scene (side a), 480-470 BCE. © RMAH, Brussels. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

64a. Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels (Belgium), inv. A 11. Attic red-figure skyphos featuring a female courtship scene (Side B), 480-470 BCE. © RMAH, Brussels. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

64b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 06.1021.167. Attic red-figure kylix featuring a woman bringing a reluctant girl to school, ca. 460-450 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

65a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1876,0510.1. Laconian bronze statuette featuring a girl wearins an *exomis* and running (in the Heraia?), ca. 560 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

65b. Musei Vaticani, Galleria dei Candelabri (Vatican City State), inv. 2784. Marble statue of a girl wearing an *exomis* and preparing to run (in the Heraia?), Roman copy of a bronze original of about 460 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAL.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/5085631>> (14.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

66a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1863,0728.440. Attic red-figure lekythos featuring a woman arming a man, 440-430 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

66b. Museo Archeologico Provinciale di Santa Scolastica, Bari (Italy), inv. 4979. Attic red-figure krater featuring women using athletic accessories to wash themselves (e.g. aryballos, strigil), ca. 490 BCE.

67a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1848,0619.7. Attic red-figure cup featuring men reclining at the symposium, accompanied by a *hetaira*, a female musician, and a youth with a dipper and a strainer, 490-480 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

67b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1848,0619.7. Attic red-figure cup featuring a man reclining at a symposium, entertained by a dancing girl, 490-480 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

68a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 2011.604.1.6788. Attic red-figure kylix featuring a man and a *hetaira* reclining at the symposium, 480-470 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

68b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1843,1103.4. Attic cup featuring komasts, 480-475 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

69a. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. G 220. Attic red-figure amphora featuring an Anakreontic komast, first quarter of the 5th century BCE. © 2002 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

69b. J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 86.AE.293. Attic red-figure cup featuring Anakreontic komasts, ca. 480 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.

70a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1920,0216.2. Attic cup featuring men and women dancing at the komos, 550-530 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

70b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1814,0704.566. Campanian red-figure hydria featuring a female acrobat, ca. 340-330 BCE © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

71a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 36.11.1. Attic funerary stele of a woman and her female servant, ca. 400-390 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

71b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 24.97.27. Attic red-figure neck-amphora featuring a woman receiving a chest from her female servant, middle of the 5th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

72a. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (Spain), inv. 11117. Attic red-figure hydria featuring women fetching water from a fountain house, 490 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional. Photo: Antonio Trigo Arnal. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

72b. Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. V.I. 3228. Attic pelike featuring women fetching water, assaulted by saytrs, ca. 490 BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

73a. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Greece), inv. 1045. Attic black-figure oinochoe featuring a Lydian drinking party (side a), Archaic Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2712403>. Photographer: Hermann Wagner. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

73b. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Greece), inv. 1045. Attic black-figure oinochoe featuring a Lydian drinking party (side b), Archaic Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2712401>. Photographer: Hermann Wagner. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

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74b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 41.162.19. Attic red-figure lekythos featuring a running maenad, ca. 460 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

75a. Museo Provinciale Sigismondo Castromediano, Lecce (Italy), inv. 638. Apulian red-figure bell-amphora featuring the Theban women ready to attack Pentheus. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4104632>> (15.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

75b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1843,1207.2. Attic red-figure vessel-stand featuring a maenad dancing, ca. 520-510 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

76a. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. K 300. Attic red-figure amphora featuring Medea slaying her children, third quarter of the 4th century BCE. © RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Maurice et Pierre Chazeville. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

76b. Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. F 2188. Attic red-figure stamnos featuring the Peliades and the rejuvenated ram they had butchered, second quarter of the 5th century BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

77a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 01.8.6. Siana cup featuring a running gorgon, ca. 575 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

77b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 45.11.1. Attic red-figure pelike featuring Perseus pursuing the gorgon Medusa, ca. 450-440 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

78a. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (USA), inv. 1994.11.1. Apulian red-figure bell-krater featuring the Erinyes pursuing Orestes, ca. 375 BCE. Digital image courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery. Reproduced under Yale University's Open Access Policy.

78b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1864,1007.82. Attic red-figure neck-amphora featuring Phineus and the Harpyiai, ca. 470-450 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

79a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 06.1021.93. Attic red-figure oinochoe featuring Iris crouching, 470-460 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

79b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. X.21.15. Attic black-figure oinochoe featuring Hera sending out Iris with the Nemean lion, ca. 500 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

80a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1867,0508.975. Attic cup featuring Nike (?) running, flanked by two men, 550-525 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

80b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 25.78.1. Attic red-figure lekythos featuring Nike, ca. 480-470 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

81a. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. G 115. Attic red-figure cup featuring Eos collecting the body of her son Memnon, 490-480 BCE. © 1999 RMN / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

81b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 25.78.2. Attic red-figure lethykos featuring Hermes, ca. 480-470 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

82a. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (Italy), inv. 611. Statue of Aphrodite with a sword, Roman copy of a Greek original dating to about the middle of the 4th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6960369>> (15.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

82b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1923,0401.1153. Cameo featuring Omphale holding the club and lion skin of Herakles, Hellenistic Period. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

83a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1772,0320.19.+. Attic bell-krater featuring Nereids on hippocampi, carrying the arms of Achilles, ca. 350 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

83b. Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. F 1837. Attic neck-amphora featuring Peleus wrestling Atalante, ca. 490 BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

84a. Martin von Wagner Museum, Würzburg (Germany), inv. L328. Attic black-figure stamnos featuring wrestlers in loincloths (side a), ca. 510 BCE. © Martin von Wagner Museum of Würzburg University (photograph: C. Kiefer). Reproduced with permission of the museum.

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85a. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. CA 2259. Attic red-figure cup featuring Atalante, dressed in a *strophion* and *perizoma*, second quarter of the 5th century BCE. © Musée du Louvre / Maurice et Pierre Chuzeville. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

85b. Museo Civico Archeologico, Bologna (Italy), inv. 300. Attic red-figure kelch krater featuring Atalante preparing for the footrace against Meilanion or Hippomenes, 430-420 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2687136>> (15.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

86a. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques, Paris (France), inv. De Ridder.818. Attic red-figure cup featuring Peleus admiring Atalante, ca. 390-370 BCE.

86b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 07.286.68. Attic black-figure lekythos featuring Athena fighting in the Gigantomachy, first quarter of the 5th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

87a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1824,0501.16. Attic red-figure lekythos featuring an Amazon preparing for battle, ca. 500-475 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

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88a. R. Blatter Collection, Bolligen (Switzerland). Fragment of an Attic black-figure Dinos featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, including Atalante, ca. 570-560 BCE.

88b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 05.30. Bronze statue of the emperor Trebonianus Gallus (nude), 251-253 CE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

89a. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Turkey), inv. 124. Portrait statue of a man (short *tunica* and *sagum*), middle of the Antonine Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4224752>> (30.05.2021). Photographer: Raoul Laev. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

89b. Museo Archeologico Ostiense, Ostia (Italy), inv. 5203. Terracotta funerary relief showing the midwife Scribonia Attice helping a woman give birth, 2nd century CE. Digital image courtesy of the Direzione Generale Musei Parco Archeologico di Ostia Antica. © Archivio Fotografico del Parco Archeologico di Ostia Antica.

90a. Pompeii, VI 10,1b (Italy). Wall-painting featuring a bar-keeper (male? female?) serving a soldier, before 62 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <arachne.dainst.org/entity/419049> (30.05.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

90b. Villa Doria Pamphilj, Casino Belrespiro, Rome (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring the Meleager and Atalante in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, 170-180 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/685388>> (15.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

91a. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (Italy), inv. 726. Roman sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy, 140/150 CE. Photo: S. Hollaender. Roma, Musei Capitolini. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

91b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1805,0703.154. Roman sarcophagus featuring the discovery of Achilles on Skyros, ca. 220-230 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

92a. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. 6406. Statue of Hercules and Omphale, 1st century BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3876712>> (19.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

92b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1851,0416.16. Attic pelike featuring Hercules and Omphale (?), perhaps trading their dress, ca. 430 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

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93b. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland (USA), inv. 1916.973. Phokian hekte featuring the head of Omphale (obverse), 4th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

94a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1905,0711.5. Scaraboid featuring Omphale with the club and lion skin of Herakles, 4th century BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

94b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1905,0711.5. Impression of a scaraboid featuring Omphale with the club and lion skin of Herakles, 4th century BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

95a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1923,0401.597. Glass paste featuring Omphale holding the club and lion skin of Herakles, 1st-3rd century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

95b. Warren Collection, Brunswick (USA), inv. 1906,2. Relief featuring a drunken Hercules and erotes playing with his weapons, Hellenistic Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4949145>> (08.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

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96b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1805,0703.227. Roman puteal featuring Hercules struggling with Omphale in a bacchic setting, 1st-2nd century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

97a. Musei Capitolini, Rome (Italy), inv. 45. Statue of Omphale dancing like a maenad, 1st/2nd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/1415978>> (25.04.2021). Photographer: Barbara Malter. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

97b. J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 83.AQ.377.463. Roman lamp featuring Omphale sleeping, 1st century BCE - 4th century CE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.

98a. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. NIII 3445. Arretine bell-krater featuring Hercules and Omphale in a procession of chariots (side a), final quarter of the 1st century BCE. © 2008 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

98b. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. NIII 3445. Arretine bell-krater featuring Hercules and Omphale in a procession of chariots (side b), final quarter of the 1st century BCE. © 2008 RMN-Grand

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99a. Reconstruction of the Hercules-Omphale cycle from the workshop of Marcus Perennius (Phase 1) (divided here into two sections). F.P. Porten Palange. *Die Werkstätten der arretinischen Reliefkeramik, Monographien (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz)* 76 (Mainz 2009), table 22 (Komb. Per 3). © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum / M. Weber. Reproduced with permission of the publisher.

99b. Reconstruction of the Hercules-Omphale cycle from the workshop of Cn. Ateius. F.P. Porten Palange. *Die Werkstätten der arretinischen Reliefkeramik, Monographien (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz)* 76 (Mainz 2009), table 91 (Komb. At 23). © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum / M. Weber. Reproduced with permission of the publisher.

100a. Reconstruction of the Hercules-Omphale cycle from the workshop of Marcus Perennius (Phase 4). F.P. Porten Palange. *Die Werkstätten der arretinischen Reliefkeramik, Monographien (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz)* 76 (Mainz 2009), table 56 (Komb. Per 95). © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum / M. Weber. Reproduced with permission of the publisher.

100b. Drawing of a stamp depicting Hercules seated and meditating from the workshop of Marcus Perennius. F.P. Porten Palange, *Katalog der Punzenmotive in der arretinischen Reliefkeramik, Kataloge vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer* 38 (Mainz 2004), table 82 (mMG/Herakles re 2a). © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum / M. Weber. Reproduced with permission of the publisher.

101a. Museo Archeologico Gaio Cilnio Mecante, Depot, Arezzo (Italy), inv. 4933. Fragment of a mold for an Arretine cup featuring Hercules as an actor among the Muses, from the workshop of Marcus Perennius. Su autorizzazione della SOPRINTENDENZA Archeologia, belle arti e paesaggio per le province di Siena, Grosseto e Arezzo. Any further reproduction or duplication of this image is prohibited.

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102a. Drawing of a stamp depicting Hercules as a portly caricature from the workshop of Marcus Perennius. F.P. Porten Palange, *Katalog der Punzenmotive in der arretinischen Reliefkeramik, Kataloge vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer* 38 (Mainz 2004), plate 83 (mMG/Herakles li 7a). © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum / M. Weber. Reproduced with permission of the publisher.

102b. Reconstruction of the procession of Bacchus from the workshop of Marcus Perennius (Phase 3). F.P. Porten Palange. *Die Werkstätten der arretinischen Reliefkeramik, Monographien (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz)* 76 (Mainz 2009), table 43 (Komb. Per 62). © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum / M. Weber. Reproduced with permission of the publisher.

103a. Museo Archeologico Gaio Cilnio Mecante, Arezzo (Italy), inv. 2108. Mold for an Arretine cup featuring Hercules reclining with a woman at the symposium, from the workshop of Marcus Perennius. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura - Direzione regionale Musei della Toscana - Firenze. Any further reproduction or duplication of this image is prohibited.

103b. Cornell Plaster Cast Collection, Ithaca (USA), inv. 580. Reproduction of an Arretine cup featuring Hercules reclining with a woman at the symposium, from the workshop of Marcus Perennius. Digital image courtesy of the Cornell Plaster Cast Collection. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

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104b. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome (Italy), inv. 15803. Fragment of an Arretine vessel featuring Hercules making love to a woman, from the workshop of Marcus Perennius.

105a. Reconstruction of the symposium cycle from the Workshop of Marcus Perennius (limited to one half here). F.P. Porten Palange. *Die Werkstätten der arretinischen Reliefkeramik, Monographien (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz) 76* (Mainz 2009), table 30 (Komb. Per 33). © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum / M. Weber. Reproduced with permission of the publisher.

105b. Reconstruction of the symplegma cycle from the Workshop of Marcus Perennius (limited to one half here). F.P. Porten Palange. *Die Werkstätten der arretinischen Reliefkeramik, Monographien (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz) 76* (Mainz 2009), table 31 (Komb. Per 37). © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum / M. Weber. Reproduced with permission of the publisher.

106a. Römerhaus, Augst (Switzerland). Fragment of a terracotta relief vessel featuring Omphale triumphantly bearing the club and lion skin of Hercules and Victoria reaching out to crown her with a wreath, Roman Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2089205>> (15.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

106b. Reconstruction of a campana plaque featuring Omphale triumphantly receiving the attributes of Hercules, based on the fragments located at the Universität Tübingen and the Museo Nazionale Romano (inv. 39600), 1st century BCE/CE. J. Boardman, Omphale, in: *LIMC VII* (Zürich 1994) 45-53, p. 50 fig. 41.

107a. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques, Paris (France), inv. 56.11. Silver phiale featuring Omphale sleeping, surrounded by erotes and the attributes of Hercules, first half of the 1st century CE.

107b. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MR 220. The Sleeping Hermaphroditus, Roman copy of a Greek original dating to the 2nd century BCE. © 2011 Musée du Louvre / Thierry Ollivier. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

108a. Drawing of a Pompeian wall-painting (from VIII 4, 34) featuring Hercules spinning among Omphale and her Lydian maidens, from the 1st century CE (before 79 CE). Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/5022361>> (15.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

108b. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. 9000. Pompeian wall-painting (from the Scavo del Principe di Montenegro: Il Is. Occid. 15) featuring Omphale observing a group of erotes stealing the arms of Hercules, lying drunk on the ground before her, middle of the 1st century CE. Photo: No Copyright. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura - Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.

109a. Casa di Sirico (VII 1, 25), Pompeii (Italy). Wall-painting featuring Omphale observing erotes stealing the arms of Hercules, lying drunk on the ground before her, ca. 70 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3490806>> (15.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

109b. Drawing of a Pompeian wall-painting (from the Casa del Forno di Ferro: VI, 13, 6) featuring Omphale observing erotes stealing the arms of Hercules, lying drunk on the ground before her, from the middle of the 1st century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2876734>> (15.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

110a. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. 8992. Pompeian wall-painting (from the Casa di Marcus Lucretius: IX 3, 5.24) featuring Hercules and Omphale in the Dionysian thiasos, middle of the 1st century CE. Photo: No copyright. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura - Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.

110b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1805,0703.124. Roman strigillated sarcophagus featuring Bacchus leaning on a satyr, ca. 200 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

111a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1873,0820.119. Bronze jar featuring the bacchic thiasos, including the drunken Hercules being supported by the revellers, 1st century BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

111b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1899,0215.1. Roman wall-painting featuring Bacchus and Silenus, 30 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

112a. Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. SK 1459. Aphrodite Urania, late Hellenistic or early Roman copy of a Greek original dating to ca. 430-420 BCE. © Photos: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Jürgen Liepe. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

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113b. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. MN 929. Pompeian wall-painting featuring a portrait of a young woman with a stylus and tablet, before 79 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3185051>> (04.05.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

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114b. Drawing of a Pompeian wall-painting (from VII 1, 25.47) featuring Hercules seated before Omphale, holding the bow of Hercules, before 79 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/5343161>> (05.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

115a. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (Russia), inv. GR-24193. Jasper intaglio featuring Omphale holding the club and lion skin of Hercules, 1st century BCE. Photo © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Vladimir Terebenin, Alexander Koksharov. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

115b. Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University, Atlanta (U.S.A.), inv. 2008.31.28. Intaglio with Omphale. Roman. Julio-Claudian, late 1st Century BC - 1st Century AD. Chalcedony var. cornelian. Gift of the Estate of Michael J. Shubin. <<http://www.carlos.emory.edu>> (12.04.2020) © Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University. Photo by Bruce M. White, 2010. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

116a. Staatliche Münzsammlung München, Munich (Germany), inv. A 2926. Cameo featuring Omphale coquettishly playing with the club and lion skin of Hercules, 1st century CE. Digital image courtesy of the Staatliche Münzsammlung München. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

116b. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung und Ephesosmuseum, Vienna (Austria), inv. IX B 1560. Intaglio featuring Hercules and Omphale embracing, 1st century BCE.

117a. Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig (Germany). Intaglio featuring Hercules and Omphale embracing, 1st century BCE/CE. Digital image courtesy of Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

117b. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung und Ephesosmuseum, Vienna (Austria), inv. IX B 1364. Intaglio featuring Hercules and Omphale making love, late 1st century BCE.

118a. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung und Ephesosmuseum, Vienna (Austria), inv. IX B 1365. Intaglio featuring Hercules and Omphale making love, 1st century BCE.

118b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1856,1226.808. Silver mirror with handle in the form of Hercules' club and lion skin (sides a and b), 2nd century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

119a. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (USA), inv. 57.1541. Greek diadem with Hercules-knot, 3rd-2nd century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Walters Art Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

119b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1884,0614.13. Hercules-knot with Eros, Hellenistic Period. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

120a. Musei Vaticani, Magazzino (Vatican City State), inv. 18919. Roman tub-sarcophagus featuring Hercules and Omphale in the Dionysian thiasos, 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4588450>> (15.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

120b. Bardo National Museum, Tunis (Tunisia), inv. 2788. Mosaic featuring Hercules reclining in the presence of Omphale and Bacchus, 3rd century CE.

121a. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. 6776. Roman sarcophagus featuring the Dionysian thiasos, including Hercules trying to embrace a maenad, end of the 2nd century CE. Digital

image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4637864>> (15.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

121b. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Greece), inv. 3335. Slipper-Slapper Group (Aphrodite, Eros, Pan), 100 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/361168>> (15.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

122a. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. LL 49. Roman sarcophagus Roman sarcophagus featuring Bacchus' discovery of Ariadne, with an (unfinished) portrait of a woman as Ariadne, 220-240 CE. © Photo RMN / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

122b. Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire (England). Roman sarcophagus featuring the triumph of Bacchus, with a portrait of a man a Hercules, 220-240 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4627454>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

123a. Antalya Archaeological Museum, Antalya (Turkey), inv. 928. Asiatic columnar sarcophagus featuring the Twelve Labours of Hercules, as well as Omphale, 150-170 CE.

123b. Antalya Archaeological Museum, Antalya (Turkey), inv. 928. Asiatic columnar sarcophagus featuring the Twelve Labours of Hercules, as well as Omphale (detail: short side a), 150-170 CE.

124a. Antalya Archaeological Museum, Antalya (Turkey), inv. 2017/400. Asiatic columnar sarcophagus featuring the Twelve Labours of Hercules, as well as Omphale (detail: short side a), 150-170 CE.

124b. Antalya Archaeological Museum, Antalya (Turkey), inv. 2017/400. Asiatic columnar sarcophagus featuring the Twelve Labours of Hercules, as well as Omphale (detail: short side b), 150-170 CE.

125a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 03.12.13. State of Hercules (New York type), 69-96 CE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

125b. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 96.AB.185. Statuette of Hercules (Farnese type), 1st century CE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.

126a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1867,0101.1365. Roman denarius featuring Apollo (obverse) and Hercules Musarum (reverse), 66 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

126b. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MA 439. Statue of Aphrodite (Arles type), Roman copy of a Greek original dating to the second quarter of the 4th century BCE. © 2006 Musée du Louvre/Daniel Lebée/Carine Deambrosis Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

127a. Rhode Island School of Design Museum, Providence (USA), inv. 02.004. Fragment of a Roman sarcophagus featuring Omphale, ca. 200 CE. Digital image courtesy of the Rhode Island School of Design Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

127b. Nationalmuseet i København, Copenhagen (Denmark), inv. 13530. Clay relief mug featuring Priapus in the bacchic *thiasos*, 1st century BCE/CE. © Nationalmuseet i København. Photographer: John Lee. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-SA 2.0).

128a. Private Collection. Statue of Priapus, Roman Imperial Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2026459>> (16.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

128b. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (Spain), inv. 38315BIS. Mosaic featuring Hercules and Omphale surrounded by the Twelve Labours, 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional. Photo: Lola Hernando Robles. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

129a. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. 6742. Roman relief featuring Omphale being grasped by Hercules, with Eros, 2nd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7559154>> (16.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

129b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1986,0501.81. Magical gem featuring Hercules fighting the Nemean Lion, 3rd century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

130a. Staatliche Münzsammlung München, Munich (Germany), inv. P. Arndt 2356. Impression of a magical gem featuring Omphale fighting a donkey (front) and text (back). Digital image courtesy of the Staatliche Münzsammlung München. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

130b. British Museum, London (England), inv. OA.9836. Magical gem featuring Hercules fighting the Nemean Lion (front) and Omphale fighting a donkey (back), 3rd century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

131a. Roman AE contorniate portraying Olympias in the guise of “Omphale” (obverse) and Roma sitting on a pile of arms (reverse), 350-435 CE. A. Alföldi - E. Alföldi. *Die Kontorniat-Medaillons II, Antike Münzen und geschnittene Steine 6* (Berlin 1990), pl. 23 fig. 7.

131b. Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Berlin (Germany), inv. 18203481. Roman AE contorniate featuring Olympias (obverse) and Alexander the Great (reverse), 355-395/423 CE. © Photo: Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Reinhard Saczewski. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

132a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1923,0401.752. Gem engraved with the bust of Hercules in profile. 1st-3rd century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

132b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1929,0811.43. Tetradrachm featuring Herakles (or Alexander as Herakles) (obverse) and Zeus (reverse), ca. 336-323 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

133a. Musei Vaticani, Cortile del Belvedere (Vatican City), inv. 936. Portrait of a Woman as Venus (Venus Felix type), second half of the 2nd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7706208>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License: CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE.

133b. Musei Capitolini, Sala delle Colombe, Rome (Italy), inv. 39. Statue featuring a boy as Hercules, late Antonine Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/694232>> (03.04.2021). Photographer: Barbara Malter. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

134a. Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti (Vatican City State), inv. 1771. Statue of Hercules (Chiaramonti type), Roman copy of a Greek original dating to end of the 4th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6481568>> (03.04.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

134b. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. 6017. Statue of Aphrodite (Capuan type), Roman copy of a Greek original dating to the last quarter of the 4th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6653079>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

135a. Musei Capitolini, Galleria, Rome (Italy), inv. 249. Roman sarcophagus featuring the abduction of Proserpina by Pluto, with a portrait of a woman as Proserpina, 222-235 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6691246>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

135b. Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, Rome (Italy), inv. 8642. Roman sarcophagus featuring the Twelve Labours of Hercules, with a portrait of a man as Hercules shooting the Stymphalian birds, 240-250 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7124169>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

136a. Palazzo Mattei, Rome (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring the abduction of Hylas by the nymphs, with a portrait group of a family as Hylas, the nymphs and the search party (Hercules and Iolaus?), second quarter of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/693017>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

136b. Bardo National Museum, Tunis (Tunisia), inv. 3047. Statue of a man as Hercules-Silvanus (?), middle of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4312378>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

137a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1861,1127.50. Statue of Demeter holding a staff and ears of corn, 150-200 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

137b. Arch of Trajan, Benevento (Italy). Relief featuring Trajan and a *signifer*, 114 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3781636>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

138a. Museo Civico, Arezzo (Italy). Statue of Silvanus, Roman Imperial Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/1665989>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

138b. Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo, Rome (Italy), inv. 106513. Roman nude portrait of a man, late Republican Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/496460>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

139a. J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 96.AA.213. Statue of Venus (Genetrix type), 2nd century CE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.

139b. Ostia Antica, Museo Ostiense (Italy), inv. 24. Portrait of a woman as Venus (Gentrix type), 110-120 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4666914>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

140a. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (Italy), inv. 4. Statue group of Mars and Venus, probably a modern pastiche of two ancient statues. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7041266>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

140b. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MR 316. Portrait statue group of a man and woman as Mars and Venus, ca. 120-140 CE. © 2008 RMN / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

141a. Villa Albani, Rome (Italy), inv. 435. Vita Romana Sarcophagus (Sacrifice/Wedding Sarcophagus), ca. 250 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3315353>> (06.12.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

141b. Museo Ostiense, Ostia Antica (Italy), inv. 5. Funerary relief featuring a portrait of a husband and wife accompanied by cupid, second half of the 2nd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7269930>> (24.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

142a. Cliveden House, Buckinghamshire (England). Roman sarcophagus featuring Theseus' abandonment of Ariadne, with a portrait group of a mother and son as Ariadne and Theseus, first half of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/697038>> (22.11.2020). Photographer: Raoul Laev. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

142b. Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano (Vatican City), inv. 9808. Portrait statue of a boy as Cupid wearing the lion skin of Hercules, Roman Imperial Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/704481>> (22.11.2020). Photographer: Raoul Laev. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

143a. Museo Civico Romano, Brescia (Italy), inv. MR 369. Statue of Victoria inscribing a shield, second quarter of the 1st century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/5088681>> (05.06.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

143b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1948,0423.1. Funerary relief featuring a portrait of a woman as Venus holding a palm branch, ca. 100-120 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

144a. J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 72.AA.93. Statue of Venus (Knidian type), 175-200 CE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.

144b. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen (Denmark), inv. 711. Portrait statue of a Woman as Venus (Capitoline type) (side view), Trajanic Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6675383>> (11.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

145a. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung (Albertinum), Dresden, inv. Hm 159. Statue of Hercules, Roman Imperial Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3260920>> (17.05.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

145b. Museo Nazionale Romano, Museo delle Terme, Rome (Italy), inv. 72115. Statue of Aphrodite (Kyrene type). Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7127642> (22.11.2020). Photographer: Barbara Malter. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

146a. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (USA), inv. 84.XO.251.3.73. Albumen silver print featuring a statue of Hercules (Albani type) from the Roman Imperial Period. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.

146b. Freie Universität, Abguss-Sammlung Antiker Plastik, Berlin (Germany), inv. 2/3 I.G. 2166. Cast of a statue of Aphrodite ("Sappho"/"Kore" Albani type), Classical Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2718591>> (22.11.2020). Photographer: Abguss-Sammlung Antiker Plastik der freien Universität (Institut für klassische Archäologie). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License: CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE.

147a. Nafplio Archaeological Museum, Nafplio (Greece), inv. 4509. Terracotta votive shield featuring an Amazonomachy, ca. 700 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4171326>> (03.04.2020). Photographer: Gösta Hellner. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

147b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 56.171.7. Attic black-figure amphora featuring Herakles and "Greek" Amazons in combat, ca. 530 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

148a. Archaeological Museum, Chalkis (Greece), inv. 4. Sculptural group of Theseus lifting Antiope, from the west pediment of the Temple of Apollo Daphnephoros, 510-490 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4120555>> (17.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

148b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1837,0609.59. Attic red-figure plate featuring a "Skythian" Amazon (or a Skythian), 520-510 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

149a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1836,0224.101. Attic red-figure cup featuring a "Greek" Amazon running alongside a "Skythian" Amazon, 510-500 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

149b. Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. F 2263. Attic red-figure kylix featuring Herakles fighting a "Greek" Amazon (with Thrakian *pelta*) and a "Skythian" Amazon, 530-500 BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

150a. J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 71.AE.202. Attic white-ground alabastron featuring an African warrior, ca. 480 CE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.

150b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1864,1007.253. Attic white-ground alabastron featuring an "African" Amazon, ca. 480 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

151a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 44.11.12. Attic red-figure neck-amphora featuring Greeks battling "Persian" Amazons, ca. 400 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

151b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 07.286.86. Attic red-figure calyx-krater featuring an Amazonomachy, with Amazons in various kinds of dress (side a), ca. 460-450 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

152a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 07.286.86. Attic red-figure calyx-krater featuring an Amazonomachy, with Amazons in various kinds of dress (side b), ca. 460-450 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

152b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 07.286.86. Attic red-figure calyx-krater featuring an Amazonomachy, with Amazons in various kinds of dress (side c), ca. 460-450 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

153a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 07.286.86. Attic red-figure calyx-krater featuring an Amazonomachy, with Amazons in various kinds of dress (side d), ca. 460-450 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

153b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 31.11.13. Attic white-ground and red-figure lekythos featuring the Greeks battling "Greek" and "Persian" Amazons, ca. 420 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

154a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 56.171.63. Apulian red-figure volute-krater featuring the assembly of the gods (upper section) and an Amazonomachy (lower section), ca. 320-310 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

154b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1864,0220.18. The Strangford Shield (copy of the Shield of Athena Parthenos), 200-300 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

155a. National Archaeological Museum of Athens, Athens (Greece), inv. 136. Sculpture of an Amazon on horseback, from the west pediment of the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros, late Classical Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/631464>> (03.04.2021). Photographer: Hermann Wagner. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

155b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1847,0424.11. Marble block featuring an Amazonomachy from the frieze of the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, ca. 350 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

156a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 32.11.4. Statue of a wounded Amazon, Roman copy of a Greek original dating to the middle of the 5th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

156b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 07.286.84. Attic red-figure volute-krater featuring an Amazonomachy, including an Amazon with a bare breast, ca. 450 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

157a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1864,0220.18. The Strangford Shield (copy of the Shield of Athena Parthenos) (detail: defeated Amazon with a bare breast), 200-300 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

157b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1815,1020.3. Marble block featuring a Centauromachy from the west side of the Temple of Apollo Epikourios, including a Lapith woman with a bare breast, 420-400 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

158a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1815,1020.21. Marble block featuring an Amazonomachy from the Temple of Apollo Epikourios, ca. 350 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

158b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1865,0723.1. Marble block featuring an Amazonomachy from the frieze of the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, ca. 350 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

159a. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. F 80. Apulian red-figure krater featuring an Amazonomachy, ca. 460 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4119670>> (30.05.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

159b. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Ferrara, Ferrara (Italy), inv. 2865 T. 404. Fragment of an Attic red-figure volute krater featuring Atalante with male athletes (perhaps Atlante is being lifted by Hippomenes, while Kleomolpos and Amykos watch), 440-430 BCE. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura - Archivio Fotografico Direzione regionale Musei dell'Emilia-Romagna. Any further reproduction or duplication of this image is prohibited.

160a. Museo Nazionale Jatta, Ruvo di Puglia (Italy), inv. 36734 (J 423). Apulian red-figure amphora featuring an Amazonomachy, middle of the 4th century BCE. © Photographic archive Museo Nazionale Jatta - Ruvo di Puglia. Images used by permission of the Direzione Regionale Musei Puglia - Italian Ministry of Culture.

161a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 2011.604.3.733. Attic black-figure neck-amphora featuring Herakles fighting a "Greek" Amazon with an embroidered tunic, 570-560 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

161b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1885,1213.18. Attic red-figure hydria featuring a woman and her female servants, wearing a *peplos* belted over the overfold, ca. 450 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

162a. Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich (Germany), inv. 2688. Attic red-figure cup featuring Achilles slaying Penthesilea, wearing a *peplos* with a long, overgirt overfold over her *chiton* (detail), 500-450 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7789232>> (06.06.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

162b. Salinas Museo Archeologico, Palermo (Italy), inv. G 1283. Attic red-figure volute-krater featuring an Amazonomachy, with an Amazon wearing a short *peplos* with a long overfold, ca. 460 BCE.

163a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1873,0820.368. Attic red-figure neck-amphora featuring an Amazon battling an Amazon, wearing a short *peplos* with short overfold, 450-430 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

163b. Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels (Belgium), inv. A 715. Attic red-figure kantharos featuring an Amazonomachy, with Amazons wearing a short *chiton* with a short overfold (side a), ca. 490-480 BCE. © RMAH, Brussels. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

164a. Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels (Belgium), inv. A 715. Attic red-figure kantharos featuring an Amazonomachy, with Amazons wearing a short *chiton* with a short overfold (side b), ca. 490-480 BCE. © RMAH, Brussels. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

164b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1815,1020.13. Marble block featuring an Amazonomachy from the Temple of Apollo Epikourios, including an Amazon in a short *chiton* with a short overfold (left), as well as Melanippe wearing a *peplos* (right), 420-400 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

165a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1815,1020.20. Marble block featuring an Amazonomachy from the Temple of Apollo Epikourios, including Antiope (left) wearing a *peplos*, 420-400 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

165b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 27.45. Greek funerary stele featuring a girl with her pet dove, wearing an ungirt *peplos*, ca. 450-440 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

166a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1864,1007.93. Attic hydria featuring Eros pursuing a *parthenos*, wearing a *peplos* belted over the overfold, ca. 420-400 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

166b. Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. SK 1492. Attic funerary relief featuring a *parthenos* (Silenis) wearing a *peplos* belted over the overfold and a *kestos*, ca. 360 BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Ingrid Geske. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

167a. Archaeological Museum, Aegina (Greece), inv. 2222. Attic funerary relief with two women (with the one on the right dressed in a *peplos* belted under the overfold), shortly before 400 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/647505>>

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167b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 41.162.147. Attic red-figure alabastron featuring a woman in a long *chiton*, belted and bloused, ca. 440-430 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

168a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1905,1024.6. Boeotian terracotta figurine of a woman wearing a high-girdled *chiton*, ca. 300 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

168b. J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 75.AA.63. Attic funerary relief featuring a girl (Demainete) wearing a high-girdled *chiton*, ca. 310 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.

169a. Delphi Museum, Delphi (Greece), inv. 4335. Sculpture of an Amazon wearing a "built-in" bra (left) from the metopes above the peristyle of the Tholos at Delphi, ca. 400 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/490170>> (03.04.2021). Photographer: Georg Karo. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

169b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1815,1020.14. Marble block featuring an Amazonomachy from the Temple of Apollo Epikourios, including Hippolyta wearing a *kestos*, 420-400 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

170a. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 19.192.81.1, .7, .42, .46, .55. Apulian red-figure volute-krater featuring Herakles meeting Hippolyta and other Amazons, wearing a *kestos*, ca. 330-310 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

170b. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Turkey), inv. 639. Marble block featuring an Amazonomachy, with an Amazon wearing a *kestos*, from the south frieze of the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia, second half of the 2nd century BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/631766>> (03.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

171a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1836,0224.128. Attic black-figure hydria featuring Achilles carrying Penthesilea, wearing a headband, bracelets and anklets, ca. 510- 500 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

171b. Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, Basel (Switzerland), inv. BS 486. Attic red-figure volute-krater featuring an Amazonomachy, including Amazons wearing anatomical cuirasses (side a), ca. 450 BCE. © Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

172a. Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, Basel (Switzerland), inv. BS 486. Attic red-figure volute-krater featuring an Amazonomachy, including Amazons wearing anatomical cuirasses (side b), ca. 450 BCE. © Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

172b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1884,0804.8. Corinthian black-figure lekythos featuring an Amazonomachy, including an Amazon fighting in the nude, ca. 575-550 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

173a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1899,0721.5. Attic red-figure Dinos featuring an Amazonomachy, including an Amazon in transparent garments, 440-430 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

173b. Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, Basel (Switzerland), inv. BS 608. Gilded medallion on the lid of a silver pyxis featuring a Greek warrior about the slay an Amazon, whose garments have fallen off her, ca. 230 BCE. © Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

174a. Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam (Netherlands), inv. 2761. Guttus with a black varnish featuring Achilles supporting Penthesilea (or an Amazon supporting a fallen warriorress), ca. 200 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Allard Pierson Museum. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

174b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1865,1211.5. Marble block featuring an Amazonomachy from the frieze of the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, ca. 350 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

175a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1836,0224.127. Attic black-figure amphora featuring Achilles slaying Penthesilea, wearing an Attic helmet without cheek guards, ca. 530-525 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

175b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 41.162.217. Attic black-figure lekythos featuring Herakles battling an Amazon, wearing an imaginary “cap”, ca. 480 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

176a. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MA 2881.15. Marble block featuring an Amazonomachy from the frieze of the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander, first quarter of the 2nd century BCE. © 2016 Musée du Louvre / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

176b. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MA 2881.14. Marble block featuring an Amazonomachy from the frieze of the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander, first quarter of the 2nd century BCE. © 2016 Musée du Louvre / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

177a. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MA 2881.19. Marble block featuring an Amazonomachy from the frieze of the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander, first quarter of the 2nd century BCE. © 2016 Musée du Louvre / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

177b. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MA 2881.196. Marble block featuring an Amazonomachy from the frieze of the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander, first quarter of the 2nd century BCE. © 2016 Musée du Louvre / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

178a. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (Italy), inv. 726. Roman sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy (detail: front relief, left side) 140/150 CE. Photo: S. Hollaender. Roma, Musei Capitolini. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

178b. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (Italy), inv. 726. Roman sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy (detail: front relief, middle), 140/150 CE. Photo: S. Hollaender. Roma, Musei Capitolini. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

179a. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (Italy), inv. 726. Roman sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy (detail: front relief, middle), 140/150 CE. Photo: S. Hollaender. Roma, Musei Capitolini. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

180a. Galleria Borghese, Rome (Italy), inv. LXXX. Lid of a Roman sarcophagus featuring the Amazons arming themselves for the battle at Troy (detail: right side), ca. 170 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4699650>> (03.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

180b. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. CA 1414. Lamp featuring an Amazon supporting a fellow warrior, 75-100 CE. © 2015 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Stéphane Maréchalle. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

181a. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. S 916. Campana plaque featuring Achilles supporting Penthesilea, 50 BCE - 50 CE. © 2009 Musée du Louvre / Anne Chauvet. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

181b. Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias (Turkey). Relief featuring Achilles supporting Penthesilea from the Sebasteion, Claudian to Neronian Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/5098674>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

182a. British Museum, London (England), inv. R.6690. Aureus featuring Trajan (obverse) and Virtus (reverse), 103-111 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

182b. British Museum, London (England), inv. R.13725. As featuring Marcus Aurelius (obverse) and Virtus (reverse), 145-169 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

183a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1872,0709.469. Sestertius featuring Vespasian (obverse) and Honos and Virtus (reverse), 71 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)

183b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1843,0116.530. Denarius featuring the head of Virtus (obverse) and a warrior holding a fallen figure (reverse), 71-70 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

184a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1843,0116.530. Denarius featuring jugate heads of Honos and Virtus (obverse) and Italia and Roma (reverse), 70 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

184b. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. BJ 2366. Silver cup from Boscoreale (the so-called “Cup of Augustus”), late Augustan Period. © 2008 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

185a. Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias (Turkey), inv. M. 79.10.174. The Zoilos Monument, featuring Zoilos between Andreia and Time, 30-20 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/211893>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

185b. Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio Clementino, Galleria delle Statue (Vatican City State), inv. 568. Fragment of a relief for Sabinus Maternus, featuring Virtus holding a spear and *parazonium*, and Fortuna holding a cornucopia and patera, Roman Imperial Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/21199>> (07.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

186a. Villa Medici (Rome). Relief featuring Virtus, wearing her *chlamys* bunched on the shoulder, next to a soldier, Roman Imperial Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <arachne.dainst.org/entity/5547950> (07.04.2021). Photographer: O. Savio. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

186b. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz (Germany), inv. O.39470. Canteen featuring the combat between Achilles and Penthesilea (side a), 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum. © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum / S. Steidl.

187a. Cathedral, Mazara del Vallo (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring Achilles battling Penthesilea, 190-200 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/8127384>> (07.04.2021). Photographer: Singer. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

187b. Skulpturhalle, Basel (Switzerland), inv. sh 1135. Reconstruction of the Achilles and Penthesilea Group (by Ernst Berger), Greek original dating to 2nd century BCE. © Skulpturhalle Basel, photo Ruedi Habegge. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

188a. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz (Germany), inv. O.39470. Canteen featuring Achilles supporting the dying Penthesilea (side b), 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum. © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum / S. Steidl.

188b. Musei, Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano (Vatican City State), inv. 10409. Roman sarcophagus featuring the life and death of Adonis, with a portrait of a youth as Adonis and a woman as Venus, first third of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6960195>> (29.11.2020). Photographer: Gisela Geng. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

189a. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung und Ephesosmuseum, Vienna (Austria), inv. IX A 63. Gemma Claudia, middle of the 1st century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2679673>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

189b. Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki (Greece), inv. 877. Statue of Iulia Domna as Athena (Medici type), 2nd century CE (recut in the early 3rd century CE). Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4120453>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

190a. Antikenmuseum der Universität, Abgusssammlung, Leipzig (Germany), inv. G 197. Plaster cast of a cameo featuring Iulia Domna as Victoria, ca. 200 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne:

<<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7367621>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

190b. Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw (Poland), inv. 139678 MN. Relief featuring Caracalla being crowned by Iulia Domna as Victoria, 215 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6641000>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

191a. Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Berlin (Germany), inv. 18217900. As featuring Iulia Domna (obverse) and the Mater Castrorum (reverse), 196-211 CE. © Photo: Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Dirk Sonnenwald. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

191b. Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence (Italy). The Pasquino Group, Roman copy of a Greek original dating to the Hellenistic Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3782864>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

192a. Archaeological Museums, Izmir (Turkey), inv. 8120. Canteen featuring the combat between Achilles and Penthesilea with a label (ΑΧΙΛΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΑΖΟΝΟΣ ΜΑΧΗ) (side a), 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of the Izmir Museum Directorate. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

192b. Archaeological Museums, Izmir (Turkey) inv. 8120. Canteen featuring Achilles supporting the dying Penthesilea with a label (ΑΝΕΠΕΣΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ) (Side B), 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of the Izmir Museum Directorate. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

193a. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (Canada), inv. 947.26 Sarcophagus with relief of Greeks fighting the Amazons, marble, found in Ostia, Italy, about 150 AD. Note that Achilles is holding the lifeless body of Penthesilea. Digital image courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum. Reproduced with permission of the museum. Any further reproduction or duplication of this image is prohibited.

193b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1805,0703.143. Fragment of a Roman sarcophagus featuring a wedding scene with a husband and wife joining their right hands (i.e. *dextrarum iunctio*), 2nd century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

194a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1924,0511.1. Aureus featuring a bust of Septimius Severus (obverse) and Septimius charging down a foe on horseback with the legend VIRTUS AVG (reverse), 198-200 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

194b. Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, Rome (Italy), inv. 8574. Ludovisi Battle Sarcophagus, ca. 260 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/8591932>> (22.11.2020). Photographer: Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

195a. Catacombe di Pretestato, Museo, Rome (Italy). So-called Balbinus Sarcophagus, second quarter of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7122507>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

195b. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MA 539. Roman sarcophagus featuring Meleager on his death bed, ca. 180 CE. © 2017 Musée du Louvre / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

196a. Palazzo Mattei, Rome (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring Venus embracing Mars, late 2nd century or early 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/8457060>> (07.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

196b. Villa Aldobrandini, Frascati (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring Selene approaching Endymion in his sleep, first half of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2977939>> (17.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

197a. Villa Doria Pamphili, Casino Belrespiro, Rome (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring the life and death of Adonis, last quarter of the 2nd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/601385>> (07.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

197b. Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. 1987.2. Roman sarcophagus featuring a wedding“ and sacrifice scene, as well as the death of Adonis, ca. 200 CE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

198a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1982,0202.12. Sestertius featuring a bust of Alexander Severus (obverse) and Romulus (or the emperor) carrying a *tropaeum* (reverse), 230 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

198b. Musei Capitolini, Rome (Italy), inv. 213. Roman sarcophagus featuring a battle scene, including a *tropaeum* at each corner, ca. 170 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/8597239>> (22.11.2020). Photographer: Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

199a. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome (Italy), inv. 108437. Roman sarcophagus featuring a battle scene, including Victoria holding a *tropaeum* at each corner, ca. 170 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7123582>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

199b. Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, Rome (Italy), inv. 8574. Ludovisi Battle Sarcophagus (right side), ca. 260 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/8591734>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

200a. Musei Vaticani, Reparto di Ostia, Sez. Mosaico (Vatican City State), inv. 10682. Lid of a Roman sarcophagus featuring defeated Amazons dedicated to Arria Maxima, ca. 150-160 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6654242>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

200b. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. LP 2584. Attic sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy, including a kline lid with a portrait group of a man and woman, ca. 180 CE. © 1993 RMN / René-Gabriel Ojéda. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

201a. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. LP 2584. Attic sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy (left side), ca. 180 CE. © 1993 Musée du Louvre / Christian Larrieu. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

201b. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (Italy), inv. 82. Vita Romana Sarcophagus (General/Wedding Sarcophagus), 180 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6638223>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

202a. Liebieghaus, Frankfurt am Main (Germany), inv. 342. Roman sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy (detail: left side, with Achilles granting clemency to an Amazon), early 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/703828>> (07.04.2021). Photographer: Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

202b. Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne (Germany). Roman votive altar of Virtus, Roman Imperial Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/360590>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

203a. Palazzo Rospigliosi, Casino Pallavicini, Rome (Italy). Roman Hunt Sarcophagus, 240-250 CE.

203b. Museo del Sannio, Benevento (Italy), inv. 513. Roman sarcophagus featuring the life of Hippolytos, early 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3182461>> (23.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

204a. Metropolitan Museum, New York (USA), inv. 658. Cameo featuring an emperor in a chariot led by Virtus, 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2138600>> (23.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

204b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1993,0401.29. Sestertius featuring a bust of Septimius Severus (obverse) and Virtus crowning Septimius Severus (reverse), 195 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

205a. Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano (Vatican City State), inv. 13389-13391. Cancellaria Relief A, including Virtus touching Trajan, 90-100 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6649794>> (23.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

205b. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MA 346. Roman Hunt Sarcophagus, 235-240 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4627382>> (16.12.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

206a. Palazzo Mattei, Rome (Italy). Roman Hunt Sarcophagus, first third of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6960076>> (23.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

206b. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome (Italy), inv. 124712. Vita Romana Sarcophagus (Sacrifice/Wedding Sarcophagus), ca. 180 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne:

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207a. Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano, Rome (Italy), inv. 9504. Roman sarcophagus featuring a portrait group of a man and two women as learned figures, third quarter of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7705953>> (24.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

207b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 18.145.52. Fragment of a Roman sarcophagus featuring a wedding scene with a husband and wife, accompanied by Concordia and Hymenaeus, early 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

208a. National Museum of Antiquities and Islamic Art, Algiers (Algeria), inv. 217. Relief featuring ☿Mars Ultor☿, Venus and Amor, as well as the deified Caesar (?), perhaps representing the cult statues from the Temple of Mars Ultor, Claudian Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/5088385>> (24.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

208b. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung und Ephesomuseum, Vienna (Austria), inv. VI 2350. Bronze statuette of an arms bearer, presenting a helmet, Claudian Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4857150>> (09.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

209a. Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. Misc. 7971. Appliqué of Artemis striding and holding a bow and arrow, ca. 560 BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Norbert Franken. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

209b. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. E 864. Attic black-figure amphora featuring Apollo and Artemis killing Tithyos, second quarter of the 6th century BCE. © 2007 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

210a. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Florence (Italy), inv. 3830. Attic black-figure hydria featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, including Atalante, ca. 570 BCE. Su concessione del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze (Direzione regionale Musei della Toscana). Any further reproduction or duplication of this image is prohibited.

210b. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. G 22. Attic red-figure cup featuring a non-mythological deer hunt, with hunters equipped with weapons and armour (side a), 510 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/1497130>> (09.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

211a. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. G 22. Attic red-figure cup featuring a non-mythological deer hunt, with hunters equipped weapons and armour (side b), 510 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/1497129>> (09.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

211b. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Greece), inv. 1311. Attic red-figure lekythos featuring Artemis hunting, ca. 420 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

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212a. Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. AvP III.2 GF 10, 3 - 10, 5. Marble blocks featuring Artemis fighting the Giants from the east frieze of the Pergamon Altar, second quarter of the 2nd century BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

212b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1865,0103.21. Apulian red-figure volute-krater featuring the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, including Artemis, 370-350 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

213a. Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. F 3258. Apulian red-figure volute-krater featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, including Atalante, 330-310 BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

214a. Civico Museo d'Antichità J.J. Winckelmann, Trieste (Italy), inv. S 380. Apulian red-figure amphora featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, including Atalante, ca. 350 BCE. © Fototeca dei civici Musei di Storia ed Arte. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

214b. Klassisch-Archäologische Sammlungen, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Mainz (Germany), inv. 35. Attic red-figure lekythos featuring Prokris mortally wounded by Kephalos, ca. 450 BCE. © JGU Mainz, Department of Classical Archaeology (Photographer: Angelika Schurzig). Reproduced with permission of the museum.

215a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1895,1028.1. Votive relief featuring Bendis and worshippers, 400-375 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

215b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1865,0103.17. Lucanian red-figure nestoris featuring the myth of Aktaion and Artemis (upper register), and Eros chasing a woman (lower register), ca. 390-380 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

216a. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. G 515. Apulian red-figure krater featuring an assembly of the gods, including Artemis, ca. 380-370 BCE. © 2006 Musée du Louvre / Peter Harholdt. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

216b. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (Russia), inv. GR-10493. Attic red-figure pelike featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, including Atalante, 370 BCE. © The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

217a. Civico Museo d'Antichità J.J. Winckelmann, Trieste (Italy), inv. S 380. Apulian red-figure amphora featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt (detail: Atalante), ca. 350 BCE. © Fototeca dei civici Musei di Storia ed Arte. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

217b. Klassisch-Archäologische Sammlungen, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Mainz (Germany), inv. 35. Attic red-figure lekythos featuring Prokris wounded by Kephalos (detail), ca. 450 BCE. © JGU

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218a. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. 20328. Terracotta figurine of Artemis hunting with a bare breast.

218b. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 72.AE.128. Apulian red-figure chous featuring Kallisto mortally wounded, ca. 360 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.

219a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1772,0320.36.+. Attic column-krater featuring Prokris mortally wounded, ca. 460-420 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

219b. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. CA 2993. Attic red-figure oinochoe featuring Prokris during the hunt, second quarter of the 5th century BCE. © 2012 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Stéphane Maréchal. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

220a. Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (USA), inv. 13.198. Attic red-figure lekythos featuring Kephalos during the hunt, ca. 470 BCE.

220b. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Florence (Italy), inv. 4209. Attic black-figure krater featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt in the uppermost register (detail: Atalante hunting), ca. 570 BCE. Su concessione del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze (Direzione regionale Musei della Toscana). Any further reproduction or duplication of this image is prohibited.

221a. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. Ma 3544. Statuette of Artemis, 300-250 BCE. © 1999 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

221b. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (USA), inv. 23.82. Statue of Artemis, Roman copy of a Greek original dating to the 4th-2nd century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Walters Art Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

222a. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MR 152. Artemis Versailles-Leptis Magna, Roman copy of a Greek original dating to the 4th century BCE. © 2011 Musée du Louvre / Thierry Ollivier. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

222b. Sammlung Käppeli, Basel (Switzerland). Attic red-figure bell krater featuring Artemis chastising the Aloadaï, 440 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/1497127>> (09.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

223a. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. Cp 710. Apulian red-figure bell-krater featuring Orestes fleeing from the Erinyes, including Artemis, 380-370 BCE. © 1993 RMN / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

223b. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland (USA), inv. 1966.114. Attic white-ground lekythos featuring Atalante fleeing from erotes, 500-490 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

224a. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. Ma 529. Statue of Artemis (Gabii type), Roman copy of a Greek original dating to 350-330 BCE. © 2013 Musée du Louvre / Thierry Ollivier. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

224b. Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. SK 62. Statue of Artemis, Roman copy of a Greek original dating to the 4th century BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

225a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1873,0820.43. Statuette of Diana, middle of the 2nd century BCE - 3rd century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

225b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1872,0709.385. Medallion featuring a bust of Antoninus Pius (obverse) and Diana hunting (reverse), 145-161 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

226a. Archaeological Museum, Nikopolis (Greece), inv. 424. Lamp featuring Diana hunting, 2nd century CE. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sport, Ephorate of Antiquities of Preveza - Archaeological Museum of Nicopolis. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

226b. The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago (USA), 1985.1042a-b. Mirror featuring Diana by her bath, 2nd century CE. Digital image courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

227a. Casa degli Amorini Dorati (VI 16, 7), Pompeii (Italy) . Wall-painting featuring Actaeon spying on Diana (Venus Medici type), before 79 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.dainst.org/entity/654065>> (09.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

227b. Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. FG 6435. Gem featuring Actaeon and Diana, 1st century BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Jürgen Liepe. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

228a. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MA 3444. Mosaic featuring Meleager and Atalante hunting a lion and a boar, early 4th century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3382353>> (09.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

228b. Casa di Meleagro (VI 9, 2), Pompeii (Italy). Wall-painting featuring Meleager and Atalante resting after the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, Flavian Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7123262>> (27.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

229a. Casa della Venere in Conchiglia (II, 3, 3), Pompeii (Italy). Wall-painting featuring Meleager and Atalante resting after the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, before 79 CE.

229b. Byblos (Lebanon). Mosaic featuring Meleager and Atalante resting after the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, 3rd century CE.

230a. Casa delle Danzatrici (VI 2, 22), Pompeii (Italy). Wall-painting featuring Meleager and Atalante resting after the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, before 79 CE.

230b. The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago (USA), 1983.584. Short side of a sarcophagus featuring Meleager and Atalante resting after the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, first half of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

231a. Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University, Atlanta (U.S.A.), inv. 1985.5. Mirror with Meleager and Atalanta. Roman. Imperial, 2nd Century AD. Bronze, gilt. Carlos Collection of Ancient Art. <<http://www.carlos.emory.edu>> (12.04.2020) © Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University. Photo by Bruce M. White, 2012. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

231b. VI 15, 6, Pompeii (Italy). Wall-painting featuring Meleager and Atalante (?) in a moment of loving togetherness, ca. 70-79 CE.

232a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1926,0116.47. Coin featuring a bust of Trajan (obverse) and Diktyнна (reverse), 97-117 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

232b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1861,1127.30. Relief featuring Kyrene overpowering a lion and being crowned by Libya, 120-140 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

233a. Petit Palais, Musée des Beaux-arts de la Ville de Paris, Paris (France), inv. ADUT172. Simpulum featuring Jupiter in the guise of Diana assaulting Kallisto, ca. 200 CE. Digital image courtesy of Paris Musées. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

233b. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. 8898. Pompeian wall-painting (from the Casa di Meleagro) featuring Dido abandoned by Aeneas, before 79 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2107604>> (27.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

234a. J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 84.XM.1386.10. Albumen silver print of a Pompeian wall-painting (from the Casa del Citarista: I, 4, Eingang 5.6.25.28) featuring Aeneas, Dido and Ascanius, 20 BCE - 50 CE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.

235a. The Museum of Somerset, Taunton (England). Mosaic featuring the legend of Aeneas and Dido, late 4th century CE. Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society and South West Heritage Trust, 2021. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

236a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1805,0703.302. Campana relief featuring a nereid riding a hippocamp, first half of the 1st century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

236b. Museum, Hama (Syria). Mosaic featuring Dido hunting on horseback, Late Antiquity.

237a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1857,1220.440. Mosaic featuring Meleager hunting on horseback, 4th century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

237b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1857,1220.439. Mosaic featuring Atalante hunting on horseback, 4th century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

238a. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome (Italy), inv. 168186. Roman sarcophagus featuring Ascanius on the hunt, middle of the 2nd century CE. Su concessione del Ministero della cultura - Museo Nazionale Romano.

238b. Torno Collection, Milan (Italy), inv. 814. Sarcophagus featuring a palaestra scene, including a “portrait” of Octavia Paulina as a victorious female athlete, late 2nd - early 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4302242>> (27.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

239a. Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. SK 60. Statue of Artemis (Dresden type), Roman copy of a Greek original dating to ca. 360 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4925112>> (28.11.2020). Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

239b. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MA 168. Statue of Artemis (Louvre-Ephesos type), Roman copy of a Greek original dating to the late Hellenistic Period. © 2016 Musée du Louvre / Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

240a. Nasjonalmuseet for kunst, arkitektur og design, Oslo (Norway), inv. NG.S.01020. Portrait head of a girl, late Neronian Period to early Flavian Period. Digital image courtesy of the Nasjonalmuseet for kunst, arkitektur og design. © Ukjent kunstner. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY 4.0).

240b. Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. Sk 59. Statue of Diana (Artemis Colonna type), Roman copy of a Greek original dating to middle of the 4th century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4124063>> (27.05.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

241a. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (Denmark), inv. 481-482. 482a. Statue group of Artemis and Iphigeneia, 50 BCE. © Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

241b. Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano (Vatican City State), inv. 10400. Roman sarcophagus featuring the myth of Hippolytus, 210-220 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2104192>> (28.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

242a. Musei Capitolini, Atrium, Rome (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, middle of the Antonine Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7124564>> (29.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

242b. Abbazia della Trinità, Cava de' Tirreni (Italy). Campanian sarcophagus featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, early 4th century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilderbestand/864261>> (13.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

243a. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen (Denmark), inv. 1550. Funerary relief featuring a portrait of a man as a *venator*, Hadrianic Period. © Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

243b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1871,0705.8. Attic red-figure pelike featuring Artemis subduing a deer, 410-400 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

244a. Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, Rome (Italy), inv. 837. Roman sarcophagus featuring a battue, 370-380 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4201419>> (29.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

244b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1871,0705.8. Tetradrachm featuring the bust of Hadrian (obverse) and the bust of Sabina as Artemis (reverse), 117-138 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

245a. Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, Rome (Italy), inv. 848. Portrait Bust of Sabina wearing a diadem, 130-140 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3794977>> (14.04.2021). Photographer: Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

245b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1867,0101.762. Aureus featuring the bust of Iulia Domna (obverse) and Diana Lucifera (reverse), 198-209 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

246a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1964,1203.124. Aureus featuring the bust of Faustina Minor (obverse) and Diana holding a bow and arrow (reverse), 198-209 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

246b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1846,0910.238. Medallion featuring the bust of Faustina Minor (obverse) and Diana preparing for her bath, 145-161 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

247a. Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Berlin (Germany), inv. 18218161. Sestertius featuring the bust of Faustina Minor (obverse) and Diana with a crescent moon on her neck and holding a torch (reverse), after 176 CE. © Photo: Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Dirk Sonnenwald. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

247b. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques, Paris (France), inv. *camée.279*. Cameo featuring Agrippina Minor as Diana, ca. 50 CE.

248a. Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei, Castello Aragonese di Baia, Bacoli (Italy), inv. 155743. Equestrian statue of Domitia (recaved as Nerva), 81-96 CE. Digital image courtesy of the Parco archeologico dei Campi Flegrei. Su concessione del Parco archeologico dei Campi Flegrei - Ministero della Cultura.

248b. Arch of Constantine, Rome (Italy). Tondi Adrianei once featuring Hadrian hunting a bear (left) and making an offering to Diana (right), Hadrianic Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects

arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3298878>> (30.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

249a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1846,0910.238. Medallion featuring the bust of Hadrian (obverse) and Hadrian hunting a lion with the legend VIRTUTI AVGVSTI, 130-138 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

249b. Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti (Vatican City State), inv. 1195. Roman sarcophagus featuring the self-sacrifice of Alcestis for Admetus, with portraits of C. Iunius Euhodus as Admetus and Metilia Acte as Alcestis, 161-170 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4778259>> (30.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

250a. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. LL 50. Roman sarcophagus featuring Selene approaching Endymion in his sleep, with (unfinished) portraits of a man as Endymion and a woman as Selene, 220-240 CE. © 2007 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

250b. Abbazia della Trinità, Cava de' Tirreni (Italy). Campanian sarcophagus featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt (detail: portrait head of a man as Meleager), early 4th century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/32641>> (02.06.2021). Photographer: Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

251a. Liebieghaus, Frankfurt (Germany), inv. 1528. Roman sarcophagus featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, with a portrait of a man (Aurelius Vitalis) as Meleager, early Gallienic Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3415438>> (06.12.2020). Photographer: Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

251b. Grottaferrata, Rome (Italy). Lid of a Roman sarcophagus featuring a portrait of a youth as a Roman military commander, flanked by the Kalydonian Boar Hunt and the contemporary lion hunt, third quarter of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4319354>> (02.06.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

252a. Wilton House, Wiltshire (England), inv. 1963,32. Roman sarcophagus featuring Meleager fighting the Thestiades and on his deathbed, ca. 180 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/394207>> (06.12.2020). Photographer: Gisela Geng. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

252b. S. Pietro in Vaticano (Vatican City State). Roman sarcophagus featuring Meleager and Atalante resting after the Kalydonian Boar Hunt (detail), 180/190 CE.

253a. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Turkey), inv. 2100. Roman casket featuring the return of Meleager's body, as well as a lid featuring the feast after the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, early Antonine Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/531333>> (02.06.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

253b. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (Canada), inv. 959.17.25. Sarcophagus relief depicting the myth of Meleager, marble, Roman Imperial period. Note that it includes a portrait of a man as Meleager, feasting after the Kalydonian Boar Hunt. Digital image courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum. Reproduced with permission of the museum. Any further reproduction or duplication of this image is prohibited.

254a. Studio Canova, Rome (Italy). Lid of a Roman sarcophagus featuring the feast after the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, with an (unfinished) portrait bust of a man, first half of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7121389>> (02.06.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

254b. Musei Vaticani, Cortile del Belvedere (Vatican City State), inv. 1089. Vita Romana Sarcophagus (Sacrifice/Wedding Sarcophagus), 190 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3341587>> (06.12.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

255a. Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire (England). Sarcophagus featuring Meleager and Atalante in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt and resting afterwards, 280-290 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/1835758>> (06.12.2020). Photographer: Raoul Laev. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

255b. Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. SK 849. Fragment of a sarcophagus featuring Meleager and Atalante as children in Kalydonian Boar Hunt, Roman Imperial Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/275655>> (06.12.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

256a. Palazzo Barberini, Rome (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring men carrying the body of Meleager, performed by cupids and psyches, middle of the Antonine Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4699656>> (06.12.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

256b. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Turkey), inv. 2452. Attic sarcophagus featuring a boar hunt, first half of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/493971>> (06.12.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

257a. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MA 3570. Roman sarcophagus featuring the discovery of Achilles on Skyros, 220-230 CE. © 2017 Musée du Louvre / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

257b. Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MA 3570. Roman sarcophagus featuring the discovery of Achilles on Skyros (detail: portraits of a man and woman on the lid aligned with Achilles and Deianira), 220-230 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/34111>> (25.04.2021). Photographer: Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

258a. Musei Capitolini, Sala del Fauno, Rome (Italy), inv. 725. Roman sarcophagus featuring Selene approaching Endymion in his sleep, 150-170/180 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4805623>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

258b. Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo (Egypt), inv. J. E. 45062. Funerary stele of Isidoros in the guise of Osiris-Bacchus, 120-140 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3322990>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

259a. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Greece), inv. 2779. Statue of a youth in the guise of Bacchus, 220-230 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/5085415>> (25.04.2021). Photographer: Marburg. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

259b. Hearst Castle, San Simeon (USA). Reproduction of a Roman sarcophagus featuring Apollo Kitharoidos among the nine Muses and Minerva, with a portrait of a youth as Apollo, ca. 230 CE.

260a. Museo Maffeiano, Verona (Italy), inv. 28765. Roman sarcophagus featuring the nine Muses, with a portrait of a boy as a male Kalliope, last quarter of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2005600>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

260b. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. 144995. Roman sarcophagus featuring a portrait of a woman in the guise of “Ariadne”, ca. 270 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4083436>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

261a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1947,0714.8. Campanian sarcophagus featuring a portrait of a youth as “Endymion”, 240-260 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

261b. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Greece), inv. 1192. Funerary relief of Artemidoros as a boar hunter, Antonine Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2088984>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

262a. Temple of Artemis, Pronaos, Kyrene (Libya), inv. C 17100. Female draped statue, Roman Imperial Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7582160>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

262b. Museum of Antiquities, Kyrene (Libya), inv. C 17031 a. b. Portrait head of Tiberius placed on a female draped statue (the breasts have been flattened, the tunic shortened and *calcei senatorii* added), pastiche dating to the 4th century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7147863>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

263a. The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino (U.S.A.), inv. 22.6. Roman sarcophagus with portrait head of a man placed on the body of a learned woman (the tunic has been shortened), ca. 290 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7147863>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

263b. Cathédrale Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption de Clermont, Crypt, Clermont-Ferrand (France). Roman sarcophagus featuring an *orans* (praying woman), second third of the 4th century CE. Digital image

courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4228046>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

264a. Musée Lapidaire, Arles (France), inv. FAN.92.00.2514. Roman sarcophagus (top) with portrait head of a man placed on the body of an *orans* (the *dalmatica* has been re-carved into a long-sleeved tunic and *paenula*), ca. 290 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4225088>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

264b. Staatlichen Museen, Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Berlin (Germany), inv. 6686. Roman sarcophagus with portrait head of a man placed on the body of an *orans* (the *palla*, worn as a veil, has been chiselled off), middle of the 4th century CE. © Photo: Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Antje Voigt. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

265a. Cattedrale di Palermo, Cripta, Palermo (Italy). Roman sarcophagus with a portrait head of a boy placed on the body of a learned man and woman, with the nine Muses in the background, third quarter of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7124414>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

265b. Musei Capitolini, Rome (Italy), inv. 821. Roman sarcophagus with a portrait head of a youth placed on the body of a learned man and woman (the tunic has been shortened), 235-250 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/658459>> (25.04.2021). Photographer: Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

266a. Musei Capitolini, Rome (Italy), inv. 821. Roman sarcophagus with a portrait head of a youth placed on the body of a learned man and woman (the tunic has been shortened) (detail: the youth as a learned woman), 235-250 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/658462>> (25.04.2021). Photographer: Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

266b. Evangelische Akademie, Park, Tützing (Germany). Roman sarcophagus with portrait head of a woman placed on the body of a man wearing a *toga contabulata*, 270-280 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4201849>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

267a. Museo Archeologico Ostiense, Ostia (Italy), inv. 48277. Roman sarcophagus with portrait head of a woman placed on the body of philosopher, late Severan to early Tetrarchic Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7270179>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

267b. Basilica di San Saba, Rome (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring portraits of a man and woman as learned figures among Apollo and the Muses, early 4th century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3341564>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

268a. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz (Germany). Lid of the Ludovisi Battle Sarcophagus, featuring a portrait of a man as a military commander and a portrait of a woman as a learned figure, 260 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4228046>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

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268b. Campo Santo, Pisa (Italy), inv. A 6 int. Roman sarcophagus featuring Amor/Psyche (middle) a portrait of a woman sacrificing (left) and a portrait of a man sacrificing (right), 190-200 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3358590>> (06.12.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

269a. Villa Medici, Rome (Italy), inv. 87. Roman sarcophagus featuring a portrait of a man and woman as learned figures, late 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6656513>> (06.12.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

269b. Staatlichen Museen, Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. Sk 843 b. Sarcophagus featuring the death of Creusa, ca. 140-150 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3795890>> (31.05.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

270a. Lost. Fragment of a Roman sarcophagus featuring the abduction of Proserpina by Pluto, with a portrait of a woman as Proserpina, 3rd century CE.

270b. Staatlichen Museen, Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. SK 840. Funerary relief featuring a portrait group of a man and woman (Publius Aedius Amphio and Aedia Fausta Melior) clasping hands (i.e. *dextrarum iunctio*), third quarter of the 1st century BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Ingrid Geske. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

271a. Basilica sotterranea di Porta Maggiore, Rome (Italy). Ceiling of the nave. Stucco image featuring a groom taking his bride by the hand, 1st century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2871722>> (14.05.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

271b. Staatliche Museen, Münzkabinett, Berlin (Germany), inv. 18200260. Sestertius featuring the bust of Antoninus Pius (obverse) and Antoninus Pius and Faustina Maior clasping hands (*dextrarum iunctio*) with the legend CONCORDIAE, 140-144 CE. © Photo: Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Lutz-Jürgen Lübke (Lübke und Wiedemann). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

272a. Staatliche Museen, Münzkabinett, Berlin (Germany), inv. 18204221. As featuring the bust of Faustina Minor (obverse) and Venus embracing Mars (reverse), 161-176 CE. © Photo: Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Dirk Sonnenwald. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE)

272b. Museo Nazionale Romano, Museo delle Terme, Rome (Italy), inv. 40799. Vita Roman Sarcophagus (Sacrifice/Wedding Sarcophagus) featuring a portrait of a man and woman clasping hands (*dextrarum iunctio*) and embracing, 270-280 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/8400896>> (06.12.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

273a. Staatliche Museen, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Berlin (Germany), inv. 2785. Roman sarcophagus featuring a clipeus with an (unfinished) portrait of a man and woman, ca.

270 CE. © Photo: Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Ingrid Geske. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

273b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1993,0401.105. Sestertius featuring the bust of Caracalla (obverse) and Caracalla and Geta in military dress, making an offering over an altar and being crowned by Victoria, with the legend *CONCORDIAE AVGG* (reverse), 202-211 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

274a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1896,0608.83. Aureus featuring the bust of Diocletian (obverse) and Diocletian and Maximian sitting on curule chairs, holding a globe and *parazonium* in their hands and being crowned by Victoria, with the legend *CONCORDIAE AVGG* (reverse), 284-305 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

274b. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1844,0425.1663. Coin featuring the bust of Balbinus (obverse) and clasped hands (*dextrarum iunctio*) with the legend *CONCORDIA AVGG* (reverse), 238 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

275a. British Museum, London (England), inv. 1937,0406.55. Coin featuring the bust of Pupienus (obverse) and clasped hands (*dextrarum iunctio*) with the legend *AMOR MVTVVS AVGG* (reverse), 238 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

275b. Königsplatz, Munich (aerial view looking north). © Wolfgang Pehlemann. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC-BY-SA 3.0 DE). (Note that the photo was cropped to focus on the Königsplatz.)

276a. Propyläen, Munich. © Bbb-Commons. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC-BY-SA 3.0).

276b. East Pediment, Propyläen, Munich. © Rufus46. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC-BY-SA 3.0).

277a. West Pediment, Propyläen, Munich. © Rufus46. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC-BY-SA 3.0).

277b. Schwanthaler-Sammlung, Münchner Stadtmuseum, Munich (Germany), inv. 868 (Sondermappe III, 37). Drawing of the personification of Hellas flanked by Victories, in Ludwig Michael Schwanthaler's second draft of the West Pediment of the Propyläen. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Graphik/Gemälde, Photo: S. Hollaender.

278a. Schwanthaler-Sammlung, Münchner Stadtmuseum, Munich (Germany), inv. 868 (Sondermappe III, 37). Drawing of a Greek warrior avenging a priest, in Ludwig Michael Schwanthaler's second draft of the West Pediment of the Propyläen. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Graphik/Gemälde, Photo: S. Hollaender.

278b. Schwanthaler-Sammlung, Münchner Stadtmuseum, Munich (Germany), inv. 867 (Sondermappe IV, 27). Drawing of a Greek woman defending her son, in Ludwig Michael Schwanthaler's first draft of the West Pediment of the Propyläen. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Graphik/Gemälde, Photo: S. Hollaender.

279a. Schwanthaler-Sammlung, Münchner Stadtmuseum, Munich (Germany), inv. 868 (Sondermappe III, 37). Drawing of a Greek woman defending her son, in Ludwig Michael Schwanthaler's second draft of the West Pediment of the Propyläen. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Graphik/Gemälde, Photo: S. Hollaender.

279b. U-Bahn Station Königsplatz, Munich (Germany). Sculpture of a Greek woman defending her son from the West Pediment of the Propyläen. © S. Hollaender.

280a. Schwanthaler-Sammlung, Münchner Stadtmuseum, Munich (Germany), inv. 868 (Sondermappe III, 37). Drawing of Gaia observing the battle, in Ludwig Michael Schwanthaler's second draft of the West Pediment of the Propyläen. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Graphik/Gemälde, Photo: S. Hollaender.

280b. Schwanthaler-Sammlung, Münchner Stadtmuseum, Munich (Germany), inv. 868 (Sondermappe III, 37). Drawing of a Greek warrior avenging his wife, in Ludwig Michael Schwanthaler's second draft of the West Pediment of the Propyläen. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Graphik/Gemälde, Photo: S. Hollaender.

281a. Schwanthaler-Sammlung, Münchner Stadtmuseum, Munich (Germany), inv. 868 (Sondermappe III, 37). Drawing of the sea battle, in Ludwig Michael Schwanthaler's second draft of the West Pediment of the Propyläen. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Graphik/Gemälde, Photo: S. Hollaender.

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Abbreviations

The abbreviations used for journals, series, lexika and frequently cited works follow the “List of Abbreviations for Journals, *Series, ^LLexika and [°]Frequently Cited Works” provided by the the German Archaeological Institute (last update April 2014):

<https://www.dainst.org/documents/10180/70593/02_Abbreviations+for+Journals_quer.pdf/a82958d5-e5e9-4696-8e1b-c53b5954f52a> (18.06.2021)

The abbreviations used for ancient authors and their works follow the list of abbreviations in: H. Cancik - H. Schneider (eds.), *Der neue Pauly* 3 (1997), XXXVI-XLIV.

The majority of the other abbreviations follow the “Suggestions for Other Abbreviations” provided by the the German Archaeological Institute (last update April 2014):

<https://www.dainst.org/documents/10180/70593/04_Other+Abbreviations_quer.pdf/be0881b7-514f-42a9-bd48-1e259dfeddce> (18.06.2021)

Remaining abbreviations:

app. = appendix

chap(s). = chapter(s)

pl(s). = plate(s)

The items in the catalogue are organized by figure type (i.e. OMP = Omphale, PEN = Penthesilea, VIR = Virtus, DIA = Diana, ATA = Atalante) and number (i.e. 1, 2, 3, etc.).

A note on gendered wording in this thesis:

This author recognizes the importance of using gender-inclusive and gender-sensitive language, to ensure that everyone, regardless of their gender identity, is treated with equal dignity and respect.

In this thesis, it is common to distinguish males from females in particular roles with gendered wording (e.g. god/goddess, hero/heroine, warrior/warrioress, hunter/huntress). This distinction is made specifically on the basis of sex, not gender. For instance, a female who performs heroic deeds is referred to as a heroine, regardless of the person's gender identity (which is typically unclear to us or cannot be known at all). It was useful to adopt this system for several reasons. It reflects the gendered wording used in antiquity (e.g. *deus/dea*, *heros/heroina*, *bellator/bellatrix*, *venator/venatrix*) and therefore the mentality of the people living at that time; in other words, it was evidently important - through gendered wording - to clearly mark off males from females, despite performing the same roles. While males and females could have been distinguished here in other ways (e.g. hero/female hero), this system for indicating sex is currently accepted by many people in the field of ancient studies.

1 Introduction

1.1 Overview of the Material

The following analysis examines private portraits of women in the guise of goddesses and heroines with cross-gendered dress, including masculine garments (e.g. short *chiton*, *chlamys*) or other accessories (e.g. boots, weapons).¹ These portraits are primarily attested on funerary monuments, including statues, altars and sarcophagi, which were set up at Rome and its environs between the late 1st and early 4th centuries CE. Women are portrayed in the guise of Omphale (pls. 1. 3. 5; cf. pls. 2. 4), the mythical queen of Lydia.² In this topsy-turvy kingdom, Hercules was forced to serve Omphale, as well as to cross-dress with her: as such, the hero wore the feminine dress of his mistress and carried out domestic tasks, while she wore his lion skin and club, emblems of his ultramasculine deeds. Equally striking are the portraits of women as warrioresses and huntresses - that is, Penthesilea (pls. 6-11), Diana (pls. 15-23a) and Atalante (pls. 28. 29a) - who assume masculine dress and roles.³ There are fascinating dichotomies in these portraits: they commemorate real women, who are treated as essential but subordinate members of their families and communities, yet they are represented as strong, imaginary women, who are either sexually emancipated and ruling at their own court, or else fiercely virginal and operating outside the confines of the household. They have reached the age of maturity, but are averse to marriage, childbearing or even coexisting with men as a whole.

The portraits of women on Hunt Sarcophagi merit consideration as well, since the iconography developed directly out of mythological sarcophagi with hunting themes (i.e. Meleager, Adonis, Hippolytus). Some women are portrayed as huntresses (pls. 23b-27. 29a) closely modeled after the huntresses Diana or Atalante, but with no particular mythical identification.⁴ Other women are portrayed as Virtus (pls. 12-14), the Roman goddess of “manliness” who escorts the main hunter on horseback.⁵ It is even possible for women to be represented in the role of the main hunter (pls. 29b. 30a), whose body is completely male and dress completely masculine - this intriguing form of commemoration is, however, beyond the scope of the current examination.⁶

1.2 Research Question

The creation of such portraits seems, at first glance, surprising.⁷ As will be discussed below, cross-dressing was taboo in everyday life.⁸ The literary portrayal of men and women dressing in transgressive ways was typically intended to cast them in a negative light. The male cross-dresser is ascribed

¹ For discussion on masculine dress in classical visual culture, see chap. 3.

² OMP1.4.6; see also OMP2.3.5.

³ PEN1-9; DIA1-15; ATA1.

⁴ DIA16-18; ATA2.

⁵ VIR1-4.

⁶ For discussion, see chap. 7.3.

⁷ While some of the monuments were specially commissioned, many of the monuments (especially sarcophagi) were seemingly purchased from a stock; as such, the producers of these monuments had no doubt that the monuments would be accepted by the broader population and therefore purchased.

⁸ For discussion, see chap. 2.1.2.

“womanish” vices like weakness and a lack of self-control. The female cross-dresser is considered an awe-inspiring aberration at best, but an overambitious or even “monstrous” woman at worst, whose arrogation of masculine rights and privileges undermines the *status quo*. Moreover, this portraiture forms a striking contrast to the normative and constantly replicated portrait types produced for women in this period, which emphasize femininity, modesty, passivity and an overall homogeneous identity.⁹ The aim is to point out how the representation of women in cross-gendered dress apparently displays a complete reversal of normative gender roles in Roman society, yet this reversal served a purpose: it conveyed messages about women’s powerful and productive roles during their lives, as daughters, wives and mothers, which could only be positively interpreted when viewed in their physical setting and proper social context. This is the first comprehensive analysis of this topic.

1.3 State of the Question

The corpus of private mythological portraiture has been catalogued and examined as a whole.¹⁰ This has led to several notable observations. The majority of these monuments were produced for funerary contexts in Rome and its environs, beginning in the Claudian-Neronian Period and declining around the middle of the 3rd century CE.¹¹ It seems that mythological portraiture was particularly favoured by wealthy and aspirational (imperial) freedpersons, mimicking the trends of the imperial court, especially to commemorate women and children.¹² In general, it is possible for funerary monuments to be selected by the living for themselves and often their relatives, or by survivors for their relatives; as such, the imagery is potentially prospective (in terms of anticipating death), in the present (in terms of coping with loss) or retrospective (in terms of reflecting on the lives of the deceased).¹³ There was the option to produce a monument by special commission, in order to fulfill certain wishes, or to choose a monument already in stock, with the potential for “customerization”.¹⁴

There has been a longstanding debate about whether mythological imagery from the funerary context has an eschatological significance, offering a view into the afterlife, or a more down-to-earth significance, as mythical allegories for the lives of the deceased and their relatives.¹⁵ The portraits of men and women in the guise of divinities were initially interpreted as a “private apotheosis”, expressing belief in the soul’s survival after death.¹⁶ The main issue with this hypothesis is its reliance

⁹ For discussion, see chap. 2.1.3.2.

¹⁰ H. Wrede wrote the trailblazing study on private mythological portraiture, Wrede 1981. His catalogue of mythological portraits is extensive, but not entirely comprehensive.

¹¹ Wrede 1981, 159. 170. Private mythological portraiture was exclusive to Rome and its environs until the Hadrianic Period; afterwards, this remained the main site for their production and display, Wrede 1981, 159.

¹² Wrede 1981, 159-170.

¹³ Bielfeldt 2019, 68-75. It has also been claimed that mythological portraits serve as a “private apotheosis”.

¹⁴ For discussion, see e.g. Huskinson 1996, 79f.

¹⁵ F. Cumont argues that mythological imagery on sarcophagi conveys messages about the afterlife, Cumont 1942. D. Nock has challenged this view, by relating the mythological imagery back to the lives of the deceased, Nock 1946. For an overview of the debate, Davies 2011, 22f.; Elsner 2011, 9-11; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 26f.

¹⁶ Wrede 1981, 159. 166-175. (note that H. Wrede acknowledges that it is still possible for the selection of the deity to be influenced by factors related to self-representation as well, like names, professions, personal qualities, etc.). For earlier proponents of this view, e.g. Engemann 1973, 31; Sichtermann 1966, 82-87.

on texts outlining mysterious beliefs and arcane philosophies, which cannot possibly reflect a widespread or unitary belief in the afterlife.¹⁷ It seems, rather, that the mythological imagery in the funerary context offered a valuable site for the self-representation of the living and the commemoration of the dead: it opened up an imaginary space for the expression of private feelings like love and loss, as well as the personal qualities of the deceased and their relatives.¹⁸ Furnishing the gods and heroes with individualized portraits of particular individuals required adjustments to the myths and their iconographies, not only to authorize a more personalized reading of the myth, but also to guard their decorum.¹⁹ In short, the deceased is not deified here, but ascribed “god-like” or “heroic” sentiments and virtues, which needed to be formulated in a positive way. This is not to exclude the possibility that the mythological imagery might express vague hopes for a blissful afterlife,²⁰ but the essential point is to create “sites of memory” aiding in the commemoration of the deceased and allowing them to live on in the memories of their loved ones and in their societies.²¹ These hypotheses are generally accepted and have been applied to numerous types of private mythological portraits.

The portrait types under consideration here - that is, women in the guise of Omphale, Penthesilea, Virtus, Diana and Atalante - have been primarily addressed on an individual basis, either in articles²² or within broader studies.²³ A few of these portrait types have even been addressed in conjunction.²⁴ Both kinds of studies have produced valuable insights, especially in terms of evaluating the general appeal

¹⁷ Davies 2011, 22f.; see also Borg 2013, 160. The notion that the mythological imagery can provide a window into the afterlife has not, however, been entirely abandoned, e.g. Koortbojian 2013, 157-165.

¹⁸ P. Zanker and B.C. Ewald argue that the mythological imagery on Roman sarcophagi primarily refers to the emotions and virtues of the deceased and their families, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 179-245. Various “pictorial devices” are used to adapt the myth on sarcophagi to the funerary context and to make it relevant to the deceased and their families: 1) adding portrait heads to the mythological figures, 2) incorporating scenes that are not part of the narrative (e.g. mourning scenes), 3) focusing on certain aspects of the myths while suppressing others, in order to elicit certain emotional responses or celebrate certain virtues, Zanker 2019. This approach to mythological portraiture is generally accepted, e.g. Bergmann 1998, 16-39; Borg 2013, 163f.; Hallett 2008, 159-270. Note that the knowledge of mythical narratives was not limited to the educated elite, since these tales were also known from visual culture and theatre, Cameron 2019, esp. 29f.

¹⁹ The portrait head of the deceased and their kin were clearly differentiated from the heads of generic figures (on sarcophagi) by carving their hairstyles with a chisel alone, rather than with a drill, Mont 2019. For detailed discussion on the alterations to the myths and their iconographies on Roman sarcophagi with mythological portraits, Newby 2011a; Borg 2013, 161-178; Borg 2014.

²⁰ e.g. Zanker - Ewald 2004, 173-177; Borg 2013, 161. 164; Newby 2011b, 302-304; Zanker 2019, 15-17.

²¹ As noted by B.C. Ewald, “in a society without coherent eschatology, without common trust in rebirth or postmortal existence, and with vastly diverging belief systems, the monument itself guaranteed the memory of the deceased. The principle function shared by funerary monuments was the preservation of an individual’s memory and the fight against oblivion,” Ewald 2015, 391. It is clear that sarcophagi - including beautifully decorated sarcophagi - were not always visible in the tombs, due to being buried in the ground; this did not, however, diminish their value, since the monuments were displayed at the funeral and the burial of such a prestigious object was an act of conspicuous consumption that conferred honour on the deceased, Borg 2019.

²² For the portraits of women as Omphale, Cancik-Lindmaier 1985; Kampen 1996b; Zanker 1999. For the portraits of women as Penthesilea, Grassinger 1999a; Fendt 2005. It seems that there is no article dedicated to the portraits of women as Virtus. For the portraits of girls as Diana, D’Ambra 2008. For the portrait group of a boy and a girl as “Meleager” and “Atalante”, Simon 1970; there is no complementary article dedicated to the portrait group of a man and women as Meleager and Atalante.

²³ e.g. Backe-Dahmen 2006, 94-96. 104f. 112f. 117. 161-163. 176. 187f. 215f.; Borg 2013, 170. 173. 179. 181; Dimas 1998, 118-130; Huskinson 2015, 148f. 162. 174-176; Mander 2013, 55-59. 185f.; Mols et al. 2016, 55f.; Russenberger 2015, 383-420; Zanker-Ewald 2004, 200. 215. 226f.; Wrede 1981, 71. 109. 137. 150. 156. 173

²⁴ For examples, Birk 2013, 137; Hansen 2007.

and significance of the monuments, and - to some extent - their expression of gender and gender relations. Nevertheless, the majority of these studies focus on either a certain monument or a select few, or else speak about a specific portrait type in a generalizing manner. Moreover, there is no research project connecting all of these categories of mythological portraits on the basis of their cross-gendered dress.²⁵ For the portraits of women as Omphale, the cross-dressing is obvious since she takes over the club and lion skin directly from Hercules, but this has received surprisingly limited attention as a gender-bending feature.²⁶ Moreover, for the portraits of women as mythical huntresses and warrioresses, the cross-dressing is rarely even acknowledged.²⁷ In both cases, the dress exhibits a complex negotiation between traditionally masculine and feminine sartorial features.

The aim here is to perform a fresh, detailed examination of these portrait types on an individual basis - which takes all of the extant monuments into consideration - as well as treat them as a comprehensive group for the first time, in order to assess the broader trends as well as anomalies related to this form of commemoration. It is just as important to carefully situate the portrait types in their physical setting - where possible - and in their proper social context. A comprehensive analysis of the material, connected together in this specific manner, makes it possible to determine basic information about this form of commemoration. This is the starting point for assessing questions about the material, such as whether particular portrait types were favoured at certain times, in certain areas, or by certain social classes; whether there were different modes for representing imperial and private women, preadolescent girls and married women, or women alone and next to their male relatives. It also allows for the consideration of private feelings and qualities evoked by these portrait types, as well as the motivations and limits for their expression, both in individual cases and on the whole.

It is possible to contribute to our understanding of these monuments by focusing on the dress itself, encompassing body styling, garments and accessories. The mythological costumes are wholly artificial, but it is essential to evaluate them as a series of semiotic signs, participating in the construction of identity on its own terms.²⁸ The available evidence suggests that the ancient viewers were in fact conscious of the connotations of dress in mythological portraiture - as well as the gendered connotations - which could affect the selection, transformation and even avoidance of certain costumes

²⁵ I.L. Hansen comes the closest to achieving this, since she connects three monuments from three different categories (VIR2; DIA16; PEN3), but in terms of these women's associations with both *concordia* and *virtus*.

²⁶ N. Kampen recognizes the "instability of gender", but interprets this in an eschatological way, Kampen 1996.

²⁷ It seems that A. Fendt is the only one to recognize the exchange of gendered dress (for a portrait of a woman as Penthesilea, PEN3), Fendt 2005, 83f. 87. 89.

²⁸ In conservative approaches especially, there is a misguided tendency to "explain away" the cross-gendered dress as a relatively neutral identifying feature for a particular goddess or heroine, signifying that character's attributes without gendered implications. Two examples will suffice here. P. Zanker argues that the portraits of women as Omphale (with a female nude body, and holding the club and lion skin of Hercules) are primarily an expression of beauty as well as their husbands' overwhelming love for them, as also known from the mythological tradition; as such, the cross-dressing carries no particularly gendered connotations, Zanker 1999. S. Matheson argues that the portraits of girls as Diana point to qualities of the goddess like virginity and beauty, which were perfectly suitable for commemorating innocent maidens who suffered an untimely death, Matheson 1996, 189f. The revisionist approaches partially rectify this issue, but not entirely.

for commemoration.²⁹ On these monuments in particular, the dress has been partially tackled in terms of its significance. In some cases, select details are treated as signs (e.g. bare breast, fur boots, flying drapery), but the remainder of the garments and accessories are viewed as purely functional;³⁰ in other cases, the entire costume is recognized as a recurring visual code.³¹ Nevertheless, detailed deconstructions of these costumes for the purposes of commemoration, which fully bring out their gender-bending qualities, tend to remain outside the limits of these examinations.³² It is therefore worthwhile taking the dress as the starting point for interpretation, examining the visual code in a comprehensive manner. Afterwards, it is possible to turn to other factors (e.g. body language, pose, activity, interactions, backdrop) to nuance our understanding of the monuments. In so far as possible, the mythological narratives will be left out of the examination here. There is no reason to assume *a priori* that monuments can be interpreted on the basis of these storylines: indeed, it is possible for the imagery to take on a new significance, depending on the precise handling of the visual code. At times, the result is a demythologized portrait type - that is, a portrait type that has been partially or completely divested of mythical elements and injected with real-life elements.³³

Of considerable interest here is what private mythological portraiture can reveal about perspectives on sex and gender in Roman society. The imagery is commonly interpreted in light of traditional female virtues in patriarchal society, which ultimately reaffirms the prevailing sexual hierarchy and gender dichotomy of male/superior/active/self-controlled vs. female/inferior/passive/emotional.³⁴ This conservative approach has been applied to the portrait types in cross-gendered dress on an individual basis: for instance, the portrayal of women as Omphale is primarily seen to express their beauty and modesty;³⁵ of girls as Diana, their virginity and delicacy;³⁶ and of women as Penthesilea, their feminine allure but also their weakness.³⁷ Such a strict paradigm has been rightfully called into question in revisionist studies, by noting the capacity for several portrait types to convey qualities traditionally ascribed to men, such as strength, bravery or even *virtus* ("manliness").³⁸

²⁹ For discussion, see chap. 7.3.

³⁰ D'Ambra 2008, 175-178; see also Hansen 2007, 112f.

³¹ For instance, it has been observed that the costume of Diana and Penthesilea/Amazons bears some resemblance to that of Virtus, Birk 2013, 137; Fendt 2004, 91; Hansen 2007, 110. 112.

³² A. Fendt recognizes the exchange of gendered dress and makes the most concerted attempt at deconstructing all of the details of the dress (for a portrait of a woman as Penthesilea, PEN3), Fendt 2005, 83f. 87. 89; even here, however, there is more to be said about the dress. Otherwise, the majority of studies focus on visual signs that turn away from the core identity of the female portrait subject (e.g. precise actions, general setting) and defer to mythological narratives or ritual practices as decisive factors for interpretation.

³³ For a detailed definition of demythologization, see chap. 7.7.

³⁴ e.g. Ewald 2005; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 201-245; Zanker 2005, 244.

³⁵ Zanker 1999.

³⁶ Mattheson 1996, 189f.

³⁷ Ewald 2005, 62; Russenberger 2015, 384-388.

³⁸ J. Huskinson was seemingly the first to acknowledge that women could be celebrated in their portraiture for *virtus* in particular, due to the possibility for them to usurp the position of the male lion hunter on Roman Hunt Sarcophagi, Huskinson 2002, 26-28. A. Fendt argues that a portrait of a woman as Penthesilea (PEN3) is not only physically beautiful, but also exhibits matronly and "manly" qualities (e.g. strength, courage), Fendt 2005. I.L. Hansen argues that portraits of women as Virtus (VIR2), Diana (DIA16) and Penthesilea (PEN3) are celebrated for

At the same time, the latter hypothesis has not been fully explored. The role that the dress plays in conferring *virtus* on the women demands further attention, especially in terms of its gender-bending qualities.³⁹ For some portrait types, the evocation of masculine virtues has not been considered in detail;⁴⁰ for others, their masculine virtues have not been properly weighted with other qualities,⁴¹ or, conversely, applied in a highly qualified manner.⁴² As such, the evocation of *virtus* in women requires further evaluation, especially in terms of the sartorial code and its relationship with other signs on the monuments. Besides this, the conferral of *virtus* on these women has not been fully situated in its proper social context. Its significance is treated in a general manner (e.g. courage, “virtue”)⁴³ or even in a potentially conflicting manner, due to the focus on particular categories of evidence. For instance, it has been argued that the evocation of *virtus* is suitable for children in general, to cast them as “little adults”;⁴⁴ for girls in particular, due to their resistance to categories of mature sexuality and of gender;⁴⁵ and even for married women, because of the endorsement or at least tolerance of fighting women in Roman society.⁴⁶ There are, however, glaring issues with all of these hypotheses.

Overall, the following analysis aims to answer the following question: how did “sites of memory” in the form of portraits of women as goddesses and heroines in cross-gendered dress become an acceptable form of commemoration? Building on the current state of research, the following lines of inquiry have been followed in particular. Were these women perhaps treated as “honorary men”, especially in terms

their *concordia* and associated with *virtus*, Hansen 2007, E. D’Ambra argues that the portraits of girls as Diana (but especially DIA1. 2. 4. 7) signify the heroic mode of representation or even *virtus*, D’Ambra 2008. S. Birk summarily groups together the portraits of women as Penthesilea, Virtus, Diana (DIA16) and Atalante (ATA1) and notes their masculine qualities, Birk 2013, 137. B.E. Borg notes that the portraits of women as Penthesilea, Virtus and Atalante (ATA2) exhibit masculine virtues as well, on an individual basis, Borg 2013, 170. 173. 181.

³⁹ See Birk 2013, 137; D’Ambra 2008, 175-178; Fendt 2004, 83f. 87. 89. 91; Hansen 2007, 110. 112f.

⁴⁰ S.T.A.M. Mols, E.M. Moorman and O. Hekster recognize masculine qualities in a portrait of a woman as Omphale (OMP1), but by re-identifying her as Venus-Hercules, Mols et al. 2016, 55f. Moreover, the portrait of a woman as Atalante (ATA1) has been ascribed masculine virtues, but only in passing, Birk 2013, 137.

⁴¹ A. Fendt argues that a portrait of women as Penthesilea (PEN3) primarily expresses her matronly and “manly” qualities (e.g. strength, courage), Fendt 2005; this is generally true, but the focus is on the *concordia* between the husband and wife, whereas their individual qualities are pushed into the background. Moreover, I.L. Hansen argues that portraits of women as Virtus (VIR2), Diana (DIA16) and Penthesilea (PEN3) celebrate their *concordia* and associate them with *virtus*, Hansen 2007; on the other hand, it is clear that these qualities are weighted differently for the women on these monuments (and others as well).

⁴² It is commonly argued that the portraits of women as Virtus are a sign of *virtus*, but that the quality is ultimately conferred on their husbands, Ewald 2005, 71; Milhous 1992, 210; Newby 2011a, 216f.; Rodenwaldt 1944, 194f.; Sande 2009, 62; Vaccaro Melucco 1963-1964, 49; Wrede 1981, 150; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 226f; for a more ambivalent view, where *virtus* is at least predominantly conferred on the husband, Hansen 2007, 109f. 115f. The portraits of women as Virtus have only been attributed *virtus* in passing, Birk 2013, 137; Borg 2013, 181.

⁴³ Birk 2013, 137 (courage); Borg 2013, 181 (“virtue” in general, which can also include courage); Hansen 2007, 107f. (courage). These ideas were probably not explored in greater detail due to being outside of the scope of these analyses. It is worthwhile exploring the attribution of *virtus* to Roman women in a detailed manner, by considering the literary and epigraphic sources in conjunction with the imagery in question.

⁴⁴ For discussion on children commemorated for *virtus* on their funerary monuments (as well as for adult qualities in general), Backe-Dahmen 2006, 116-118; Birk 2013, 157-180; Dimas 1998, 118-162; Huskinson 1996, 92-94. 102. 105. 108; Mander 2013, 55-62; Simon 1970, 215-220. It will be argued here that *virtus* is a perfectly appropriate quality for children and adults alike.

⁴⁵ D’Ambra 2008, 181. It is nevertheless clear that *virtus* is also evoked in portraiture for women as well.

⁴⁶ Fendt 2005, 91f. 93. It seems, however, that this is a far too iconic reading of the portraits - the potential for symbolic meanings ought to be taken into consideration as well.

of their *virtus*? Is there evidence - based on a closer analysis of the cross-gendered dress, in conjunction with other signs - that a particularly “female” *virtus* is evoked by these monuments? If so, how should this concept be understood within its broader social context, considering factors like gender, age, social standing and relationships? Is there any correlation between *virtus* and the more traditional qualities for women, giving rise to certain patterns or peculiarities in the corpus?⁴⁷ How can this overall encomiastic discourse contribute to our understanding of the ideal woman in Roman society?

1.4 Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 - *Introduction*: The main goal of this study is to assess how portraits of women as goddesses and heroines in cross-gendered dress became a suitable form of commemoration. This question has not been tackled in a comprehensive and detailed manner.

Chapter 2 - *Cross-Dressing in Roman Society - Background, Theories and Methodologies*: It is important to provide some background information about attitudes towards female-to-male cross-dressing especially, as well as the normative representation of women in their portraiture. There is no evidence that cross-dressing was illegal, but women transgressing against these sartorial norms were generally viewed with apprehension. It is therefore hardly surprising that women tend to wear their own sex-specific dress in private portraiture, whereas their assumption of cross-gendered dress is truly anomalous and requires explanation. It is possible to explore this question with semiotics especially, against the background of theories of gender and dress, as well as social memory.

Chapter 3 - *Masculine Dress in Classical Visual Culture*: The starting point for the material analysis is to demonstrate that the dress worn by the women in the private portraiture under consideration was in fact viewed as cross-gendered. The dress is not contemporary, but taken over from ancient Greek visual culture. It is clear that the main garments (e.g. short *chiton*, *chlamys*) and accessories (e.g. weapons, boots) were typically associated with male figures, whereas their adoption by female figures was perceived as an out-of-the-ordinary situation. Moreover, there is good reason to believe that the Romans were still conscious of the original gendered connotations of the dress.

Chapters 4-6 - *Herculean Women, Warrioreses and Huntresses -The Portraits of Girls and Women as Omphale, Penthesilea, Virtus, Diana and Atalante*: The next step is to conduct a detailed examination of the private portraits, which have been divided into three categories based on their costume: 1) herculean women (i.e. Omphale), 2) warrioreses (i.e. Penthesilea, Virtus), 3) huntresses (i.e. Diana, Atalante). The development and significance of each costume is examined in detail, from its origins to its reception in Roman visual culture, before turning to its respective portrait types, which are considered on an individual basis: this includes an overview of the monuments (e.g. basic data, descriptions) and an interpretation of their imagery, especially its capacity to encode virtue. Particular

⁴⁷ An excellent example is the interconnection between *concordia* and *virtus*, see Hansen 2007.

attention is devoted to the dress, which is treated as a series of semiotic signs, evoking gendered qualities about the female deceased on its own terms.

Chapter 7 - *Synthesis - The Portraiture in its Social Context*: The next step is to provide a synthesis of the portrait types, by addressing their similarities and differences, as well as to situate the material in its broader social context. The most important points include: 1) a summary of the monuments, especially the gendered dress and the sensitivity of the patrons to the gendered dress, 2) the possibilities for representing women in cross-gendered dress (based on their class, age, social relationships, etc.), 3) the expression of virtues, as well as their interaction with each other, 4) the expression of private feelings, and 5) the trend towards demythologization.

Chapter 8 - *Conclusions*: The final step is to offer a concise overview of results, as well as how this contributes to the scholarly narrative.

2 Cross-Dressing in Roman Society - Background, Theories and Methodologies

This chapter offers background information on cross-dressing in Roman society, as well as the theoretical and methodological considerations for approaching the portraits of women as goddesses and heroines in cross-gendered dress. The first section explores perspectives on cross-dressing in Roman society, especially female-to-male cross-dressing. The second section outlines the normative dress of women in their portraiture, as well as the potential for “transgression”. The third section considers which theories and methods are useful for exploring these “transgressions”.

2.1 Background Information

2.1.1 Prohibitions against Cross-Dressing in Roman Law?

A system of sex-specific dress existed in Roman society - this was not only a matter of common custom, but also found its way into Roman law.⁴⁸ The jurist Ulpian, active during the Severan Period, draws a distinction between men’s and women’s dress (e.g. *toga* vs. *stola*), but notes the existence of unisex dress as well (e.g. *paenula*, *pallium*).⁴⁹ The list of gendered articles of dress presented by the jurist is not comprehensive; moreover, he does not describe their differences in any detailed way, since the mere designation “of the garment belonging to, or being intended to be worn by, a man [or a woman or

⁴⁸ In this analysis, sex-specific dress refers to the dress that was assigned to individuals based on their perceived sexual characteristics at birth (i.e. male or female). There was no concept of a third sex in Roman law: an individual was categorized as either male or female at birth based on their genitalia, which determined their legal capacities and gender expectations; sexual ambiguity was only recognized in the case of hermaphrodites, but this was resolved by categorizing them as male or female, Gardner 1998. As suggested by Diodorus Siculus, this could also be resolved with surgery, Diod. 32, 10, 2; 32, 11. (It is important to note, however, that the fate of individuals of non-determinate sex was not always so straightforward: hermaphrodites were perceived as a bad omen at Rome and ritually expiated by drowning or burning between 209 and 92 BCE, McBain 1982; even after this, superstitious attitudes towards hermaphrodites persisted, Diod. 32, 12, 1; moreover, they occasionally appeared as physiological oddities in sideshows, Plin. nat. 7, 34). The issue of secondary sex characteristics is a bit more complicated: the physiognomic discourse of Polemon in the 2nd century CE claims that certain physical characteristics are more male or female (e.g. smaller head, smaller mouth, narrower face, brighter glittering eyes, feebler ribs, etc. are more female), Gleason 1990. It was generally agreed that sex and gender naturally align (i.e. male/masculine; female/feminine), but there was potential for males and females to exhibit social characteristics normally ascribed to the other gender; for further discussion, see chaps. 2.1.2.1; 2.2.2.

⁴⁹ Dig. 34, 2, 23, 2: “Clothing is either intended for the use of men, women, or children, or is common to both sexes, or is used by slaves. That peculiar to men is such as is designed for the use of the head of the household, for instance togas [*togae*], (male) tunics [*tunicae*], small Greek mantles [*palliola*], bedspreads [*vestimenta stragula*], blankets that are shaggy on both sides [*amfitapa*], coarse woolen mantles or blankets [*saga*] and other things of this description. Garments peculiar to children are such as are used for no other purpose, as for example, togas with a purple border [*togae praetextae*], children’s coats [*aliculae*], Greek cloaks [*chlamydes*], and Greek mantles [*pallia*] such as we purchase for our offspring. Women’s clothing is that intended for the use of the mother of the family, and which a man cannot readily wear without censure: as for example, long robes [*stolae*], (female) Greek mantles [*pallia*], (female) tunics [*tunicae*], head coverings [*capitia*], female girdles [*zonae*], “coifs” [*mitrae*] which are designed to cover the head rather than for the purpose of ornament, bed-curtains [*plagulae*] and (female) woolen outer garments covering the whole body [*paenulae*]. Those are common to both sexes which both men and women use indiscriminately such as the woolen outer garments covering the whole body [*paenulae*] and the Greek mantle [*pallium*] and other garments of this kind which a man or his wife can wear without rendering themselves liable to unfavourable comment. The garments of slaves are such as are intended to clothe them, for example, coarse woolen mantles or blankets [*saga*], tunics [*tunicae*], woolen outer garments covering the whole body [*paenulae*], linen cloths [*lintea*], bed coverings [*vestimenta stragula*] and other articles of this description.” (Translation based on Croom 2002, 30).

both], rendered it distinct without further description.”⁵⁰ For instance, there was simply no need to explain which kind of *tunica* is appropriate for a man or a woman, since the classification is self-evident to everyone in Roman society.⁵¹ At the same time, this opened up the possibility for contesting the boundaries between masculine and feminine tunics. The dress of children is considered separately (e.g. *toga praetexta*), but this is not completely interchangeable - rather, it is gendered from an early age.⁵² Finally, the concept of sex-specific dress presented here is closely linked to status. The point of reference for men’s dress is that worn by the head of the household, and for women’s dress the mother of the family. Slaves are treated as a separate category, suggesting that practical factors like working or impoverishment might override the need to adhere to an ideal sartorial code.

These definitions had to be established in Roman law for several reasons. First of all, it was necessary to draw distinctions between women’s and men’s dress for carrying out certain legal acts (e.g. bequeathing clothing in a will).⁵³ Secondly, questions of sex-specific dress might have played a role in legal proceedings, at least incidentally.⁵⁴ Besides this, “there is no evidence that [a man] dressing as a woman was forbidden by law, or that those acting in this way were condemned to any kind of penalty, however slight...”⁵⁵ The texts are silent on the legal questions of women dressing as men, but this is hardly surprising, considering their relatively insignificant legal status.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ This observation is made by L. Cleland in relation to the Brauron Clothing Inventories, Cleland 2005, 92.

⁵¹ His criteria initially seem contradictory. For instance, some garments are labeled as men’s clothing, but then once again as women’s clothing (e.g. *tunica*); others garments are labeled as women’s clothing, but then once again as unisex clothing (e.g. *paenula*). There is, however, a logical explanation for this: Ulpian merely wants to express that dress can be categorized according to sex.

⁵² The *toga praetexta* is worn by children in general, to mark them as “non-gendered” beings and therefore sexually off-limits, Sebesta 2005. Nevertheless, the available visual evidence suggests that girls wore this overgarment in combination with a long undergarment; for examples of portraits of girls dressed in the *toga* (or wearing a mantle in the form of a *toga*), Gercke 1968, 197f cat. FM 1. R1 (Mädchen D & G). R 12. Moreover, the *chlamys* is probably connected to boys in particular, since there is no compelling evidence that this sort of cloak was appropriate for girls as well, Scharf 1994, 44-49.

⁵³ If a testator wished to bequeath clothing in his will, then it was necessary to designate whether the legacy consisted of *vestimenta virilia* or *vestimenta muliebra*, Gardner 1998, 147. For legal sources about giving sex-specific clothing in a will, Dig. 34, 2, 33; Paul. sent. 3, 6, 80-81.

⁵⁴ It is true that there is no evidence for this in Roman law itself, but this is suggested by Seneca the Elder’s *Controversiae*: this contains speeches for fictitious lawsuits, which perhaps provide insight into how cases might have been dealt with. An excellent example of this is the law concerning *lèse-majesté*: that is, harming the majesty of the state by acting inappropriately while exercising public authority. According to Seneca the Elder’s *Controversiae*, “one is allowed to wear what dress one likes; but if a *praetor* acts as judge in the clothing of a slave or a woman, he will be impairing majesty,” Sen. contr. 9, 2, 17 (translation in Winterbottom 1974, 251). In other words, cross-dressing for men is not a punishable act in its own right, but is considered a *crimen maiestatis* in the context of acting on behalf of the state, given that women’s dress is not in keeping with the distinction of the position, Manfredini 1985, 264; A. Raggi instead claims that this only prompted a *nota censoria*, Raggi 2017, 45.

⁵⁵ Raggi 2017, 47; see also Gardner 1998, 147. Note, however, that Tiberius introduced legislation to prevent men from wearing silk garments, Tac. ann. 2, 33; Cass. Dio 57, 15, 1; this luxurious fabric is treated as a sign of effeminacy in Roman society, Olson 2017, 107f. The legislation influenced by Christianity is not considered here; for discussion on that, see Cantarella 2007, 226-237; Manfredini 1985, 267-271.

⁵⁶ Raggi 2017, 47 footnote 1. Roman women were citizens and acquired similar private rights to Roman men in the course of time (e.g. able to own and administer property, choose her own husband, or even to be free from guardianship under certain conditions); however, women could not vote, hold elected office, had restricted access to law courts, and so on, Treggiari 1996, 118-124.

The legal texts nevertheless reveal social attitudes towards cross-dressing in Roman society. The passage by the jurist Ulpian indicates that men wearing women's dress, or vice versa, were generally subject to social censorship.⁵⁷ The fictitious trial involving a cross-dressed youth in Seneca the Elder's *Controversiae* - while only dealing with hypothetical proceedings - is also significant.⁵⁸ He imagines that a youth accepted a bet to wear women's clothes in public at night and was raped by a gang of men. A magistrate thereafter banned him from speaking at the *contio*, the people's informal meeting, on the grounds of being *inpudicus* (unchaste). It seems that the magistrate's decision was based solely on the fact that the youth had been penetrated,⁵⁹ given that "Roman class-consciousness equated sexual submission with loss of honour, admission of inferiority, and lack of virility."⁶⁰ At the same time, he implies that the youth would never have been violated had he not masqueraded as a woman.⁶¹ He is astonished by his behaviour, but doubts that it was an isolated incident: "he was so suited by the dress he put on that it looked as though it wasn't the first time he had put it on."⁶² He even brings forth his transgression of sartorial norms to justify his decision to ban him from speaking publicly: as he states, it is considered an outrage for men to simply poke an arm out their *toga*, but this cross-dressed youth exhibits no sense of modesty whatsoever. The social censorship of cross-dressing in legal texts fits well into the broader picture: cross-dressing was not condoned in everyday life,⁶³ but perceived as a disruption in the natural order and therefore characteristic of the *mundus inversus*.⁶⁴

In summary, the fact that the legal texts draw distinctions between men's, women's and unisex dress confirms the existence of a system of gendered dress in Roman society. This was based not on detailed criteria, but on a general understanding of dress. In theory, the differences were so obvious that there

⁵⁷ Raggi 2017, 40f. It is possible to draw the same conclusion from some passages about legacies in the *Pauli Sententiae*: it indicates that when male clothing is bequeathed, this should only include garments that men can use without damaging their reputation, and that when female clothing is bequeathed, this should only include garments intended for the use of women, presumably for the same reason, Paul. sent. 3, 6, 80-81.

⁵⁸ Sen. contr. 5, 6.

⁵⁹ Raggi 2017, 43. 49 footnote 32. As such, the youth was not barred from public speaking due to cross-dressing in itself, but due to the perceived consequences of his transgressive behaviour. For discussion on the connection between freeborn men being penetrated and the loss of *pudicitia*, Williams 1999, 172-174.

⁶⁰ Richlin 1993, 535. For discussion on the connection between *stuprum* (i.e. violation of the sexual integrity of freeborn Romans) and loss of masculinity, Williams 1999, 109-112.

⁶¹ Raggi 2017, 42.

⁶² Translation in Winterbottom 1974, 491.

⁶³ This is a recurrent theme in the textual sources as a whole, but a few instances will suffice here. Varro notes that it is possible for actors to dress up like members of the opposite sex on stage, but custom generally dictated that men should wear men's tunics and women should wear women's tunics, Varro ling. 10, 27. According to Tacitus' *Annales*, Tiberius wrote a letter to the Senate complaining about the decaying morals of his day, including the indiscriminate mixing of male and female dress, Tac. ann. 3, 53. Quintilian criticizes the use of oratory styles unsuited to a particular subject matter, comparing it to cross-dressing: "such incongruities are as unbecoming as it is for men to wear necklaces and pearls and flowing raiment which are the natural adornments of women, or for women to robe themselves in the garb of triumph, than which there can conceived no more majestic raiment," Quint. inst. 11, 1, 3 (translation in Butler 1922, 155-157). The list of examples goes on here, see Olson 2017, 140.

⁶⁴ An excellent example of this is found in Plutarch's account of Aristodemus Malakos ("The Soft"), the legendary *strategos* of Cumae who forced the ruling elite into exile and established a tyranny, Plut. mor. 261E-262D. He allegedly "accustomed the boys to wear long hair and golden ornaments, and he compelled the girls to cut their hair short around the neck, and to wear youth's cloaks [*chlamydes*] over short tunics [*anakoloi chitoniskoi*]," Plut. mor. 261F (translation based on Facella 2017, 113). The imposition of cross-dressing on the children of Cumae is symptomatic of the "overturning of normal social relations" in general, Facella 2017, 113.

was simply no need to outline them; in practice, however, this had the potential to open up grey areas. It follows that transgressions against these sartorial norms were possible as well, whether by impersonating members of the opposite sex in obvious ways, or by adopting dress that could be perceived as effeminate (e.g. for men, tunics which might be too long, or outfits that might contain too many luxurious features, such as bright colours, silk or rings). There is no evidence that cross-dressing was prohibited by law, but it opened up transgressors to social censorship.

2.1.2 Social Censorship of Cross-Dressing in Roman Society

2.1.2.1 Perspectives on Male-to-Female Cross-Dressing

The main focus of this examination are the mythological portraits of women in cross-gendered dress, but the complementary phenomenon will be considered as well.⁶⁵ As such, the perspectives on male-to-female cross-dressing in Roman society ought to be briefly outlined here.

It was possible for men to masquerade as women for practical reasons (e.g. stage acting),⁶⁶ as well as in ritual and festive contexts,⁶⁷ but in most cases the attribution of this behavior to men aimed to damage their reputation.⁶⁸ The reasons for this perspective become clear by considering the concept of hegemonic masculinity, that is, the “dominant masculinity exercised by the economic, social and political elite, invariably masquerading as unitary.”⁶⁹ There was no uniform idea of masculinity, but rather a number of masculinities; nevertheless, men were generally complicit in sustaining the dominant model, whereas alternate masculinities were treated as insufficient or inferior. It was the prerogative of the Roman man to maintain control, both over himself and his social inferiors (e.g. women, children, slaves, etc.), just as he and his fellow citizens were destined to control the whole world.⁷⁰ Their superiority was justified by assigning admirable qualities to men, but certain

⁶⁵ For instance, there are portraits of men in the guise of Hercules at the Lydian court.

⁶⁶ Varro notes that actors could dress up like a member of the opposite sex, Varro ling. 10, 27. Then again, actors could also be accused of effeminacy for this reason, Williams 1999, 139f. It is possible that Roman men disguised themselves as women for a noble cause (as was the case in ancient Greece, see Facella 2017, 111-113; Serghidou 2012, 88-90). The scandalous tale of Clodius, however, demonstrates the opposite: in 62 BCE, he disguised himself as a woman to sneak into the rites of the Bona Dea, allegedly with the intention to seduce Poppaea (the wife of Julius Caesar); for discussion, Campanile 2017, 53-56; Heskel 1994, 139f.

⁶⁷ There are festivals at Rome that involve cross-dressing. For instance, flute-players roamed the streets of Rome during the three-day festival of the *Quinquatrus minusculae*, wearing masks and long robes (*stolae longae*) and making music in order to lighten the mood, Scullard 1981, 152f. Moreover, standard modes of dress are set aside during the Saturnalia, which perhaps extends to cross-dressing (e.g. men wearing the *synthesis* in public), Dolansky 2011, 492. 500. It is possible that cross-dressing was tolerated to some extent in banqueting contexts; the jurist Pomponius mentions that a certain senator was accustomed to use women's dinner-dress, Dig. 34, 2, 33. It seems, however, that male-to-female cross-dressing for ritual/festive purposes was more common in ancient Greece; for discussion, Krenkel 2006, 465-467; La Guardia 2017; Lambropoulou 1995; Morizot 2003, 45-48; Pironti 2012.

⁶⁸ It is generally acknowledged that male-to-female cross-dressing in the literary sources was typically viewed by the Romans in a negative light, e.g. Campanile 2017; Chrystal 2017, 139-143; Cleland et al. 2007, 42f. 54f.; Edmondson 2008, 36f.; Edwards 1994, 157; Harlow 2005, 145-149; Heskel 1994, 139-141; Krenkel 2006, 474-478; Rantala 2020, 120-123; Starbatty 2010, 170-179; Tracy 1976.

⁶⁹ For discussion on hegemonic masculinity, as well as alternate masculinities in Roman society, Olson 2017, 5f.

⁷⁰ Williams 1999, 141f.

shortcomings to women.⁷¹ In particular, the virtues considered necessary for ruling in Roman society were gendered masculine, whereas vices in need of policing were gendered feminine, thus aligning the masculine/feminine dichotomy with various other binarisms: strength vs. weakness, courage vs. timidity, moderation vs. excess, and so on.⁷²

It was widely believed that gender categories were naturally predicated on clearly recognizable and unchanging biological differences between males and females (i.e. biological essentialism),⁷³ even if - in reality - this oft recurring binary system only comes into existence through particular social practices and recurring discourses (i.e. social constructivism).⁷⁴ On the level of the individual, however, gender was recognized as a slippery concept, with the possibility to slide from one category into the other, or even somewhere in-between.⁷⁵ It follows that “masculinity in the ancient world was an achieved state, radically underdetermined by anatomical sex” and therefore requiring constant vigilance.⁷⁶ It needed to be frequently reasserted through active social performances, such as demonstrating reason and self-control in civic life, bravely carrying out one’s military duties, or assuming active, penetrative sexual roles.⁷⁷ It was also important not to succumb to one’s fears or desires, by leading to a life of luxury, self-indulgence and idleness.⁷⁸ Any sign of *mollitia* (softness, weakness) might call one’s masculinity into question, and hence one’s capacity to assume a superior, ruling position in Roman society.⁷⁹ In the

⁷¹ For discussion, Williams 1999, 132-142; Hemelrijk 2004, 189. Besides this, it should be noted that both men and women are attributed positive qualities, which allow men to excel in politics/war (e.g. *virtus*, *fortitudo*, *constantia*) and women in the domestic setting (e.g. *pudicitia*, *obsequium*, *lanificium*), Hemelrijk 2004, 188.

⁷² Williams 1999, 142.

⁷³ For discussion on the predominantly binary view of gender in antiquity, Carlà-Uhink 2017a, 7-9. For discussion on biological essentialism in antiquity, Kampen 1996a, 15f.; Lindheim 1998, 45-47; Wood 2000, 78. There are some hints that Roman men wished to believe that their biological sex endowed them with “natural” qualities and capacities that better suited them to certain roles in society; this was, in any case, propagated as an ideal, since it allowed them to maintain their superior position. Biological difference was largely measured in terms of genitalia. This is reflected by Diodorus Siculus’ account of Herais/Diophantus and Callo/Callon: following their sex change from females to males, both were able to integrate themselves into society as men, Diod. 32, 10, 2; 32, 11. However, secondary sex characteristics might also play a role. This is reflected by the physiognomic treatises of Polemon (2nd century CE): in general, the sex of the infant is not entirely absolute because maleness and femaleness manifests itself on a sliding scale, depending on the circumstances of conception; he believed that it was possible to judge whether an individual is more male/masculine or female/feminine based on clear and definable physiognomic qualities, many of which can be concealed or reduced, but not really altered; for instance, males who exhibit female physiognomic qualities (e.g. smaller head, smaller mouth, narrower face, brighter glittering eyes, feebler ribs, etc.) will exhibit feminine vices, such as cowardliness, deceptiveness and bitterness, Gleason 1990. The tales of cross-dressed heroes are also relevant: for instance, Hercules and Achilles in women’s dress were perceived of as models for uncompromised masculinity in texts, Cyrino 1998.

⁷⁴ For a discussion on social constructivism in antiquity, Kampen 1996a, 16f.; Lindheim 1998, 45-47; Wood 2000, 78.

⁷⁵ For discussion on gender slippage in antiquity, Carlà-Uhink 2017a, 3-9; Williams 1999, 138-142. For discussion on gender diversity in antiquity, Surtees - Dyer 2020.

⁷⁶ Gleason 1995, 59. In other words, it was not taken for granted that every male would successfully become a man, or that every female would successfully become a woman: there was always the possibility for them to fall outside of these categories (perhaps in part due to the recognition that not all males and females are entirely the same by nature, perhaps in part due to the recognition that social factors might play a role as well). As such, there was certainly an unresolved tension between ideals and realities of gender in Roman society.

⁷⁷ Williams 1999, 141f.; Icks 2017, 66.

⁷⁸ Williams 1999, 138-143.

⁷⁹ Icks 2017, 66.

end, Roman men who fell short of being a proper *vir* (man) were typically considered effeminate by default, in order to incorporate all exceptions into the norm.⁸⁰

Dressing appropriately was also considered important in this regard. In the conservative view, Roman men ought to dress plainly and austere, as an expression of their moral authority and ancestral virtue, as long as they did not appear too unkempt and hence unsophisticated or impoverished.⁸¹ It was nevertheless possible to break away from these prescriptions. First of all, some men embraced lavish dress - such as expensive, brightly-coloured fabrics, and ornaments - as a form of conspicuous consumption, valuable for displaying wealth and status.⁸² This was met with mixed reactions: it could be tolerated to some degree as “a mode of self-representation associated with youth, urban sophistication and hyper-heterosexuality”,⁸³ or else frowned upon, due to its longstanding association with moral shortcomings and hence faltering masculinity.⁸⁴ Secondly, some men directly adopted the grooming habits, garments and jewellery of the opposite sex, but this was practically always viewed with suspicion, or more specifically as an outward expression of effeminacy.⁸⁵ The connection is clearly drawn by Quintilian: “again depilation, a voluptuous gait, or womanish attire may be regarded as indications of effeminacy and unmanliness by anyone who thinks that such symptoms are the result of an immoral character...”⁸⁶ Dio Chrysostom presents a similar nexus of associations in his speeches addressed to Trajan on the virtues of a sovereign.⁸⁷ Here, the orator criticizes the male worshippers of Hedone (Pleasure), who are slaves to every kind of excess: indulging in luxury, partaking in lechery and squandering their fortunes. It is natural for men who are possessed by pleasure to assume feminine dress (e.g. soft, trailing, saffron robes).⁸⁸ These sorts of sartorial markers lead to an inversion of the natural order, which is nevertheless in the best interests of society, since it is disastrous when weak and craven men cast off their feminine dress and emerge as politicians or generals.⁸⁹

It was not uncommon for “bad” Roman emperors (e.g. Caligula, Nero, Elagabalus) to be portrayed as cross-dressers in the literary sources.⁹⁰ For instance, Caligula allegedly donned feminine apparel on a

⁸⁰ Icks 2017, 66; Williams 1999, 141f.

⁸¹ Olson 2017, 105f. 136-138.

⁸² For discussion, Olson 2017, 105-134.

⁸³ For discussion, Olson 2017, 145-154 (quote on p. 149).

⁸⁴ For discussion, Olson 2017, 135-145.

⁸⁵ e.g. Berg 2002, 24-27; Icks 2017, 66; Olson 2017, 138-145; Williams 1999, 127-132. (It is important to note, however, that the distinction between the dress of women and effeminate dress sex - which both carry connotations like vanity and luxury - can easily imbricate.)

⁸⁶ Quint. inst. 5, 9, 14 (translation in Butler 1921, 201). The qualification made by Quintilian here (i.e. “may be regarded as... by anyone who thinks that...”) suggests that the signs of effeminacy in Roman society could be open to debate; on the other hand, the fact that he points out these features in particular suggests that many people living in this society did in fact identify them as signs of effeminacy.

⁸⁷ Dion Chrys. 4, 101-115. The speeches were probably delivered before Trajan at Rome, immediately after becoming emperor, Cohoon 1932, 1.

⁸⁸ See Dion Chrys. 4, 102. 105. 108-110. 114. Saffron dress was appropriate for women, but considered effeminate for men, Olson 2017, 141.

⁸⁹ Dion Chrys. 4, 107-110.

⁹⁰ (1) Nero habitually appeared in public with curly hair, an ungirded *synthesis* and slippers, Suet. Nero 51. It has been suggested that the *synthesis* was originally a garment for women, Brewster 1918, 141. The *synthesis* was

regular basis (e.g. women's robes and shoes, bracelets),⁹¹ and masqueraded as an aggressive maiden, a respectable matron and even as a goddess (e.g. Juno, Diana, Venus).⁹² If any of these emperors did in fact dress like women, then perhaps this was originally intended as an expression of transgender identity, performance art, religious beliefs or even as a form of divine transvestitism, allowing them to display their divinely-sanctioned authority by transcending gender categories.⁹³ In the end, however, their selection of feminine dress only brought them into disrepute: this could never have happened had the readership not perceived of cross-dressing as a gross transgression of gender norms, as well as a glaring sign of faltering masculinity.⁹⁴ It seems more likely, however, that these accusations were invented or at least embellished by, for instance, willfully misinterpreting dress behaviours that were not really intended to be transgressive. Highlighting their alleged predilection for feminine attire served to illustrate their contempt for sexual and social norms, and therefore to reinforce their negative reputations as deviant, immoral and unrestrained rulers.⁹⁵

This derogatory discourse about male-female cross-dressing is detectable outside imperial circles as well. It was not uncommon to attribute cross-dressing to other, barbarian cultures, whose male population was seen as prone to overindulging in luxury and giving into their passions.⁹⁶ It was even possible to impose cross-dressing on men considered to exhibit a lack of manliness as a form of humiliation.⁹⁷ After the defeat of Marcus Licinius Crassus, the Parthians dressed up a look-alike of the Roman general as a woman.⁹⁸ Moreover, Roman soldiers were punished by being forced to stand in front

probably a brightly-coloured tunic with mantle that was worn by both sexes, but perhaps a longer, fuller and brighter version existed for the female sex, Olson 2017, 117-119. It was appropriate for men to wear the garment at private banquets, but disgraceful for them to wear it in public, except at the Saturnalia (see Scullard 1981, 205-207), a festival that deliberately overturned social norms at Rome, Brewster 1918, 141; Dolansky 2011, 492; Olson 2017, 117-119. To add insult to injury, ungirt tunics - potentially falling to an inappropriate length - signify ethical failings and hence effeminacy for men in general, Olson 2017, 16. 143. See also Cass. Dio 62, 13, 3: Nero had a habit of wearing long, ungirt tunics in public in general. For the connotations of slippers (e.g. luxury, effeminacy), Olson 2017, 116b. (2) Elagabalus frequently wore inappropriate dress, including make-up, women's apparel and garments wholly of silk, Cass. Dio 80, 14, 4; SHA Heliog. 26, 1-5. For the connection between silk fabrics and effeminacy, Olson 2017, 107f. For discussion on Elagabalus' disregard for gender roles and sexual norms (including donning effeminate and eastern dress), Rantala 2020.

⁹¹ Suet. Cal. 52.

⁹² Cass. Dio, 59, 26, 6-8.

⁹³ For theories of divine transvestitism, Carlà-Uhink 2017b; Varner 2008, 198-202.

⁹⁴ Icks 2017, 66. Moreover, there is no evidence for portraits of emperors in feminine dress. E. Varner argues that the portraits of emperors did in fact include feminine characteristics, as a form of divine transvestitism, Varner 2008, 198-202; the evidence is, however, limited (e.g. elaborate coiffures as a sign of *luxuria* and *elegantia*) or problematic (e.g. re-carving of female statues). For further discussion, see chap. 7.3; app. C.

⁹⁵ Carlà-Uhink 2017a, 10; see also Krenkel 2006, 475f (who, however, attributes the cross-dressing mainly to the emperors' roles as pathics).

⁹⁶ Carlà-Uhink 2017a, 10; Williams 1999, 136. For instance, Athenaeus leads forth a host of "soft", eastern rulers of the distant past, renowned for fashioning themselves like women, Athen. deipn. 12.; for discussion, Icks, 2017, 67f.

⁹⁷ Carlà-Uhink 2017a, 10. The best example is provided by Diod. 12, 16, 1-2, but in reference to ancient laws in Catania (Sicily). He claims that Charondas of Catania introduced a law against men refusing to take up arms or deserting their post (that is, for being cowardly). The penalty was not capital punishment, but being forced to sit in the marketplace for three days in women's clothes. The law aimed to preserve but disgrace potential soldiers for the city-state, in hopes of encouraging them to make amends for their cowardice. It is conceivable that the account reveals contemporary views on dress and masculinity.

⁹⁸ Plut. Crassus 32, 2.

of the general's tent with ungirded tunics, which signified their ethical failings and effeminacy, and also denied them their sword-belts.⁹⁹ This type of imposed cross-dressing had "no other function than making manifest before the entire community the abandonment of masculine normativity... [which ultimately] damages the social capital of the victims."¹⁰⁰

In summary, male-to-female cross-dressing was permitted in out-of-the-ordinary circumstances, such as rituals and festivals. By creating a topsy-turvy picture of normality, normality in fact becomes re-emphasized.¹⁰¹ In everyday life, however, the takeover of women's dress by men was generally considered a sign of effeminacy and ultimately of a lack of self-control.

2.1.2.2 Perspectives on Female-to-Male Cross-Dressing

The main focus of this examination are the mythological portraits of women in cross-gendered dress, so perspectives on female-to-male cross-dressing in Roman society demand detailed consideration. There are more references to men in women's dress in the literary sources than vice versa, probably due to the greater interest in men in general.¹⁰² For the sake of convenience, these cross-dressed women will be lumped into five categories, which reflect the discursive preoccupations of the literary sources: 1) elite women, 2) sex labourers and adulteresses, 3) female *gladiatores* and *venatores*, 4) warrior queens and eastern concubines, and 5) female ascetics. The aim of the following analysis is to consider their transgressive behaviour and its significance on an individual basis, as well as on the whole.¹⁰³

2.1.2.2.1 Elite Women "Out of Control" - Wives, Concubines and Widows

It was not uncommon to characterize elite women behaving badly in the eyes of men, especially by stepping outside of their traditional gender roles, as cross-dressers.¹⁰⁴ Their transgression against sartorial norms is an easy means of marking them as "out of control", which not only reflects poorly on the women themselves, but also their male relatives and associates.

It is possible to conjure up the image of a female cross-dresser in subtle ways. For instance, Clodia Pulchra - the wife of Metellus Celer - is plagued by scandal. Cicero accuses her of poisoning her husband, taking multiple lovers after becoming a widow, as well as entering into an incestuous

⁹⁹ Suet. Aug. 24, 2; Olson 2017, 16. 143. It is also possible to deny the soldiers their military cloaks, Liv. 27, 13, 9.

¹⁰⁰ Carlà-Uhink 2017a, 10.

¹⁰¹ See Højbye 1995, 45f.

¹⁰² Delcourt 1961, 1; Dover 1978, 2; Carlà-Uhink 2017a, 30 footnote 98.

¹⁰³ The strength of this analysis is that the literary sources contain fairly clear opinions on instances of female-to-male cross-dressing - whether these accounts are real or not - even if it is necessary to consider other factors like the genre of the work, the intentions of the authors, and so on. The weakness of this analysis is that the literary sources can only offer an elite male perspective on female-to-male cross-dressing, which certainly cannot account for the perspectives of all members of society. As such, the following analysis cannot offer a comprehensive view on female-to-male cross-dressing in Roman society: it can only explore the perspectives that are attested in this one medium, in an attempt to identify overarching patterns.

¹⁰⁴ Elite women refers to women from the imperial family or otherwise high-ranking families (e.g. senatorial, perhaps equestrian families).

relationship with her own brother.¹⁰⁵ Clodia feared that she would be poisoned by Caelius, and therefore hatched a poorly-executed (and reportedly unnecessary) plan to prevent her murder.¹⁰⁶ Cicero paints an amusing picture of the scene: “my mind is athrill at the idea of seeing, in the first place, those young dandies, intimate friends of a rich and high-born lady, and then again, those valiant warriors, posted by their commandress [*imperatrix*] in ambush and in garrison at the baths.”¹⁰⁷ It is true that Clodia does not cross-dress here, but her designation as an *imperatrix* conjures up an image of the woman “dressed as a general, with strong associations with war and hyper-masculine clothes.”¹⁰⁸ The identification of Clodia as an *imperatrix* is probably exaggerated and parodic on the one hand, but threatening on the other: indeed, this “masculine woman” is seen to exert her influence over weak, effeminate men, which overturns the traditional gender hierarchy at Rome.¹⁰⁹

Beyond this sort of metaphorical cross-dressing, there are several cases in which elite women actually adopt masculine dress, whether in reality or as imaginary events.¹¹⁰ Fulvia - the first wife of Marcus Antonius - is cast as an ambitious and dominant woman.¹¹¹ She not only received honours unprecedented for a Roman woman, but also exerted considerable influence over the political situation at Rome.¹¹² After Marcus Antonius and Octavian left Rome to confront the assassins of Caesar in 42 BCE, she apparently “managed affairs herself, so that neither the senate nor the people transacted any business contrary to her pleasure.”¹¹³ Moreover, Fulvia had a reputation for avarice and cruelty, as well as overstepping her bounds in politics.¹¹⁴ She played a role in the proscriptions of 43 BCE, which were merely a ploy to eliminate political opponents and seize their properties.¹¹⁵ She allegedly took joy in piercing the tongue of Cicero, in revenge for his political invective against her husband.¹¹⁶ She also played a role in the Perusine War (41-40 BCE).¹¹⁷ In the campaign against Octavian, Fulvia assisted her brother-in-law (the consul Lucius Antonius) by seizing Praeneste and assuming a leadership role.¹¹⁸ According to Cassius Dio, Fulvia would actually gird herself with a sword while commanding and

¹⁰⁵ Cic. Cael. 32, 59f. It is not uncommon for Roman women to become widows at a relatively young age; these unattached women were subject to scrutiny and needed to preserve their reputation by remarrying, returning to the households of their fathers, or joining the households of male kinsmen, Hanson 2000.

¹⁰⁶ Cic. Cael. 61-67.

¹⁰⁷ Cic. Cael. 67 (translation in Gardner 1965, 491).

¹⁰⁸ Xinyue 2017, 165.

¹⁰⁹ Xinyue 2017, 165-169.

¹¹⁰ Another issue that remains unaddressed here is the potential for Roman women to be considered manlike, but to still wear feminine dress. For instance, Suetonius claims that Caligula referred to Livia, the wife of Augustus, as Ulysses in a *stola*, Suet. Cal. 23; for discussion, Hales 2005, 138.

¹¹¹ For a short biography of Fulvia, Brennan 2012, 356-358; Chrystal 2015, 69-80.

¹¹² For discussion, Brennan 2012, 358. In general, “the turbulent times of the triumvirate ... brought about an unprecedented level of political activity and public representation among elite women,” including Fulvia, Octavia and Livia, Cooley 2013, 28f.

¹¹³ Cass. Dio 48, 4, 1 (translation in Cary - Foster 1917, 225). The details of her political activities in 42 BCE are, however, not so clear, Brennan 2012, 358.

¹¹⁴ For discussion, Brennan 2012, 358.

¹¹⁵ App. civ. 4, 4, 29; Cass. Dio 47, 8, 2.

¹¹⁶ Cass. Dio 47, 8, 4.

¹¹⁷ For discussion, Brennan 2012, 358.

¹¹⁸ App. civ. 5, 4, 33; Cass. Dio 48, 10, 3.

haranguing the soldiers.¹¹⁹ The veracity of the account is irrelevant: Fulvia's takeover of masculine arms primarily serves to cast her as a monstrous and uncontrollable woman. This fits well into the broader discourse about her. Plutarch connects her rejection of traditional feminine tasks like spinning and housekeeping to her desire "to rule a ruler and command a commander."¹²⁰ Marcus Antonius' lack of control over Fulvia - both at home and in the realm of war - is treated as a sign of his faltering masculinity.¹²¹ Moreover, a number of inscribed sling bullets from the siege of Perusia indicate that their target is Fulvia's clitoris, implying that she is a *tribas* - that is, a "masculine woman" with oversized genitalia, feared to penetrate men and women alike.¹²² After Fulvia died of an illness, Octavian and Marcus Antonius reconciled and blamed the civil war on her reckless actions.¹²³

The cross-dressing theme frequently appears in the literary sources about Caligula.¹²⁴ Suetonius notes that the emperor often broke with sartorial norms: "In his clothing, his shoes and the rest of his attire he did not follow the usage of his country and his fellow-citizen; not always even that of his sex; or in fact, that of an ordinary mortal."¹²⁵ His penchant to wear effeminate attire and accessories (e.g. women's robes, silk fabrics, bracelets) is a violation of the natural order, which reflects his mental weakness, lack of self-control and hence incapacity to rule.¹²⁶ To add to this, Suetonius claims that Caligula would exhibit his wife Milonia Caesonia not only entirely nude to his friends, but also dressed as an Amazon - wearing a helmet, *chlamys* and *pelta* - to the Roman soldiers.¹²⁷ Whether Caesonia ever wore military garb in reality is uncertain. It is possible that her takeover of masculinizing dress points to a woman overstepping her bounds and exerting control over an uxorious and effeminate head of state.¹²⁸ On the other hand, it is possible that "Caesonia... is not meant to be taken as a powerful, 'masculine' woman, since she clearly had no agency in the matter..."¹²⁹ If so, then the image of her in military garb is primarily conjured up to signify the instability of the emperor, as well as the turmoil and disorder brought about by his reign. This is probably true of other "bad" emperors dressing up

¹¹⁹ Cass. Dio 48, 10, 3. For the portrayal of Fulvia as a warrior woman and dominant personality by her contemporaries, Hallett 2015, 247-265.

¹²⁰ Plut. Antonius 10, 3 (translation in Perrin 1920, 161). For discussion, Lovén 2020, 130-132.

¹²¹ "The perception that Marc Antony yielded to his wives at home in turn damaged the perception of his *virtus* in the public arena. Still more serious he let slip his *disciplina militaris* by allowing his women to run his military affairs," Langford 2013, 26.

¹²² Brennan 2012, 358. For the sling bullets, Hallett 1977; Hallett 2015, 249-254. For discussion on tribades, Clarke 2003b, 127f; Kunst 2007, 254.

¹²³ Plut. Antonius 30, 2-3.

¹²⁴ For Caligula's biography, Barrett 1989.

¹²⁵ Suet. Cal. 52 (translation in Rolfe - Bradley 1920, 485). For other references to Caligula adopting feminine dress and accessories, Ios. ant. Iud. 19, 30; Plin. nat. 37, 6.

¹²⁶ The reference to Caligula's cross-dressing is contained in a broader discussion about his mental weaknesses. It is typically interpreted in a negative light, e.g. Bartman 1988, 40; Cleland et al. 2007, 43; Hales 2005, 131; Harlow 2005, 148; Krenkel 2006, 475; Edmondson 2008, 36f.; Pausch 2003, 168f.; Upson-Saia 2011, 30f.

¹²⁷ Suet. Cal. 25, 3. For a short biography of Caesonia, Barrett, 1989, 95f.

¹²⁸ For similar opinions, Barrett 1989, 169f.; Krenkel 2006, 470. Although Caesonia was neither virtuous nor beautiful, nor even faithful to Caligula, the emperor was reportedly devoted to her and loved her passionately, Suet. Cal. 25, 3. She is even characterized as a sorceress, who ensnared the emperor with a love potion in order to rule over him; in fact, the same drug is blamed for his descent into madness and cruel behaviour, and therefore offered up as grounds for her execution, Suet. Cal. 50; Ios. ant. Iud. 19, 193; Iuv. 6, 615-617.

¹²⁹ Icks 2017, 70 (quote on p. 70); Varner 1996, 61.

women as Amazons as well.¹³⁰ For instance, Nero allegedly trimmed the hair of his concubines and equipped them like Amazons,¹³¹ and Commodus loved to show his mistress Marcia as an Amazon.¹³²

During the reign of Caligula, Gaius Calvisius Sabinus - the governor of Pannonia - was indicted along with his wife Cornelia.¹³³ The two committed suicide before standing trial.¹³⁴ The details of the charges against Calvisius Sabinus are unclear, but Cassius Dio does mention the sexual misdeeds of Cornelia, who allegedly “made the rounds of the sentries” and “watched the soldiers at drill”.¹³⁵ Tacitus even claims that she entered the military camp dressed as a soldier, in order to commit adultery.¹³⁶ If there is any truth to this allegation, then the practical function of the military garb is clear: the manly disguise allowed her to escape detection.¹³⁷ She cross-dresses to gain opportunities and resources normally barred to women,¹³⁸ which is perceived in a negative manner.¹³⁹ Perhaps this detail was even invented by Tacitus to accentuate the unnaturalness of her deeds. Indeed, this is similar to other events described by the same author. Tacitus claims that Munatia Plancina - the wife of Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso, the governor of Syria under Emperor Tiberius - “attended cavalry exercises and infantry manoeuvres,” perhaps implying that she was wearing the corresponding masculine dress.¹⁴⁰ She was criticized for not being able to “contain herself within the limits of female decorum.”¹⁴¹ Moreover, Tacitus notes that Triaria - the wife of the senator Lucius Vitellius Novis, the brother of Emperor Aulus Vitellius - girded herself with a sword and behaving cruelly in the massacre at Tarracina.¹⁴² The cross-dressing motif characterizes her as a woman “violent beyond her sex.”¹⁴³

Agrippina Minor - the wife of Claudius and mother of Nero - provides yet another case study of how elite women should not behave.¹⁴⁴ The empress is vilified with several well-established stereotypes.¹⁴⁵ First of all, she is cast as a sexual transgressor, who frequently committed adultery and also entered into an incestuous marriage with her uncle Claudius in order to further her political ambitions.¹⁴⁶ Secondly, she is characterized as a *saeva noverca* (wicked stepmother), who secured Claudius’ wealth and influence

¹³⁰ Quite interestingly, there are private portraits of women in the guise of Amazons, PEN1-9; see chap. 5.2.

¹³¹ Suet. Nero 6, 44, 1.

¹³² SHA Comm. 11, 9 (it is also noted here that Commodus called himself Amazonius because he wish to enter the arena of Rome dressed as an Amazon). C.C. Vermeule claims that Commodus also dressed Marcia as Omphale, C.C. Vermeule 2000, 22; however, there is no clear evidence for this.

¹³³ Cass. Dio 59, 18, 4. For discussion on Calvisius Sabinus and Cornelia, Barrett 1989, 100f.

¹³⁴ Cass. Dio 59, 18, 4.

¹³⁵ Cass. Dio 59, 18, 4 (translation in Cary - Foster 1924, 317).

¹³⁶ Tac. hist. 1, 48.

¹³⁷ Carlà-Uhink 2017a, 12.

¹³⁸ Carlà-Uhink 2017a, 12.

¹³⁹ Chrystal 2017, 140.

¹⁴⁰ Tac. ann. 2, 55 (translation in Moore - Jackson 1931, 473). For discussion on Munatia Plancina, Benoist 2015, 273f.; Chrystal 2015, 102-105.

¹⁴¹ Tac. ann. 2, 55 (translation in Moore - Jackson 1931, 473).

¹⁴² Tac. hist. 3, 77. For discussion on Triaria, Benoist 2015, 273f.

¹⁴³ Tac. hist. 2, 63 (translation in Moore 1925, 261).

¹⁴⁴ For a biography of Agrippina Minor, Chrystal 2015, 138-164; Ginsburg 2006.

¹⁴⁵ For discussion on the female stereotypes used to slander Agrippina Minor, Ginsburg 2006, 106-132.

¹⁴⁶ For discussion, Ginsburg 2006, 116-130.

for herself and her own son Nero:¹⁴⁷ she allegedly poisoned her husband¹⁴⁸ and then took on a regent-like role while her son was still an adolescent.¹⁴⁹ Thirdly, she is seen as a *dux femina* (commander woman), who assumed an inappropriate role in military affairs, even if not leading armies herself.¹⁵⁰ Overall, Agrippina Minor is cast in the textual sources as a ruthless and domineering woman, whose marriage to Claudius marks the beginning of a “tight-drawn, almost masculine tyranny” at Rome.¹⁵¹ Her pretensions to power are exhibited through her dress as well. When Claudius staged a *naumachia* at Lake Fucine in 52 CE, Agrippina Minor appeared next to the emperor and presided over the spectacle in a golden *chlamys*.¹⁵² This short, fastened cloak finds its origins among active men in Greece,¹⁵³ but was practically indistinguishable from the military *paludamentum* worn by the emperor on this occasion.¹⁵⁴ The mention of Agrippina Minor’s cross-gendered dress accentuates her usurpation of masculine rights and privileges.¹⁵⁵ At the same time, this is a foreign cloak, woven out of a precious material, thus signifying high status, but also *luxuria* and “otherness”, perhaps to reinforce her difference as a woman.¹⁵⁶ The same motif is attested in Vergil’s *Aeneid* for Queen Dido of Carthage - she is yet another *dux femina*, who dons a purple and gold *chlamys* during a hunting expedition.¹⁵⁷

Juvenal briefly mentions anonymous cross-dressed women, seemingly belonging to the upper classes. The satirist is critical of elite women with too much education, who show off their outstanding knowledge at dinner parties, argue with male intellectuals and always win, and constantly correct the grammar of their husbands.¹⁵⁸ He advises women who wish to be considered intelligent and eloquent to hitch their tunics up to their knees - in other words, to eschew the proper, long dress of respectable women and instead dress like a man.¹⁵⁹ The act of flaunting their education, especially to the detriment

¹⁴⁷ For discussion, Ginsburg 2006, 107-112.

¹⁴⁸ Tac. ann. 12, 66; Cass. Dio 61, 34.

¹⁴⁹ For discussion, Bartman 2012, 419.

¹⁵⁰ For discussion, Ginsburg 2006, 112-116. The most notable instance occurred at the surrender of the British chieftain Caratacus. Claudius and Agrippina Minor each sat on their own ceremonial dais as the captive showed obeisance; as such, the empress was honoured for the military victory on the same terms as the emperor, Tac. ann. 12, 36-37; Ginsburg 2006, 114f. Tacitus states that “it was an innovation, certainly, and one without precedent in ancient custom, that a woman should sit in state before Roman standards: it was an advertisement of her claim to a partnership in the empire which her ancestors had created,” Tac. ann. 12, 37 (translation in Jackson 1937, 367).

¹⁵¹ Tac. ann. 12, 7 (translation in Jackson 1937, 325).

¹⁵² Cass. Dio 61, 33, 3; Tac. ann. 12, 56. The *chlamys* is only worn by Roman women in exceptional cases, Scharf 1994, 44-49. Pliny the Elder claims that she wore a *paludamentum*, Plin. nat. 33, 63.

¹⁵³ For the *chlamys* as a masculine garment in ancient Greece, see chap. 3.2.2.3.

¹⁵⁴ The *chlamys* was taken up by the Romans in various forms (e.g. *sagum*, *paludamentum*), Scharf 1994, 44-49.

¹⁵⁵ D’Ambra 1998, 51; Ginsburg 2006, 29, 115; Hales 2005, 138; Kaplan 1979, 413f.; Santoro L’Hoir, 132, 239f. E. Bartman argues that Agrippina Minor’s portraits also hint at her exceptional status, Bartman 2012, 419-421.

¹⁵⁶ The *chlamys* is generally associated with foreigners in Roman textual sources, see Santoro L’Hoir 2006, 132, 301 footnote 118. Nevertheless, Cicero notes that the *chlamys* is also worn by Roman commanders (who campaigned in the East), Cic. Rab. Post. 27. For the connotations of garments woven or embroidered with gold (i.e. luxury), Olson 2017, 115; for discussion on the longstanding association between luxury and femininity (especially in dress), Cleland et al. 2007, 54f. 68f. 118.

¹⁵⁷ Verg. Aen. 4, 137. For discussion on Dido wearing the *chlamys*, see chap. 6.1.2.

¹⁵⁸ Iuv. 6, 434-456. For discussion on Juvenal’s view on the educated woman, Hemelrijk 1999, 87-88, 91-92.

¹⁵⁹ Iuv. 6, 445-446. For the interpretation of this garment as masculine dress, Hemelrijk 1999, 92; Scholz 1992, 93.

of “real men”, is perceived as a disturbance to the natural order,¹⁶⁰ and donning male tunics only points up the unnaturalness of their behaviour. Juvenal is also critical of elite women who ensnare and dominate foolish men. One striking example of this is the young “Automedon” - a pseudonym referring to the charioteer of Achilles - who squandered his family fortune on horses and yet dreamed of commanding a Roman cohort.¹⁶¹ He races down the Via Flaminia to show off to his girlfriend, who is characterized as a cross-dresser: she wears a *lacerna*, which was originally a military cloak, but then worn by male civilians in general.¹⁶² The scene set-up by Juvenal might be explained in the following manner: “the young snob boasts, but at the same time he humiliates himself in front of his mistress: he serves her, takes over the role of slave: by doing so he raises his *amica* to *domina*... and this is reflected by her masculine attire.”¹⁶³ The list of elite women in masculine dress probably continues, but these cases suffice to demonstrate their deviant, often domineering nature.

In summary, elite women in Roman society are generally only characterized as cross-dressers in order to cast them as “monstrous” aberrations. The cross-dressing motif, whether real or invented, is often seen to arise from their unnatural encroachment on the masculine domain.

It is true that power was increasingly concentrated into the hands of particular families, and finally the imperial family, giving rise to unprecedented forms of representation for men and women alike - perhaps the presentation of women in masculine dress was yet another strategy for conveying their exceptional position in Roman society, as wives, mothers and daughters with new powers and competences exceeding that of most men.¹⁶⁴ The historical veracity of the account of Agrippina Minor wearing a golden *chlamys* is far less doubtful than the majority of the cases presented here.¹⁶⁵ The desire to produce a feeling of symmetry between the emperor and empress is palpable, due to placing them on the same level and dressing them both in military cloaks - it was presumably a spectacle within a spectacle, aimed to evoke their unity as a couple and ultimately their joint *imperium*.¹⁶⁶ In the end,

¹⁶⁰ Hemelrijk 1999, 87f. 91-92.

¹⁶¹ Iuv.1, 58-62.

¹⁶² E. Courtney identifies the girlfriend of Automedon as a cross-dresser, Courtney 1980, 99. For discussion on the *lacerna* in general, Goldman 1994, 229; Olson 2017, 71. In general, women did not wear cloaks in Roman society, Croom 2002, 92; Olson 2008b, 51.

¹⁶³ Krenkel 2006, 470 (translation by the author).

¹⁶⁴ Gender is embedded in other categories of social organization (e.g. age, status, class, race, ethnicity); for instance, in the Roman household, the *paterfamilias* is superior to the *materfamilias*, but she is superior to her children and slaves; for discussion on the intersectionality of gender in Roman society, D’Ambra - Tronchin 2015, 451f.; Kampen 1996a, 14; Wallace-Hadrill 1996, 114. It follows that high-ranking and/or wealthy women able to contribute to civic life (e.g. as benefactresses, patronesses, priestesses) had the opportunity to achieve public prominence: they used their riches, time and energy to improve their city as well as their standing among their fellow citizens, just as men did, and also received essentially the same signs of public honour as their male counterparts (e.g. statues, inscriptions), even if gendered differences remained (e.g. heavily draped statues, occasional praise of modesty and other traditional feminine virtues); for discussion, D’Ambra 2012; Cooley 2013; Hemelrijk 2012; Hemelrijk 2013; Meyers 2012.

¹⁶⁵ Pliny the Elder claims that he saw Agrippina Minor wearing the golden cloak, Plin. nat. 33, 63.

¹⁶⁶ A. Alföldi remarks that Agrippina Minor wears this golden *chlamys* to signify her joint *imperium*, Alföldi 1935, 27 footnote 1. It seems that Agrippina Minor is presented as an “honorary man”: in other words, she is basically raised to the level of her husband in an unconventional manner to increase her honour.

however, this strategy for constructing power was ultimately used against the empress, to characterize her as a *dux femina*: this could never have happened had the readership not perceived of cross-dressing as a gross transgression of gender norms, as well as a glaring sign of women dominating their male relations.¹⁶⁷ The paucity of evidence for imperial women in cross-gendered dress in portraiture would seem to confirm that this form of representation was hardly valued.¹⁶⁸

It seems, rather, that the majority of these tales are pure imagination or exaggerations, which nevertheless reveal attitudes towards female-to-male cross-dressing. Whether it is empresses in *chlamydes*, governor's wives in military garb, or educated women in short tunics, the connection between women cross-dressing and overstepping the bounds of their sex is remarkably consistent. In other cases, the cross-dressing is imposed on the women. "Bad" emperors dress up their concubines as Amazons, probably to reinforce their deranged state of mind. Involuntary cross-dressing is attested outside of imperial circles as well: an actor was punished by Augustus for cutting the hair of a respectable matron and forcing her to wait on him.¹⁶⁹ As such, the exchange of gendered dress highlights the transgressions of the elite women themselves, or else the men associated with them.

2.1.2.2.2 Women of Ill-Repute - Sex Labourers and Adulteresses

The *toga* is worn by Roman men in public and community-oriented contexts, such as running for political office, participating in religious ceremonies, or conducting official business - it signified their *romanitas*, adherence to traditional values and even their sense of self-control and "manliness", in times of peace and prosperity.¹⁷⁰ The corresponding garment for married women is the *stola*, which is a

¹⁶⁷ It is true that the new powers of imperial women were viewed with apprehension, especially by members of the old senatorial families (who composed the majority of the literary sources in this period). In any case, the fact that Cassius Dio and Tacitus can even attack Agrippina in this way shows that cross-dressing was generally perceived as an unacceptable transgression in Roman society.

¹⁶⁸ E. Varner shows that empresses are frequently assimilated to the emperor on coinage, by portraying them with similar physiognomies or even hairstyles, at times heavily masculinized, in order "... to project expected imperial concepts of *similitudo*, and *concordia*, necessary to the stability of the dynasty and empire"; there is, however, little evidence for portraits of imperial women with masculine dress, Varner 2008, 189-193. 196-198. Moreover, imperial women are rarely portrayed as military or hunting goddesses, especially with masculine dress, see chaps. 5.2.3.2; 6.2.3.2. There are, however, notable exceptions: the Gemma Claudia shows Germanicus and Agrippina Maior on relatively equal terms and in military dress, which nicely parallels the spectacle for Claudius and Agrippina Minor (for the cameo, Alexandridis 2004, 147f. cat. 74; Mikocki 1995b, 182 cat. 214; Megow 1987, 200f. cat. A 81; Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, 158-165 cat. 13). Much later (in the 6th century CE), Theodora wears a costume based on male military dress (e.g. *paludamentum*) in a mosaic from the Basilica of San Vitale in Ravenna, in order to clearly elevate her above even the women of the highest classes who make up her court, Croom 2002, 87. 92.

¹⁶⁹ Suet. Aug. 45, 4.

¹⁷⁰ It is possible that the *toga* was originally worn by both men and women at Rome (see Dixon 2014, 301; Rothe 2020, 21. 40f.), but there is no contemporary evidence for this (the literary sources that suggest this are late and therefore unreliable, e.g. Non. 867-868L; Serv. Aen. 1, 282); even if this had been the case, it is clear that the *toga* was associated with men, whereas the *stola* was associated with married women, by the late Republican Period at the latest. Augustus even introduced a law prohibiting men from entering the Forum without wearing a *toga*, Suet. Aug. 40, 5. For discussion on the *toga* as a public garment, Rothe 2019, 42-50. Despite the decreasing popularity of the *toga* over time (presumably due to its unwieldiness), the associations between this garment and *romanitas*, traditionalism, manliness, urbanism and peace were not lost; for discussion, Davies 2005; Goette 2013b, 41-52; Olson 2017, 23-54; Pausch 2003, 23-38; Rothe 2019, 37-70; Shelly 1994; Stone 1994.

long, concealing gown, signifying their matronly status and chastity.¹⁷¹ It is notable that the *toga* serves as a marker of female sex labourers - i.e. free women engaged in sex labour for their own profit - by the late Republican Period.¹⁷² The appearance of the garment is unclear.¹⁷³ It is surely structurally similar to the *toga* of men, but the exact differences are open to speculation. Cicero's metaphorical use of these three garments to attack Marcus Antonius clearly brings out their distinct connotations.¹⁷⁴ He claims that he donned the *toga virilis* upon reaching manhood, but then traded this in for the *toga muliebris*, due to "selling himself" for financial gain like a sex labourer. C. Scribonius Curio - his alleged male lover - eventually dressed him in a *stola*, thus making a "honest woman" out of him. In the works of Juvenal and Martial, the *toga* is extended to adulteresses as well,¹⁷⁵ to demonstrate that unfaithful women are no better than women who sell their own bodies.¹⁷⁶

The extent to which these textual sources actually reflect sartorial practices at Rome is debated. It has been claimed that sex labourers wore the *toga* as a matter of custom, and that adulteresses were required to wear the garment with the introduction of the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* in 23 BCE, as a humiliating mark of their loss of honour and social status; at this point, the garment was perhaps formally imposed on sex labourers for the first time as well.¹⁷⁷ This interpretation has been rightly challenged, since sex labourers wore a range of other attire as well (e.g. partial nudity, luxurious dress) and the evidence for adulteresses being legally obliged to wear the *toga* is late and unreliable.¹⁷⁸ Instead, the *toga* presumably represented but one outfit of female sex labourers, which surely stood out. In the end, it functioned as a literary device used to cast a moral judgment on sex labourers and adulteresses alike: "*togata* described in one word a woman whose morals were easy, just as *stolata* described in one word the woman who possessed a high degree of exemplary virtue."¹⁷⁹

Of considerable interest here, however, is how the *toga* came to define a woman of ill-repute in the first place. Perhaps sex labourers frequently donned the *toga* in the distant past,¹⁸⁰ or perhaps adulteresses were merely excluded from the sartorial markers of matrons, and so resumed wearing the

¹⁷¹ For discussion on the *stola*, Alexandridis 2004, 51-54; Bartman 1998, 40f.; Croom 2002, 75f.; Lóven 2012, 99-101; Olson 2008b, 27-33; Sebesta 1994, 48-50.

¹⁷² For discussion on the textual sources identifying the *toga* as the dress of sex labourers, i.e. women engaged in voluntary sex labour (e.g. Cic. Phil. 2, 44; Hor. sat. 1, 2, 62-63. 82-85; Tib. 3, 16, 3-5; Ps.-Acro. *ad Sat.* 1, 2, 63) and adulteresses (e.g. Mart. 2, 39, 1-2; 10, 52, 1-2; 6, 64, 4; Iuv. 2, 68-70; Porph. Hor. comm. 1, 263; Ps.-Acro. *ad Sat.* 1, 2, 63), see Dixon 2014; McGinn 1998, 156-171; Olson 2008b, 47-51; Sebesta 1994, 50. It is important to use terms like "sex labourers" (to refer to free women) and "brothel slaves" (to refer to enslaved women), as opposed to vague and euphemistic terms like "prostitute", "loose woman" or "woman of the night", so that the lived realities of these women are not obscured, Witzke 2015.

¹⁷³ It is possible that the *toga* of female sex labourers was similar to the *toga* worn by men (i.e. plain, white, heavy), or even took on a more "feminine" appearance (e.g. bright colours, light fabrics), Cleland et al. 2007, 194. Pseudo-Acro claims that the *toga* of female sex labourers is dark coloured (*pullus*), Ps.-Acro. *ad Sat.* 1, 2, 63.

¹⁷⁴ Cic. Phil. 2, 44; Heskel 1994, 140f.

¹⁷⁵ Mart. 2, 39, 1-2; Mart. 10, 52, 1-2; Iuv. 2, 68-70.

¹⁷⁶ McGinn 1998, 163.

¹⁷⁷ McGinn 1998, 171; Carlà-Uhink 2017a, 12.

¹⁷⁸ Dixon 2014, 302-304; Olson 2008b, 49f.

¹⁷⁹ Olson 2008b, 50; for a similar opinion, Dixon 2014, 304.

¹⁸⁰ Olson 2008b, 50.

toga of unmarried girls by default.¹⁸¹ It seems, however, that their adoption of the “*toga muliebris*” is a form of cross-dressing.¹⁸² The *toga* is essentially reserved for men, at least among adult members of society. On the other hand, the garment probably took on sartorial features that clearly marked out its female wearers as the “other”.¹⁸³ A few possibilities come to mind. Pseudo-Acro claims that unlike the *toga* of men - which is typically clean and white - the *toga* of female sex labourers is dark coloured (*pullus*).¹⁸⁴ This colour is strongly associated with poverty; as such, proper men only don the *toga pulla* as a sign of mourning, for a very brief time.¹⁸⁵ Otherwise, perhaps the garment took on distinctly feminine features (e.g. bright colours, diaphanous fabrics).¹⁸⁶ The exact differences cannot be reconstructed with certainty. Nevertheless, the fact that the “*toga muliebris*” is essentially patterned after men’s dress, yet conceivably unsuitable for proper men - whether due to connotations of destitution or unmanliness - is notable: it suggests that the female sex labourers and adulteresses are in a sense likened to men, yet still fall into their own category.¹⁸⁷

The sex labourer takes on a public role like men, due to being sexually available to all¹⁸⁸ - in the process, she breaks with conventional gender norms by assuming a degree of sexual latitude normally only permitted to men, or at least contrasting with the chastity expected of proper women.¹⁸⁹ The togate sex labourer is frequently imagined as an emancipated woman, who willingly and disgracefully sells her own body for profit.¹⁹⁰ This of course obscures the social realities that drive free women to prostitution in the first place, as well as the fact that many of these women probably lived as brothel

¹⁸¹ J.L. Sebesta suggests the *toga* was plain (i.e. no *praetexta* band), Sebesta 1994, 50.

¹⁸² McGinn 1998, 159. 164. The assumption of the *toga* by sex labourers and adulteresses is recognized as cross-dressing by others as well, e.g. Carlà-Uhink 2017a, 12; Dixon 2014, 302; Edmondson 2008, 25. U. Rothe, on the other hand, argues that the *toga* was originally worn by both men and women; as such, “‘togate’ women were simply those from whom the outward symbols of respectability, such as the *stola*, were withheld”, Rothe 2019, 40f. There is, however, no reliable evidence that the *toga* was originally common to both sexes; moreover, the *toga* had evolved into a symbol of masculinity by the time togate sex labourers and adulteresses are mentioned in the literary sources, suggesting that the sense of inversion was palpable to the readers (see footnote no. 170).

¹⁸³ Cicero draws a distinction between the *toga virilis* (of males who have reached manhood) and the *toga muliebris* (of female sex labourers), which probably indicates that the two garments had a different appearance, Cic. Phil. 2, 44. The other sources are mostly silent on the matter, but perhaps because associating a *toga* with a women made it instantly recognizable in their minds. Pseudo-Acro claims that the *toga* of female sex labourers is dark-coloured (*pullus*), Ps.-Acro. *ad Sat.* 1, 2, 63.

¹⁸⁴ Ps.-Acro. *ad Sat.* 1, 2, 63.

¹⁸⁵ Olson 2017, 93-96. 100f.

¹⁸⁶ Cleland et al. 2007, 194.

¹⁸⁷ A.K. Strong labels female sex workers as “queer” due to having masculine and feminine aspects (i.e. either gender ambiguous or entirely outside standard gender categorizations), Strong, 21-23. Perhaps their dress reflects this identity as well.

¹⁸⁸ Strong 2016, 21-23.

¹⁸⁹ Dixon 2014, 298. 304; Heskel 1994, 141; McGinn 1998, 164; Olson 2008b, 50; Sebesta 1994, 50. Quite similarly, Asklepiades of Samos had stated that a “little leg-spreader” named Dorkion dressed like a youth, in the *petasos* and the *chlamys*, showing off her naked thighs, Anth. Gr. 12, 161. K.J. Dover, however, interprets the cross-dressing as a girl exploiting homosexual tastes, Dover 1978, 66.

¹⁹⁰ Cicero refers to a togate sex labourer as a *scortum*, which is pejorative (see Witzke 2015, 8) and characterizes her as an emancipated, greedy woman, Cic. Phil. 2, 44. “Sulpicia” likewise refers to a togate sex labourer as a *scortum* and identifies her as a rival for Cerinthus’ affections, giving the impression that she is an ignoble free woman who enjoys her job, Tib. 3, 16, 3-5. Horace mentions two togate sex labourers. The first one is clearly a free woman conducting business, Hor. sat. 1, 2, 82-83. The status of the second one is heavily debated; it has been convincingly argued that she is not a slave (i.e. *ancilla*), but a freedwoman, Hor. sat. 1, 2, 62-63; Bushala 1969.

slaves. The social stigma attached to women in the sex industry is projected on adulteresses as well: their adoption of the *toga* is seen to signify their arrogation of male prerogatives and rejection of matronly ideals. At the same time, female sex labourers and adulteresses were probably distinguished from proper men by their dress. The dark colours are characteristic of impoverished classes, and would hence serve as a marker of shame and humiliation, which surely reflects their marginalization in Roman society. In addition, any feminine sartorial features would identify them as female, which seems fitting, considering that these women are so closely defined by their physical bodies.

In summary, the image of female sexual transgressors in the *toga* - whether real or invented - effectively casts them as ambiguous members of society, or even entirely outside the normal social order. The sex labourers and adulteresses "... break the limits socially imposed on normative women, and signal this by a performative switch to the other gender, and thus to male clothes,"¹⁹¹ but without actually passing over to the other side in a positive way. They are instead treated like "marginalized men", "transgressive women" or the like, but in any case as the "other".

2.1.2.2.3 "Manly" Women - Female *Gladiatores* and *Venatores*

The gladiatorial games and hunting competitions in the Roman arena were typically performed by male "heroes", as symbols of strength and bravery.¹⁹² These contests were valued for their capacity to inspire Roman men to endure pain and feel contempt for death, since even the lowest ranks of their society are seen to accomplish this.¹⁹³ By the reign of Nero at the latest, women occasionally appeared in these roles as well.¹⁹⁴ The scattered references to female *gladiatores* and *venatores* are lacking in detail,¹⁹⁵ but the available evidence indicates that these women were dressed and armed much like their male counterparts, but with possible feminizations (e.g. bared breasts) (pl. 30b).¹⁹⁶ It is clear that these "manly" women were perceived as the exception to the norm: "the games provided women an opportunity to transcend their nature and... do deeds of which only men were considered capable."¹⁹⁷

¹⁹¹ Carlà-Uhink 2017a, 12.

¹⁹² Mann 2013, 63.

¹⁹³ Brunet 2014, 486; Wiedemann 1992, 38. Female spectators were not provided a prominent place in the amphitheatre especially from the time of Augustus probably because lessons learned from watching the games (e.g. endurance in battle, the value of fortitude, etc.) were not aimed at them, Brunet 2014, 487f.

¹⁹⁴ Tacitus notes that women performed in the arena at Rome during the reign of Nero, Tac. ann. 15, 32, 3. It is, however, possible that female *gladiatores* and *venatores* existed beforehand; for discussion, Brunet 2004, 164f.; Brunet 2014, 487; McCullough 2008, 198f. There is evidence for women performing in the Roman arena not only at Rome, but also at Ostia (EAOR 4.29) and perhaps also at Larinum (EAOR 3.2). The female athletes in Roman society will not be considered here; for discussion on that, see Clarke 1998, 228f.; Tracy 1976, 61.

¹⁹⁵ For the literary, epigraphic and visual evidence for female *gladiatores* and *venatores*, Brunet 2004; Brunet 2014.

¹⁹⁶ There are some brief descriptions of the dress and accessories of female *gladiatores*, luv. 1, 22-23; 6, 246-267; Petron. 45. Moreover, it is possible that Statius' comparison of the female *gladiatores* to Amazons was motivated by their actual dress, Stat. silv. 1, 6, 51-56; Brunet 2014, 480. The visual evidence for female *gladiatores* is limited, but likewise indicates that their dress was comparable to that of male *gladiatores*. For instance, a well-known relief from Halicarnassus shows two female *gladiatores* (named Amazon and Akhillia) wearing moderately heavy armour characteristic of a *provocator*, including a cuirass, loin cloth, arm guards and greaves, holding rectilinear shields and short swords, and with their helmets placed on the ground behind them; for discussion on the relief, Brunet 2004, 163f.; Brunet 2014, 480-482 (he suggests that the breasts are uncovered, but this is not conclusive); Mann 2013, 64-66; Rottloff 2006, 167; Vout 2012, 249f.

¹⁹⁷ Brunet 2014, 485f.

For instance, Statius is surprised that members of the female sex, typically untrained and ignorant of weaponry, were bold enough to stand firm and take part in “manly” combats, as if they were real Amazons¹⁹⁸ – it is probably not a coincidence that this performance took place during the Saturnalia, a festival that deliberately overturned societal norms.¹⁹⁹

Besides this, the literary sources reveal an array of attitudes towards female *gladiatores* and *venatores*.²⁰⁰ In the best case scenario, these “manly” women were a source of fascination.²⁰¹ Martial is astounded that not only Mars (i.e. male *gladiatores*) serves Titus or Domitian, but also Venus (i.e. female *gladiatores*).²⁰² He also responds positively to the female *venatores*: “Venerable tradition used to sing of the lion laid low in the spreading valley of Nemea, a Labour of Hercules. Let ancient testimony fall silent: for now that we have witnessed your games, Caesar, we have seen these feats performed by a woman’s hand.”²⁰³ This does not necessarily amount to praise or approval of these “manly” women:²⁰⁴ the applause is explicitly reserved for the emperor, in his power to organize spectacles that are unprecedented at Rome (which can, however, slip into charges of imperial luxury and extravagance in other contexts, with no apparent contradiction).²⁰⁵

In the worst case scenario, the inclusion of female *gladiatores* in the arena is perceived as a violation of the traditional gender hierarchy.²⁰⁶ In some cases, “bad” emperors are criticized for employing them.²⁰⁷ Tacitus claims that the number of elite women disgracing themselves in the arena spiked during the reign of Nero, to highlight the decaying morals at this time;²⁰⁸ Cassius Dio notes that Domitian would “throw together” women and dwarves in the arena.²⁰⁹ In other cases, these “manly” women are simply

¹⁹⁸ Stat. silv. 1, 6, 51-56. Moreover, Petronius mentions that the organizer of an upcoming three-day spectacle is not interested in half measures, and will therefore include a female charioteer in the line-up, Petron. 45.

¹⁹⁹ Vout 2012, 249. For discussion on the Saturnalia in general, Dolansky 2011.

²⁰⁰ The attitude largely depends on the particular genre of the work or the objectives of its author.

²⁰¹ Mann 2006, 64; Brunet 2014, 480. 485f.

²⁰² Mart. spect. 6. The exact identity of “Caesar” is not clear, Coleman 2006, pp. xiv-lxiv.

²⁰³ Mart. spect. 6 b (translation in Coleman 2006, 77).

²⁰⁴ It has been claimed that female *gladiatores* and *venatores* were taken seriously and praised for qualities typically ascribed to men (e.g. strength, courage or even *virtus*), Brunet 2004, 166-170; McCullough 2012, 206-209; Wiedemann 1992, 112. There is no reason to exclude this possibility. The best evidence for this attitude is probably the relief from Halicarnassus commemorating two female *gladiatores* Amazon and Akhillia, who were either released from service or discharged after a draw.

²⁰⁵ Coleman 2006, 71. 77. A. McCullough claims that the presence of female *gladiatores* and *venatores* in the Roman arena was a sign of wealth and decadence (which might have been perceived positively or negatively, depending on the case), McCullough 2012, 201-204. For further discussion, see the following paragraph.

²⁰⁶ Mann 2013, 63.

²⁰⁷ Vout 2012, 249. A. McCullough notes that female *gladiatores* and *venatores* might reflect poorly on the emperor, but only if the performers were of high status, McCullough 2012, 205f.

²⁰⁸ Tac. ann. 15, 32, 3; Mann 2013, 63. The passage is not explicit about whether the women performed voluntarily in the arena, but it seems that the women were coerced by Nero, Brunet 2004, 154. This critique of women fighting in the arena seems to hinge on status concerns as well: as Tacitus mentions, it is equally disgraceful that so many senators participated in gladiatorial games at this time.

²⁰⁹ Cass. Dio 67, 8, 4. The significance of this passage from Cassius Dio is disputed: it is generally assumed that Domitian pitted women against dwarves in the arena, but S. Brunet argues that there is actually no evidence for this here (or at any other point in Roman history), Brunet 2004, 145-152; Brunet 2014, 480. In any case, Cassius Dio mentions this detail as a longer passage accusing Domitian of extravagance and cruelty at his public spectacles; as such, the mention of these women and dwarves in the arena is surely part of his generally negative commentary on

disparaged as individuals. Juvenal states that the existence of women like Maevia - who likes to hunt Tuscan boars “with spear in hand and breasts exposed” - makes it hard for him *not* to write satire.²¹⁰ He is particularly critical of women with a secret desire to train for the gladiatorial games.²¹¹ Quite interestingly, he builds up his attack against these gladiator-wannabes by commenting on their dress. Their takeover of masculine arms is a serious breach of the natural and social order: “What modesty can you expect in a woman who wears a helmet, abjures her own sex, and delights in feats of strength?”²¹² Moreover, the masculine dress is not “fitted” to them at all.²¹³ These women overheat in the thinnest robes and their delicate skin is chafed by the finest silk,²¹⁴ yet do not shy away from arming themselves for combat, bending under the weight of the helmet, and wrapping large and rough bandages around their knees.²¹⁵ These women suffer through the gladiatorial exercises, and are finally mocked when they reveal their true sex by laying down their arms and using a chamber pot.²¹⁶ Juvenal conjures up an image of the women auctioning off their personal property, including their baldrics, bracers, panaches and greaves.²¹⁷ He notes that it would surely bring shame upon her husband to publically reveal that she had traded in her feminine ornaments for masculine armour.

In any case, no one seems to have considered these “manly” women as a real threat to the social order.²¹⁸ Juvenal criticizes elite matrons for wishing to perform like *gladiatores* and *venatores*, but treats their chances of actually finding their way into the arena as a remote possibility.²¹⁹ For women of lower socio-economic standing, on the other hand, these spectacles were evidently tolerated.²²⁰ In fact, their exceptional displays of fortitude probably fit well into the aim of the spectacles: “if women could, on special occasions, show the sort of courage and martial determination that Romans viewed as being essential characteristics of men, then men should be inspired to do the same or better.”²²¹ Since these

the emperor. (The bias here is evident though, since Statius - who had a positive relationship with Domitian - has a completely different reaction to the fact that the emperor employed both women and dwarves in the arena, namely, wonder and admiration, *Stat. silv.* 1, 6, 51-64.)

²¹⁰ *Iuv.* 1, 22-23 (translation in Ramsay 1920, 5). For discussion on the characterization of women participating in athletic, hunting or gladiatorial competitions in Juvenal’s *Satires*, Brunet 2004, 158-160; Brunet 2014, 483; Centlivres Challet 2013, 93-95; McCullough 2012, 205; Tracy 1976, 61.

²¹¹ *Iuv.* 6, 246-267.

²¹² *Iuv.* 6, 252-253 (translation in Ramsay 1920, 103); Mann 2013, 62f.

²¹³ For a similar opinion, Mann 2013, 63f.

²¹⁴ *Iuv.* 6, 259-260.

²¹⁵ *Iuv.* 6, 262-263.

²¹⁶ *Iuv.* 6, 264.

²¹⁷ *Iuv.* 6, 255-257.

²¹⁸ Mann 2013, 66.

²¹⁹ *Iuv.* 1, 22-23; 6, 246-267; Brunet 2004, 158f.; Brunet 2014, 487.

²²⁰ This base occupation was seemingly only tolerated among the lower classes, for men and women alike. For example, the *Senatus Consultum* of 19 CE from Larinum (AE 1978 145) forbids members of the senatorial and equestrian order (including their female kin) from participating in gladiatorial games. Moreover, Tacitus notes that both senators and elite women disgraced themselves in the arena during the reign of Nero, *Tac. ann.* 15, 32, 3. Cassius Dio claims that Titus organized performances by women in the arena, but was careful to mention their low rank, presumably because this detail prevented the emperor from being put in a negative light, *Cass. Dio* 66, 25, 1; Brunet 2014, 479. For discussion on gladiatorial games being acceptable among women from the lower classes, but not the upper classes, Brunet 2004, 155f. 161f. 169; Brunet 2014, 479. 482f. 484. 486f.; McCullough 2012, 204-206.

²²¹ Brunet 2014, 486.

women were already cast to the fringes of society, their transgression against prescribed gender roles was seemingly more tolerable, at least in the highly regulated and voyeuristic environment of the arena.²²² It is nevertheless clear that the denunciation of women dressing and fighting like men was not strictly linked to social rank: women of all origins were finally banned from the gladiatorial games during the reign of Septimius Severus, on the grounds that their fierce behaviour brought the female sex as a whole - and with it elite women - into disrepute.²²³

In summary, the fact that female *gladiatores* and *venatores* cross-dress and take on masculine roles in the arena at Rome is considered outstanding at best, but completely depraved at worst. Their actions might reflect poorly on the women themselves, the “bad” emperors organizing these spectacles, or both. The sense that these “manly” women overturned the gender hierarchy had presumably always been an underlying concern. Their awe-inspiring feats were permitted for the sake of spectacle as well as the display of imperial authority - and hence under tightly controlled circumstances - but only for women of little account. Even this, however, came to an end.²²⁴

2.1.2.2.4 Foreign Women - Warrior Queens and Eastern Concubines

The supremacy of Rome was occasionally challenged by cross-dressing warrior queens, living at the fringes of the Empire.²²⁵ An excellent case in point is Boudicca, the Queen of the Iceni (a Brittonic tribe), who led a military revolt against the Romans in 61 CE.²²⁶ She stepped into the role of *dux femina* (commander woman) in order to avenge the gross injustices inflicted on her and her people.²²⁷ Cassius Dio describes her in overwhelmingly masculine terms.²²⁸ She had a terrifying physical appearance, due

²²² For discussion on the potential erotic aspects of the female gladiator, Mann 2013, 66.

²²³ Cass. Dio 76, 16, 1. S. Brunet argues that it is not clear whether the ban applies to athletic contests, gladiatorial shows, or both, Brunet 2014, 482. 487. Since Cassius Dio mentions that the ban pertains to women fighting in single combat (*monomachein*), surely he is referring to female *gladiatores* in particular.

²²⁴ S.L. Tuck postulates that a series of reliefs from the amphitheatre at Capua represent actual spectacles staged as mythological re-enactments (e.g. *venationes*, executions, etc.), Tuck 2007. If there is any credence to this theory, then it is possible that men and women dressed up as Hercules and Omphale as well. Indeed, one of these reliefs features Hercules trying to grasp Omphale, who modestly shields herself (how this might have translated into a spectacle though is unclear). All of this is, however, pure speculation.

²²⁵ For discussion on cross-dressing warrior queens (at least from the Roman perspective), Icks 2017, 72-74. 76f. Semiramis is another notable cross-dressing warrior queen, who has nevertheless been excluded here due to her ancient and legendary status; for discussion on Semiramis as a cross-dresser, Icks 2017, 68-70.

²²⁶ For the ancient sources on Boudicca (as well as the uprising of the Iceni), Cass. Dio 62, 1-12; Tac. Agr. 16, 1-6; Tac. ann. 14, 29-39. For a biography of Boudicca, Johnson 2012.

²²⁷ Tacitus refers to Boudicca as a *dux femina*, Tac. Agr. 16, 1. The precise reasons for the uprising vary. Tacitus claims that Boudicca's husband Prasutagus attempted to protect his kingdom and household by showing deference to the Romans; he therefore named Nero as his heir (in addition to his two daughters), but to no avail: his kingdom and household were plundered, his wife Boudicca was whipped and his daughters were raped, Tac. ann. 14, 31. Cassius Dio, on the other hand, claims that the Romans tried to impoverish the Iceni, Cassius Dio, 62, 2, 1.

²²⁸ For discussion on Cassius Dio's overwhelmingly masculine characterization of Boudicca (in terms of her physical body, dress and actions), see Gillespie 2015, 418-427; Icks 2017, 72-74. Note that Tacitus (ann. 14, 35, 1-2) instead ascribes Boudicca a mixture of masculine and feminine characteristics: on the one hand, she appears at the head of a chariot, leading forth her raped daughters - a symbol for the loss of *pudicitia* - and urging the men to fight for *libertas*, which recalls the *virtus* of Brutus after Sextus Tarquinius' rape of Lucretia, or of Icilius after Appius Claudius' attempt to make Vergina his slave; on the other hand, Boudicca responds to her own physical abuse and her daughters' sexual abuse like a typical Roman matron, by pleading for herself and children; when the revolt ultimately fails, she commits suicide like a woman exhibiting masculine courage, Gillespie 2015, 410-118.

to her tall stature, fierce glance and harsh voice.²²⁹ She had but one outfit, consisting of a colourful tunic (seemingly hitched-up), a fastened *chlamys*, and a large, golden torque, which is typically associated with Celtic warriors.²³⁰ While calling her people to arms, she acts like a man by wielding a spear and standing on a tribunal.²³¹ Her campaign against the Romans was initially successful,²³² but Gaius Suetonius Paulinus managed to suppress the rebellion²³³ and she died shortly thereafter.²³⁴

It is possible that Cassius Dio's characterization of Boudicca's as a "masculine woman" was viewed positively, due to the strength and courage she exhibited in times of crisis.²³⁵ Nevertheless, the fact that the Iceni are ruled by a *dux femina* (commander woman), assuming dress and roles normally reserved for men, signalizes the topsy-turvy nature of their society.²³⁶ He spares no details in describing their barbaric behaviour: the noble women in Roman cities were brutally tortured to the accompaniment of sacrifices, banquets and promiscuity, right in the sacred grove for their goddess of victory.²³⁷ This strongly orientalizing perspective is, however, redirected back towards Rome in Cassius Dio's version of Boudicca's speech to the Iceni.²³⁸ She characterizes the Romans as weak and effeminate, unable to endure famine or thirst, heat or cold, or to live without the luxuries of oil, wine and kneaded bread.²³⁹ Their frailty and anxiety is also testified by their battle dress: the Romans require heavy armour, but generally hide behind their sturdy walls.²⁴⁰ In contrast, the Iceni are still uncorrupted by luxury, requiring only their strength, courage and light arms in battle, and the bare essentials as sustenance.²⁴¹ Boudicca is set up as a foil to the reigning emperor Nero, in order to highlight his faltering masculinity.²⁴² She refers to him as the "Mistress Domitia-Nero", with a

²²⁹ Cass. Dio 62, 2, 4 (translation in Cary - Foster 1925, 85).

²³⁰ Cass. Dio 62, 2, 4. It is not clear how the colourful tunic was worn: the use of the verb *κολπώω* (to form into a swelling fold) could indicate that the tunic was heavily bloused, as common for warrior-women (see chaps. 5.1.1.1.2.2; 5.1.1.1.2.4). For the identification of the large, golden necklace around her neck as a torque, Johnson 2012, 27. For discussion on torques, as well as their association with Celtic warriors, Johns 1996, 27-29.

²³¹ For the identification of the tribunal here as a typically male space, Johnson 2012, 81.

²³² Cass. Dio 62, 7, 1-3.

²³³ Cass. Dio 62, 12, 1-6.

²³⁴ She either committed suicide (Tac. ann. 14, 37) or died of an illness (Cass. Dio 62, 12, 6).

²³⁵ The manner in which her "manly" courage manifests itself is not conceivable at Rome, whose authority she was ultimately challenging.

²³⁶ Icks 2017, 74. Cassius Dio presents an alternate model of leadership here, but this is ultimately revealed to be insufficient because Boudicca loses on the battlefield and her revolt only leads to more problems for her people, Gillespie 2015, 427. Note that in Tacitus' account as well, the strength and leadership of Boudicca merits commemoration but - due to her femaleness and foreignness - not emulation, Gillespie 2015, 418. 428.

²³⁷ Cass. Dio 62, 7, 1-3.

²³⁸ Cass. Dio 62, 3-5; for discussion, Gillespie 2015, 418-427; Icks 2017, 73f.

²³⁹ Cass. Dio 62, 5, 5; see also Cass. Dio 62, 6, 4.

²⁴⁰ Cass. Dio 62, 5, 2-4.

²⁴¹ Cass. Dio 62, 5, 2-6.

²⁴² Icks 2017, 73f. Boudicca sets herself up as a foil to many men and women in positions of authority, both in the past and the present: this includes eastern female leaders like Nitocris and Semiramis, who did not inspire men to break the bonds of their servitude; women in the imperial family like Messalina and Agrippina Minor, who were prone to vice and usurped positions of power; and effeminate emperors like Nero, who act for personal pleasure rather than for the good of the state and thereby "soften" their own male followers, Gillespie 2015, 418-427.

predilection for beautifying himself, singing, and playing the lyre.²⁴³ His alleged penchant for donning feminine dress was presumably well-known at this time as well.²⁴⁴

Overall, Boudicca is portrayed by Cassius Dio as a cross-dresser for two reasons: to cast her and her tribesmen as hard, untainted, but cruel barbarians, who transgress against the natural order, but also to criticize the servitude of the Romans to their own desires, as well as to their effeminate leader.²⁴⁵ In short, “when emperors failed to live up to masculine ideals, they lost control of their empire and would be challenged by rebels and usurpers - some of whom might even be women.”²⁴⁶

Zenobia, the wife of King Odaenathus of Palmyra, challenged the hegemony of Rome.²⁴⁷ Her husband had been loyal to the Roman emperors,²⁴⁸ but after his murder in 267/268 CE, she overstepped her bounds by attempting to assume imperial authority.²⁴⁹ The *Historia Augusta* (*The Thirty Pretenders*) paints a highly masculinized picture of her.²⁵⁰ She was beautiful, but also exhibited male characteristics (e.g. virile voice, swarthy skin).²⁵¹ She reportedly started “to cast about her shoulders the imperial *sagulum*,” which is a small cloak usually worn by men in the Roman army.²⁵² Whether or not this is true, the metaphor is clear: she immediately stepped into the role of a military man.²⁵³ Moreover, she allegedly dressed up like a Roman emperor at public assemblies, “wearing a helmet and girt with a purple fillet, which had gems hanging from the lower edge, while its centre was fastened with the jewel called *cochlis*, used instead of the brooch worn by women, and her arms were frequently bare.”²⁵⁴ In addition, she wore the dress of Dido:²⁵⁵ the reference summons up the image of a *dux femina*,²⁵⁶ known to assume masculine dress in a hunting context (e.g. *chlamys*, quiver).²⁵⁷ She also

²⁴³ Cass. Dio 62, 6, 4-5 (translation in Cary - Foster 1925, 96). It is not explicitly stated that Nero led a “soft” lifestyle, but the preceding description of Roman men bathing in warm water, anointing themselves with myrrh and sleeping on soft couches would seem to apply to the emperor as well.

²⁴⁴ For the portrayal of Nero as a cross-dresser, see chap. 2.1.2.1.

²⁴⁵ On the other hand, the Romans were clearly not as degenerate as Boudicca assumes, since this side ultimately prevailed in the conflict, Icks 2017, 73f.

²⁴⁶ Icks 2017, 74.

²⁴⁷ For Odaenathus, Zenobia and the crisis of identity in the Palmyrene Empire, Smith 2013, 175-181.

²⁴⁸ He ruled as their representative in Palmyra and fought against their Persian enemies (including attempting to rescue the emperor Valerian). For discussion, Smith 2013, 175-178.

²⁴⁹ After her husband’s murder in 267/268 CE, Zenobia and her son Vaballathus assumed positions of exceptional power. They initially consolidated their power and expanded their territory (e.g. Egypt) to establish the Palmyrene Empire, but then overstepped their bounds by attempting to assume imperial titles and iconography (e.g. the titles Augustus/Augusta, visual associations with Juno) and therefore imperial authority. For discussion, see Jones 2016, 222-224; Smith 2013, 175-178.

²⁵⁰ SHA trig. tyr. 30, 1-27; for discussion, Icks 2017, 76f; Varner 2008, 127f.

²⁵¹ SHA trig. tyr. 30, 15-16.

²⁵² SHA trig. tyr. 30, 2 (translation in Magie 1968, 135). For discussion on the *sagulum*, Olson 2017, 77f.

²⁵³ The *sagum* (as a military cloak) became metonymically associated with war in texts, Olson 2017, 78f.

²⁵⁴ SHA trig. tyr. 30, 14-15 (translation in Magie 1968, 139). As noted by C. Finlayson, the exposure of Zenobia’s upper arms constitute an unnatural state of undress for Semitic women, and so must have allowed for freedom of movement for warfare and hunting, Finlayson 2004, 69.

²⁵⁵ SHA trig. tyr. 30, 2.

²⁵⁶ Vergil calls Dido a *dux femina*, Verg. Aen. 1, 364.

²⁵⁷ For the hunting dress of Dido, Verg. Aen. 4, 137-139. For discussion on the dress of Dido, see chap. 6.1.2.

engaged in male pursuits, such as waging war, hunting and drinking with her generals.²⁵⁸ Aurelian besieged Palmyra in 272 CE, captured Zenobia, and led her in triumph at Rome.²⁵⁹

Zenobia's is presented as a "masculine woman" in *The Thirty Pretenders* for a few reasons. First of all, she is an excellent ruler, but as a female, ultimately unfit to fill a position of power.²⁶⁰ She is described as a proud woman, "ruling longer than could be endured by the female sex,"²⁶¹ and at times subject to feminine weaknesses like fear and guilt.²⁶² Her takeover of masculine dress points up the unnaturalness of her rule: it is a violation of the natural order, which could have only emerged in the distant reaches of the world.²⁶³ She is accordingly domesticated and put back in place after her capture by the Romans.²⁶⁴ This is partially achieved by adorning her with countless gems and golden ornaments in the triumph, due to the longstanding association between luxury and femininity.²⁶⁵ Despite her *fortitudo* (strength) - a quality typically ascribed to men in Roman society - she apparently laboured under the weight of her ornaments and frequently halted in the procession.²⁶⁶ She thereafter lived like a proper matron, in the company of her children on an estate at Tibur.²⁶⁷ Secondly, Aurelian commends her virtues as a military commander in his letter to the Senate and People of Rome, primarily to establish her as a worthy opponent.²⁶⁸ Indeed, his letter was written in response to the widespread criticism of his "unmanly" decision to lead a woman in triumph. Thirdly, Zenobia is presented as the antithesis of Aurelian's predecessor, the emperor Gallienus, who was criticized for his effeminate behaviour.²⁶⁹ Her masculine appearance stands in contrast to his effeminate appearance at banquets "with the dress and languishing gait of a woman... all decked in gold and as dainty as a maiden."²⁷⁰ Zenobia supposedly

²⁵⁸ SHA trig. tyr. 30, 18. Moreover, she usually rode in a carriage suitable for men rather than women, but her preferred means of transportation was on horseback, SHA trig. tyr. 30, 17.

²⁵⁹ For discussion, Smith 2013, 180.

²⁶⁰ SHA trig. tyr. 30, 1-3.

²⁶¹ SHA trig. tyr. 30, 2-3 (translation in Magie 1968, 135).

²⁶² This is, however, attested in another section of the *Historia Augusta*, SHA Aurelian. 26, 3-5; Jones 2016, 224f.

²⁶³ Based on the visual evidence, C. Finlayson claims that some women in Palmyrene society actually wore loose riding pants, and perhaps even military dress (in various permutations); the assumption of this cross-gendered dress reflected the exceptional tribal, military and economic status of certain women in Palmyrene society, which would have been viewed as an aberration by the Romans, Finlayson 2004, 67-69.

²⁶⁴ Icks 2017, 77.

²⁶⁵ SHA trig. tyr. 30, 24-27. For discussion on the longstanding association between luxury and femininity (especially in dress), Cleland et al. 2007, 54f. 68f. 118.

²⁶⁶ SHA trig. tyr. 30, 24-27. In the *Historia Augusta* (*Life of Aurelian*), Zenobia is presented in a different manner: she is portrayed in the triumph with gold and gems, but these merely adorn her because attendants bear the weight for her; as such, she is certainly shown as a captive, but has not completely forfeited her royal appearance and position, SHA Aurelian. 33, 1-2; 34, 3; Jones 2016, 229-232.

²⁶⁷ SHA trig. tyr. 30, 27; Icks 2017, 77.

²⁶⁸ SHA trig. tyr. 30, 4-12. She is praised for her *prudentia* (wisdom), *constantia* (steadfastness), *gravitas* (dignity), *largitas* (munificence) and *severitas* (strictness), SHA trig. tyr. 30, 5. Note, however, that Zenobia's strength is attributed to her army and military technologies elsewhere, SHA Aurelian. 26, 3-5; Jones 2016, 224f.

²⁶⁹ For discussion, Icks 2017, 76f.; Varner 2008, 197f.

²⁷⁰ Iul. Caes. 313 B-C (translation in Wright 1913, 361).

claimed that Aurelian was a worthy emperor due to his military victories, and had only defied Roman authority beforehand because of the “unmanliness” of former rulers.²⁷¹

Overall, the cross-dressing motif functions on multiple levels here. It casts Zenobia as a “masculine woman”, who certainly exhibited praiseworthy qualities, but was nevertheless considered a threat to the natural order. It also highlights the faltering masculinity of Gallienus in comparison to Aurelian, who actually managed to subdue and re-feminize her.

It is also possible for eastern concubines to assume the dress of the opposite sex.²⁷² The most striking case is Hypsicrateia, the concubine of King Mithridates VI of Pontus.²⁷³ According to Plutarch, she was “manly”, but recklessly bold, which prompted the king to call her Hypsicrates.²⁷⁴ She allegedly dressed like a Persian man and accompanied the king everywhere on horseback. It is possible that the dress was not perceived as particularly “manly” by the Romans, but at least constituting a role reversal in the context of her own society.²⁷⁵ Valerius Maximus explicitly links Hypsicrateia’s cross-dressing to her love and affection for Mithridates VI:

“For his sake she considered it a pleasure to convert the outstanding beauty of her person to masculine style. For she cut her hair short and accustomed herself to a horse and weapons the more easily to partake of his toils and dangers. She even followed him as he fled through savage nations after his defeat by Cn. Pompeius, tireless in spirit as in body. Such loyalty on her part was a great consolation and a delightful solace to Mithridates in harsh and difficult circumstances. For he felt that he was wandering with house and household gods as his wife joined him in exile.”²⁷⁶

It is clear that Hypsicrateia is highly esteemed here: indeed, she only dresses up like a man to accompany her partner through thick and thin on his military campaigns,²⁷⁷ and is therefore held up as a model for conjugal love.²⁷⁸ At the same time, the cross-dressing is treated as a feature of decadent, eastern societies.²⁷⁹ By virtue of already living in a peripheral, upside-down world, these concubines could express their love and devotion for their partners in ways that were not really possible in Roman

²⁷¹ SHA trig. tyr. 30, 23; Icks 2017, 77. In the *Historia Augusta (Life of Aurelian)*, however, Zenobia criticizes Aurelian for a lack of *virtus*: he allegedly sent her a letter demanding her unconditional surrender, which she perceived as arrogant considering his recent losses; she therefore reminded him that these matters can only be settled on the battlefield, which requires a display of *virtus*; moreover, she characterizes herself as fitting even better into western ideals of manliness by comparing herself to Cleopatra, who preferred to commit suicide with her status intact rather than to be led in triumph, SHA Aurelian. 26, 6-9; 27; Jones 2016, 224-229.

²⁷² For discussion, Facella 2017, 114f. Aspasia of Phocaea is another notable cross-dressing concubine, who has nevertheless been excluded here due to her ancient and legendary status; for discussion on Aspasia of Phocaea as a cross-dresser, Facella 115.

²⁷³ Plut. Pompeius 32, 8; Val. Max. 4, 6, ext. 2; for discussion, Facella 2017, 115.

²⁷⁴ Plut. Pompeius 32, 8.

²⁷⁵ For the perception of Persian dress as gender indeterminate, Icks 2017, 69.

²⁷⁶ Val. Max. 4, 6, ext. 2 (translation in Shackleton Bailey 2000, 408).

²⁷⁷ Facella 2017, 116.

²⁷⁸ This is confirmed by the fact that Valerius Maximus describes the masculine appearance and behaviour of Hypsicrateia in a broader discourse on conjugal love, Val. Max. 4, 6.

²⁷⁹ Facella 2017, 116.

society.²⁸⁰ The tale of Nero and Sporus provides an excellent counterexample.²⁸¹ Nero allegedly attempted to replace his late wife Poppaea with a freedman youth named Sporus, whom he castrated, “married” and dressed up in women’s clothing. It is possible that his project of transforming him into a woman was a genuine attempt at “...subjugating and modifying nature by inverting its polarities... in order to elevate himself above and beyond the human...”²⁸² In any case, the tale is ultimately recounted in order to damage the reputation of the emperor.²⁸³ The fact that the “... youth was obliged to dress in a manner contrary to what was customary for his sex constituted an essential part of the emperor’s eccentric cruelty.”²⁸⁴ There was no tolerance for such transgressions in Roman society, but - in their view at least - this was practically to be expected at the distant reaches of the world.²⁸⁵

In summary, cross-dressing is associated with peripheral societies in the Roman Empire, such as the rough, uncorrupted, but barbaric tribes of the North, or the luxurious and decadent civilizations of the East. It seems that “... ancient authors branded cross-dressing and related activities as essentially ‘un-Roman’, stressing that such practices had no place in a world where, ideally, men knew how to lead and women were happy to follow.”²⁸⁶ Quite interestingly, the warrior queens are not portrayed in an unequivocally negative light, especially since their exceptional “manliness” is juxtaposed with the weakness of effeminate Roman emperors.²⁸⁷ It is, however, necessary to put these women - at the point of coming into contact with the Romans - back in their proper place. The concubines offered a model of conjugal love and loyalty, which was nevertheless extreme and not intended for direct imitation in Roman society. Foreign women were simply held to different standards.

2.1.2.2.5 Anti-Women - Female Ascetics

The idea of *virtus* (“manliness”) was not necessarily revised in early Christian texts,²⁸⁸ but refocused to suit the new ideological framework: “Christian *virtus* could stand... for both the interior quality of moral excellence and its external manifestation in pious deeds, such as monastic self-discipline, charitable

²⁸⁰ In other words, these women were permitted to cross-dress not because their striving towards marital ideals overrode all other considerations, but because people living in non-Roman societies were simply not held to the same standards.

²⁸¹ Cass. Dio 62, 28; Dio Chrys. 21, 6-7; Suet. Nero 28; for discussion on Nero and Sporus, Campanile 2017, 59-61; Carlà-Uhink 2017a, 21; Icks 2017, 71.

²⁸² Campanile 2017, 60; see also Carlà-Uhink 2017a, 21. D. Campanile also attributes it to the “joy in experiencing untried pleasures in forms that had not been sanctioned by experience,” Campanile 2017, 60.

²⁸³ Campanile 2017, 60f.

²⁸⁴ Campanile 2017, 61.

²⁸⁵ The different perspectives on Sporus appearing like a woman with the Roman Emperor Nero, and Hypsicrateia appearing like a man with King Mithridates VI of Pontus, can only partially be explained by the fact that the authors had different expectations for Romans and non-Romans. It seems that there were other factors at work here as well, including the direction of the cross-dressing (i.e. male-to-female cross-dressing was treated as a grave offense, whereas female-to-male cross-dressing could have positive connotations); how permanent the transformation is (e.g. Sporus’s transformation includes permanent body modifications, whereas Hypsicrateia’s was essentially temporary); and whether the actions were voluntary (Hypsicrateia seemingly cross-dressed because she wanted to, whereas Sporus was probably not willing to undergo these transformations).

²⁸⁶ Icks 2017, 78.

²⁸⁷ Icks 2017, 77.

²⁸⁸ *Virtus* encompasses an array of qualities in Christian usage, Aug. civ. 4, 20-21.

acts and wonder working.”²⁸⁹ It is often the case that “... when Christian writers asserted that an early Christian woman progressed to a higher spiritual or moral state, they simultaneously claimed that she transcended her gender and that she became male.”²⁹⁰

Since Christian communities largely followed their pagan neighbours’ concept of gendered dress, a female ascetic could effectively symbolize her distance from womanly vices by eschewing feminine dress and adornment.²⁹¹ This might merely involve the rejection of jewellery and cosmetics, as obvious markers of vanity and luxury.²⁹² Some female ascetics, however, chose to entirely obscure their sex by cutting off their hair and adopting masculine attire.²⁹³ Already in the 1st century CE, Paul the Apostle allegedly inspired Thekla to become an ascetic by renouncing the usual life course for women (i.e. marriage, motherhood) and then cutting off her hair, donning masculine dress, and accompanying him on his journey to preach the word of the lord.²⁹⁴ The significance of her cross-dressing potentially operates on a number of levels: it is not only a practical disguise, allowing her to move freely and independently, but also an outward expression of her rejection of female beauty and sexuality, in favour of “manly” strength and virtue – in short, she is a *mulier virilis*.²⁹⁵ A series of other devout women are reported to follow in her footsteps, such as Eugenia of Rome (d. ca. 258), Pelagia of Antioch (d. ca. 457) and Euphrosyne of Alexandria (d. 470).²⁹⁶

It is clear that Christian authorities normally did not endorse these “unnatural practices”, to judge from their repeated censure and prohibition between the 3rd and 5th centuries CE.²⁹⁷ Cross-dressing in real life presumably threatened to flatten gender distinctions in these communities, and thus called into question the exclusivity of certain rights and privileges to men.²⁹⁸ Nevertheless, the cross-dressing female saint was hardly problematic in the hagiographic accounts of the 4th to 7th centuries CE.²⁹⁹ The

²⁸⁹ Cain 2013, 105f.

²⁹⁰ Upson-Saia 2011, 12f. 104-107.

²⁹¹ Upson-Saia 2011, 14. 33-58. 104-107.

²⁹² Upson-Saia 2011, 14. 33-58. 104-107.

²⁹³ Upson-Saia 2011, 14. 59-83. 104-107.

²⁹⁴ For discussion on Thekla (especially as a cross-dresser), Kunst 2007, 256-259; Petropoulos 1995. There are, however, no literary references to Thekla until the end of the 2nd century CE, Albrecht 2002, 298.

²⁹⁵ For the semantic possibilities (which need not be mutually exclusive), Kunst 2007, 257f. In any case, it is generally agreed that cross-dressing female ascetics are somewhere between masculine and feminine, but more strongly aligned with the masculine, Kunst 2007, 257f.; Petropoulos 1995; Tommasi 2017, 125-129; Vidén 1998, 145-150. This symbolism seems to have a long tradition. Two female students of Plato (Lastheneia from Mantinea and Axiothea from Phleius) wore masculine attire, which is linked to their “manliness”; for the sources and discussion, see Krenkel 2006, 468. Hagnodike was able to study medicine with Herophilos by dressing like a man; for the sources and discussion, see Krenkel 2006, 468. Hipparchia of Maroneia devotes herself to the Cynic philosophy of her husband, Crates of Thebes: she rejects the “soft” and luxurious dress of women and instead assumes the minimalist and essentially male outfit of the Cynic philosopher, consisting of a *tribon*, staff and satchel, to express her asceticism, freedom and self-sufficiency; for the sources and discussion, see Brulé 2012. In Late Antiquity, female philosophers (e.g. Sosipatra, Hypatia) were seen to dress and act like men, and therefore treated as “masculine women” as well; for the sources and discussion, see Mratschek 2007.

²⁹⁶ For this list of female ascetics who cross-dress, Kunst 2008, 257.

²⁹⁷ Kunst 2007, 258f.; Upson-Saia 2011, 14. 59-83. 104-107; Vidén 1998, 145-150.

²⁹⁸ Kunst 2007, 258f.; Upson-Saia 2011, 14. 59-83. 104-107; Vidén 1998, 145-150.

²⁹⁹ Upson-Saia 2011, 84-103.

authors of these narratives stress that these women only cross-dress in extenuating circumstances, to flee problems in the secular world, and under the counsel of a male ecclesiastical or monastic superior.³⁰⁰ Moreover, their new appearance symbolizes their “manly” spiritual progress: “the men’s clothing worn by the cross-dressing saints worked as the transferential object that brought with it notions of superior masculine characteristics; male clothing became the metaphor, code and signifier of (male) virtue.”³⁰¹ This connection is clearly established in the case of Eugenia of Rome, a cross-dressing female saint who was martyred around 258 CE:³⁰² as Bishop Helenus of Heliopolis is quoted saying, “You [Eugenia] are rightfully called a man, since, although you are a woman, you act manfully.”³⁰³ At the same time, the authors of these narratives tried to neutralize the cross-dressing to some degree, by emphasizing that these saints are in fact women: the omniscient narrators refer to them in female terms; the characters within the narratives are suspicious of their high-pitched voices and lack of beards; they are often forced to reveal their true sex, due to accusations of rape or paternity; and the bodies underneath their masculine dress are finally revealed after death.³⁰⁴

In summary, cross-dressing was not broadly endorsed for women in early Christian communities. It nevertheless carried a positive symbolism for female ascetics in hagiographic accounts - as a sign of progressing to a higher spiritual and moral state - with no apparent paradox.³⁰⁵ It was, however, essential to stress their essential sexual difference from “real” men.

2.1.2.2.6 Summary

Female-to-male cross-dressing was generally perceived as a transgressive act and rarely met with approval in the literary sources. First of all, a number of elite women are reported to cross-dress to highlight a disruption in the natural order: either the women themselves or their male associates are seen as “out of control”.³⁰⁶ Secondly, women of ill-repute, like sex labourers and adulteresses, are described as cross-dressers in order to distance them from ideal matrons.³⁰⁷ Thirdly, an array of “manly” women, like female *gladiatores* and *venatores*, dress and arm themselves like men, thus exceeding the normal bounds of their sex.³⁰⁸ Fourthly, strong and sexually-emancipated women at the fringes of the Roman Empire are characterized as cross-dressers, in order to cast them as members of

³⁰⁰ Upson-Saia 2011, 84-103.

³⁰¹ Upson-Saia 2011, 84-103 (quote on p. 101).

³⁰² For discussion on Eugenia of Rome, Upson-Saia 2011, 99f.

³⁰³ Voragine - Graesse 1965, 603 (translation by Upson-Saia 2011, 101).

³⁰⁴ Upson-Saia 2011, 84-103. 104-107.

³⁰⁵ In contrast, cross-dressing was viewed negatively for men in early Christianity, Doerfler 2014, 37-47; Tommasi 2017, 124f. 129. The female cross-dresser still found approval in the Middle Ages, Hotchkiss 2012; Vogt 1995.

³⁰⁶ See chap. 2.1.2.2.1.

³⁰⁷ See chap. 2.1.2.2.2.

³⁰⁸ See chap. 2.1.2.2.3.

the *mundus inversus*.³⁰⁹ Finally, the act of ascetic women dressing up like men is seen to express their triumph over female weakness, on their path to spiritual perfection.³¹⁰

By considering these categories of female cross-dressers as a whole, it is possible to identify several recurring themes. Most importantly, the portrayal of women as cross-dressers - whether real or imagined - identified them as aberrations. In some cases, these cross-dressed females were admired or tolerated, at least under certain conditions and for certain amounts of time. Their takeover of masculine dress placed them in their own category, as neither masculine nor feminine, which was recognized as a “legitimate” place for that specific group. In other cases, however, these cross-dressed women were rejected, either from the outset or over the course of time. It was possible to view them as “monstrous” in their own right: their takeover of masculine dress was often seen to arise from their arrogation of male rights and privileges, which threatened to destabilize a traditional division of roles based on anatomical difference (i.e. men/superior/active vs. women/inferior/passive).³¹¹ Otherwise, their characterization as cross-dressers typically aimed to damage the reputation of the men associated with them. Women in masculine dress and roles were seen to dominate their male relations, or serve as a foil for weak and effeminate rulers; moreover, men who forced women to cross-dress revealed their unrestrained behaviour and hence their lack of “manliness”.

It is nevertheless possible to perceive “aberrations” in ways that ultimately reaffirm the *status quo*. Female cross-dressers were occasionally viewed with amazement or even admiration, due to their capacity to surpass the expectations of their sex, at least within certain limits (e.g. female *gladiatores*, warrior queens, female ascetics). At the same time, these women are often treated as “honorary men”, in an attempt to incorporate all exceptions into the norm and thereby to diminish their threat to the traditional hierarchy that placed men over women.³¹² Moreover, the exchange of gendered dress casts particular categories of non-ideal women (e.g. female sex labourers, adulteresses, performers) as ambiguous members of society or even entirely outside the normal social order. It is also a feature of women situated at the distant reaches of the world, who are generally treated as the “other”.

In summary, the discourse surrounding these female cross-dressers fluctuates between representing them as exceptional women, threatening “monsters”, ambiguous beings or even as victims, depending on the exact intentions of the texts. The potential for these categories to imbricate and shift over time is also evident. In any case, one theme is consistent: the female cross-dressers are aberrations, pointing to a significant disruption in the natural order, which needs to be either carefully managed (e.g.

³⁰⁹ See chap. 2.1.2.2.4. These are also generally “masculine women”, serving as foils for “bad” emperors.

³¹⁰ See chap. 2.1.2.2.5.

³¹¹ Moreover, “a female cross-dresser acting out conventionally male roles presents a particular challenge to the Roman construction of masculinity,” Xinyue 2017, 174.

³¹² Note, however, that this strategy for “explaining away” the existence of women successfully performing traditionally masculine roles was not entirely successful; indeed, the female *gladiatores* were perhaps eroticized and eventually banned from the arena, the warrior queens were still viewed as “unnatural” and needed to be subdued by the Roman military, and the female ascetics were ultimately treated as women in the hagiographies.

relabeling women as “honorary men”, physically segregating women, socially marginalizing women) or restored as soon as possible (e.g. re-domesticating women, censuring their male associates).

2.1.3 Cross-Dressed Women in Private Portraiture?

2.1.3.1 Introduction to Private Portraiture for Women

It is time to turn to the portrayal of women in private portrait statues of the late Republican and Imperial Periods.³¹³ In general, the portraiture is characterized by the combination of: 1) an “individualized” head, which pinpointed the particular female subject, but need not, however, accurately reflect her physiognomy or hairstyle,³¹⁴ and 2) a conventional statuary type, which - being largely drawn from Greek (or classicizing) models - can hardly reflect the everyday appearance of the female subject; rather, it is a “costume”, or a set of physical features, postures, garments and attributes that conveys identity in social and symbolic terms.³¹⁵

An excellent example of this phenomenon are the freestanding portrait statues of women as the Large Herculaneum Woman (pl. 31a).³¹⁶ This statuary type - featuring a heavily-draped female figure, dressed in a floor-length *chiton* as well as a *himation* pulled up over her head³¹⁷ - was invented in the later 4th century BCE for commemorating upper-class women.³¹⁸ It became one of the most widely used statuary types for female portraiture in the Roman Imperial Period, with more than two hundred surviving examples from all over the Empire, mostly from streets and public spaces, but also from sanctuaries and cemeteries.³¹⁹ The spike in popularity of this statuary type during the 2nd century CE is attributed to a wide variety of factors, such as the greater availability of marble objects and streamlined production methods (e.g. pre-formed statue types, roughed-out at the quarry) and the increasing

³¹³ The catalogue of objects under analysis in this dissertation includes private portraits in freestanding statuary and relief sculpture (on altars and sarcophagi). It is sufficient to demonstrate how portraiture functions in general, as well as the variety of costumes for women, by focusing on freestanding statuary here.

³¹⁴ It is sufficient to note here that the physiognomy was often idealized, but at times also veristic; the fashions in hairstyles changed over time (and perhaps corresponded to the appearance of women in real life); both the physiognomy and the hairstyles of imperial and private women tend to align with each other (but not as a rule), Fejfer 2008, 351-357. For further discussion on “individualized” heads in female portraiture, e.g. Bartman 2001, 1-25; Trimble 2011, 157-181.

³¹⁵ It is sufficient to note here that the garments seen in the conventional statuary types (e.g. *chiton*, *himation*) were similar to the garments worn by women in everyday life (e.g. *tunica*, *palla*), but that the differences between the dress in visual culture and the real world were striking; the artificiality of the conventional statuary types was partially reduced by the addition of specifically Roman articles of dress (e.g. *stola*, *vittae*, *calcei muliebres*) as well as modes of dress (e.g. *capite velato*), Fejfer 2008, 335. 344f. For discussion on conventional statuary types (as a “costume”, conveying certain identities, values, virtues, etc.), e.g. Galinier 2012; Koortbojian 2008; Trimble 2011, 157-181; Wood 2015, 267f.

³¹⁶ For discussion on the Large and Small Herculaneum Women, Bieber 1977, 148-173; Daehner 2007a; Daehner 2007b; Davies 2002; Goette 2013a, 87f.; Knoll 2007; Trimble 2011; Vorster 2007a; Vorster 2007b; Woelk 2007. This is but one example, but a fairly representative one in terms of the overall dress and demeanour.

³¹⁷ For descriptions of the Large and Small Herculaneum Women, Vorster 2013b, 63-67.

³¹⁸ The Large and Small Herculaneum Women have been interpreted as representations of Demeter and Kore, Bieber 1977, 148-173; it is now generally accepted that the statue type had always been intended for female portraiture, Vorster 2007a, 122f.

³¹⁹ Trimble 2011, 1f.

wealth of local elites, including women with a greater euergetistic and representational role.³²⁰ More than that, the symbolic potential of replication was valuable in itself: “casting certain ideas into recognizable, consistent and often repeated shapes made them visual touchstones, a means of tapping into certain ideas and connotations.”³²¹ The classicizing style and heavily-draped appearance was suitable for the honorific presentation of women, to signify high-status femininity and public beneficence.³²² These monuments assisted in creating a common culture for the local elites across the Empire, which consciously linked its women to the imperial family, as well as to each other.³²³

There was a range of possibilities for representing private women in their portrait statues during the late Republican and Imperial Periods. A cursory glance at the surviving examples reveals an array of statuary types, which are either traced back to models from the Late Classical and Hellenistic Periods, or else classicizing adaptations of the Roman Imperial Period.³²⁴ The six most popular types are the Large Herculaneum Woman (pl. 31a), Small Herculaneum Woman, Pudicitia (pl. 31b), Ceres, Shoulder-Bundle and Hip-Bundle types.³²⁵ It is possible to combine these Greek (or classicizing) statuary types with Roman sartorial features (e.g. *stola*, *vittae*, *calcei muliebres*, *capite velato*) or even divine attributes (e.g. wheat sheaves of Ceres, cornucopia of Fortuna).³²⁶ There are certainly notable differences between the statuary types, in terms of their patronage (e.g. the Pudicitia type is almost exclusively used for private women); their distribution throughout the Roman Empire (e.g. the Large Herculaneum Women type was more popular in the East); as well as their social significance (e.g. the Shoulder-Bundle/Hip-Bundle types were often selected for priestesses).³²⁷

2.1.1.1. Normative Dress in Private Portraiture for Women

The most striking point though is actually the notable similarity between the statuary types.³²⁸ Men are portrayed in a variety of costumes, reflecting their plethora of public roles in Roman society (e.g. magistrate, intellectual, military commander). In comparison, the options for women are limited: this is partly explained by their relative lack of public roles in society, but partly by ideals of womanly

³²⁰ For the beginnings of the replication of the type in the 2nd century CE, Trimble 2011, 53-64. For the production and replication of the statue type, Trimble 2011, 64-149. For the increasing wealth of local elite, as well as the interrelationship of their responsibilities and privileges with visual and cultural developments (including the greater monetary and representational role of women), Trimble 2011, 150-307.

³²¹ Trimble 2011, 4-6 (quote on p. 6).

³²² Trimble 2011, 33f.

³²³ Trimble 2011, 200-202. It has also been argued that the statuary evokes a multitude of qualities valued in women in general, such as beauty and modesty, Daehner 2007b, 110f.; Davies 2002, 236-238. This relationship between the Herculaneum Women and female virtues is discussed below, as part of the broader trends in portrait statuary types for women, see chap. 2.1.3.2.

³²⁴ Alexandridis 2005, 113; see also Goette 2013a, 85f.

³²⁵ Fejfer 2008, 335. For a summary of the various types for representing imperial (but also private) women in their portraiture (with these six types figuring most prominently), Alexandridis 2004, 220-270.

³²⁶ Fejfer 2008, 334-345. For an overview of (some of) the attributes that might be added to these six portrait types (for imperial and private women alike), Alexandridis 2004, pls. 9-14.

³²⁷ Fejfer 2008, 335. 337. 341f.

³²⁸ This is addressed by Davies 2008; see also D’Ambra - Tronchin 2015, 456f.

behaviour.³²⁹ The vast majority of women are portrayed in basically the same kind of dress: in a long tunic, reaching down to the floor, as well as a mantle wrapped around the body and frequently over the head.³³⁰ The paint from their garments has practically disappeared, but specialized analyses of the pigments suggest that men were typically dressed in white, as well as purple hues, whereas women were dressed in all colours of the rainbow, especially pink, amethyst and blue.³³¹ As a whole, these present a clear and consistent picture of the ideal woman in Roman society, namely, a woman dressed in colourful, feminine garments that modestly cover the body.³³² The addition of Roman articles of dress reinforces this ideal. The *stola* - a thick, full-length and concealing over-garment, placed over the *tunica* and under the *palla* - was worn by respectable women, signifying their matronly status and related qualities.³³³ The *vittae* (woolen ribbons in the hair) evoked chastity and purity; the *calcei muliebres* (closed shoes for women) were simply appropriate to their sex; and the *capite velato* (covered head) corresponds with the expectation for matrons to veil themselves.³³⁴

Men had greater freedom to display their bodies - due to the shorter tunics, for instance - even if the fabric of their garments was relatively heavy and bulky.³³⁵ For women, on the other hand, the supple curves of the body (e.g. breasts, thighs, pudenda) are often revealed through the fabric of the dress, in a highly artificial manner.³³⁶ This visual convention was valuable for expressing the beauty and sensuality of the women, without compromising their modesty.³³⁷

There are also notable differences in the body language of male and female portrait statues.³³⁸ It is common for men to keep their heads level and erect, maintaining a direct gaze, to confidently stress their breadth, as well as to hold their arms away from their bodies, often gesturing animatedly with their hands.³³⁹ Moreover, their dress is kept in perfect order, with no considerable effort on their

³²⁹ Davies 2008, 208f.

³³⁰ Davies 2008, 211. The ideal married woman leaving the house wore several layers of clothing (i.e. undergarments, *tunica*, *stola*, *palla*); these ideals (expressed in literature and visual culture) were worth striving for, but did not necessarily reflect the realities of everyday life in the Roman city (where women worked, walked through mud and filth, etc.), Harlow 2013.

³³¹ Brøns - Harlow 2020. As C. Brøns and M. Harlow note, the current evidence is limited and the results are perhaps skewed by the focus on male and female figures in certain roles (e.g. emperors, gods, goddesses).

³³² Davies 2008, 213. The most popular statuary types for women (e.g. Large Herculaneum Women, Pudicitia, Ceres, etc.) certainly exhibit differences in the precise pose of the body and the arrangement of the drapery, but are all variations on the same theme, Davies 2008, 211f.

³³³ Fejfer 2008, 335. The *stola* was presumably concealing in real life, but in the portraiture, the curves of the body are still visible, Fejfer 2008, 335.

³³⁴ Fejfer 2008, 344f. For discussion on *vittae*, Olson 2008b, 38f.; Sebesta 1994, 48-50. For discussion on the *calcei muliebres*, Cleland et al. 2007, 28-29. For discussion on veiling women in Roman society (in everyday life and visual culture), Alexandridis 2004, 45f.; Cleland et al. 2007, 205f.; Sebesta 1994, 48-49.

³³⁵ The *toga* obscures the body beneath, Davies 2008, 216. The tunics of Roman men and women were generally similar, but differed in length (as well as colour and ornament): as a rule, men wear shorter tunics than women, with the tunics of women generally reaching to at least the ankles, Pausch 2003, 92f. 177. 181 footnote 240.

³³⁶ Davies 2008, 216. As noted by J. Fejfer, the dress was thicker and less revealing in real life, Fejfer 2008, 345.

³³⁷ Davies 2008, 216.

³³⁸ Davies 2008, 213-215.

³³⁹ Davies 2008, 214f.

part.³⁴⁰ Women, on the other hand, are typically shown with a lowered gaze, as well as a narrower and less self-assured pose: their arms are held tightly against the body or wrapped into the drapery, which severely restricts their movement; their stance is fairly wide and firm, but at times partially destabilized by showing one leg swung inward; and their sense of insecurity is expressed by recurring motifs, such as fiddling with their drapery, or unconsciously shielding themselves with their arms and dress folds.³⁴¹ These differences in body language cast men in a more active and dominant role, but women in a more passive and hesitant one.³⁴²

Overall, these essentially similar and constantly replicated statue types point to an absence of defined and varied roles for women in Roman society, who were largely commemorated in relationship to their male kin.³⁴³ The statuary types for women symbolize an ideal that applied even to those with more public roles (e.g. priestess, benefactress): she is “... a woman who is beautiful and elegant, who shows off the expensive clothing and fancy hairdressing her family can afford her; she is a woman of leisure who does not meddle in things that are not her concern (that is, men’s public affairs); and she is modest, faithful and chaste... [and also feels] apprehension at being seen in public (where she does not really belong)...”³⁴⁴ If one follows the contention that gender is not actually essential and stable, but rather instituted through a “stylized repetition of acts” that only appears natural and incontestable, then these constantly replicated statuary types are directly implicated in the construction and reassertion of gender roles for women in Roman society as well.³⁴⁵

2.1.1.2. Other Dress in Private Portraiture for Women

The focus so far has been on the norms in female portrait statuary. The dress of these Greek (or classicizing) statuary types is by no means real,³⁴⁶ but nevertheless exhibits recurring sartorial features considered appropriate for women in Roman society (e.g. lengthy, concealing, restricting, identifiably

³⁴⁰ Davies 2008, 215.

³⁴¹ Davies 2008, 215f. There are, however, exceptions to the rule, especially for women of exceptional wealth and social status. For instance, Livia was honoured with some portraits during her lifetime and especially after her deification that were comparable to her male contemporaries in terms of their “open poses” (e.g. standing staunchly upright, arms away from the body); as such, she seems to have been released from many of the social restraints typically imposed on women, Bartman 1998, 47f. In general, imperial women are more likely to be represented with “open poses” than private women, but private women (especially in the West) could take on “open poses” as well, Davies 2013, 196-198. Perhaps this is due to private women in the West being praised in public just like male honorands and benefactors, thus encouraging the development of more authoritative and commanding statuary types (in contrast, private women in the East were praised in public for traditional feminine virtues and tended to be represented with “closed poses”), Fejfer 2008, 344. On the other hand, it has been observed that there is no major difference between the types of portrait statues selected for private women in the West in honorific and domestic contexts, Davies 2013, 196-198.

³⁴² Davies 2008, 215.

³⁴³ Davies 2008, 217.

³⁴⁴ Davies 2008, 217. As M. Harlow points out, there is nevertheless a contradiction in producing portrait statues emphasizing women’s modesty for public display, Harlow 2012, 40f.

³⁴⁵ Butler 1990b, 270f.; for further discussion, Butler 1990a. The usefulness of J. Butler’s theory for examining portraiture (including its statuary types) is often noted, Alexandridis 2005, 114f.; Trimble 2011, 154-156.

³⁴⁶ Fejfer 2008, 345.

feminine, etc.). Moreover, the dress is occasionally updated by the addition of Roman garments and accessories, which evoked traditional female virtues.

Every rule is nevertheless defined by its exceptions. Two categories of private portraiture stand out in particular.³⁴⁷ First of all, women are occasionally depicted in the guise of nude (or semi-nude) goddesses and heroines, such as Venus (pl. 32a), Ariadne (pl. 32b) or Rhea Silvia.³⁴⁸ These diverge from the normative statuary types discussed so far in the overt display of the body, if not in the body language, which exhibits signs of uncertainty and timidity: indeed, they hardly stand upright, press their thighs together, or shield themselves from view with their arms.³⁴⁹ This particular form of commemoration has been addressed elsewhere, as an expression of the beauty and fertility of the woman, and is not the focus of the current examination.³⁵⁰ Nevertheless, this state of (un)dress appears on some of the portraits in question, and therefore demands further consideration here.

Secondly, women are occasionally portrayed in the guise of goddesses and heroines with cross-gendered dress, such as herculean women (i.e. Omphale), warriorresses (i.e. Penthesilea, Virtus) or huntresses (i.e. Diana, Atalante). This relatively small but fascinating group of portraits forms a stark contrast to the normative statuary types. Indeed, the women eschew strictly female modes of dress by taking over masculine garments and accessories, with the possibility of assuming active and “open” poses that are more characteristic of the opposite sex. The capacity for cross-gendered dress to convey positive messages about women and their kin demands more attention, and thus forms the main subject of the following examination. It is possible to approach this material with semiotics especially, against the background of theories of gender, dress and social memory.

³⁴⁷ G. Davies offers an example from each category (i.e. Venus and Artemis), Davies 2008, 211.

³⁴⁸ For a catalogue of private portraits of women as Venus, Wrede 1981, 306-318 cat. 292-316. For a catalogue of private portraits of women as Ariadne, Wrede 1981, 209-212 cat. 44-56. For a catalogue of private portraits of women as Rhea Silvia, see Wrede 1981, 271-272 cat. 200. 202.

³⁴⁹ This observation applies to private portraits of women in the guise of nude goddesses and heroines who are still awake. For instance, women commemorated in the guise of Venus are most often modelled after the Knidian or Capitoline Aphrodite, Hallett 2005, 222.

³⁵⁰ For discussion on the portraits of women as Venus, D'Ambra 1989, 392-400; D'Ambra 1996; D'Ambra 2000; Hallett 2005, 199. 209-212. 219-222. 331-332; Kleiner 1981; Kousser 2007; Salathé 2000; Wrede 1971, 131. 144-145. 157-161; Wrede 1981, 306-318 cat. 292-316.

2.2 Theoretical and Methodological Considerations

2.2.1 Dress and Semiotics

Table 1.1 Classification System for Types of Dress and Their Properties*

| Types of Dress** | Properties | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|------------|---------------------|-------------------|----------------|---------|------|-------|-------|
| | Color | Volume & Proportion | Shape & Structure | Surface Design | Texture | Odor | Taste | Sound |
| Body Modifications | | | | | | | | |
| Transformations of | | | | | | | | |
| a. Hair | | | | | | | | |
| b. Skin | | | | | | | | |
| c. Nails | | | | | | | | |
| d. Muscular/ skeletal system | | | | | | | | |
| e. Teeth | | | | | | | | |
| f. Breath | | | | | | | | |
| Body Supplements | | | | | | | | |
| Enclosures | | | | | | | | |
| a. Wrapped | | | | | | | | |
| b. Suspended | | | | | | | | |
| c. Pre-shaped | | | | | | | | |
| d. Combinations of ab,ac,bc,abc | | | | | | | | |
| Attachments to Body | | | | | | | | |
| a. Inserted | | | | | | | | |
| b. Clipped | | | | | | | | |
| c. Adhered | | | | | | | | |
| Attachments to Body Enclosures | | | | | | | | |
| a. Inserted | | | | | | | | |
| b. Clipped | | | | | | | | |
| c. Adhered | | | | | | | | |
| Hand-Held Objects | | | | | | | | |
| a. By self | | | | | | | | |
| b. By other | | | | | | | | |

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Fig. 1: Classification System for Types of Dress and their Properties. J.B. Eicher - M.-E. Roach-Higgins, Definition and Classification of Dress. Implications for Analysis of Gender Roles, in: R. Barnes - J.B. Eicher (eds.), Dress and Gender. Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts (New York 1992) 18 table 1.1. © Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins and Joanne B. Eicher.

The current theories and methodologies for approaching dress - as a system of signs - need to be taken into account here.³⁵¹ The dressed individual is defined as “a *gestalt* that includes body, all direct modifications of the body itself, and all three-dimensional supplements added to it.”³⁵² Most significant for the current analysis is the concept of “costume”: this term refers to dress that indicates ‘out-of-everyday’ social roles or activities, such as worn in the theatre, at festivals or during ceremonies.³⁵³ The constantly replicated statuary types - which certainly do not reflect the actual dress worn by Roman women - fall into this category. Moreover, a classification system for types of dress and their properties, which takes both body styling (e.g. transformations of the musculoskeletal system, skin, hair) and body supplements (e.g. enclosures, attachments, handheld objects) into consideration (fig. 1), has been embraced in the field of dress studies.³⁵⁴ This is valuable for describing and evaluating the portraits here.³⁵⁵ The body styling is hardly negligible: this can take on extreme forms (e.g. endowing women with a beautiful, nude body), or mild, unobtrusive forms (e.g. arranging the woman’s hair). The body supplements form the focus of the current examination, with the female portrait subjects adopting masculine garments and accessories. This classification system encourages a multisensory analysis of the dress (i.e. visual, tactile, olfactory, auditory, gustatory), but the visual aspect necessarily takes precedence here. It is possible to consider visual features like volume/proportion or shape/structure, but painted features like colour or surface design have practically disappeared over time. It is also possible to analyze the tactile aspect, at least to some extent (e.g. rough vs. smooth fabric). The remainder of the senses - i.e. odor, taste and sound - are not relevant here.

From here, the material will be addressed on its own terms, primarily with semiotics, the study of signs as well as their use or interpretation.³⁵⁶ Both Roman visual culture and dress in general are particularly well-suited to semiotic analysis. It has been persuasively demonstrated that Roman visual culture is a veritable “language of images”, whose communicative function is prioritized over aesthetic concerns.³⁵⁷ By the 2nd century BCE, a myriad of Greek motifs and styles could be selected and adapted with the semantic needs of the Roman present in mind. The increasing alignment of form and meaning, and even style and subject matter, imbued Roman visual culture with the power to signify. Moreover, the static and repetitive character of the visual code ensured its universal intelligibility over the course of centuries. As such, the tendency for the Romans to copy the Greeks was not a matter of mindless repetition, but a creative engagement with their visual codes for their own purposes.

³⁵¹ For an overview of contemporary dress theory, valuable for examining ancient dress here, Lee 2015, 19-32.

³⁵² Eicher - Roach-Higgins 1992, 13.

³⁵³ Roach-Higgins - Eicher 1992, 3.

³⁵⁴ Eicher - Roach-Higgins 1992, 23; Roach-Higgins - Eicher 1992, 2. Note that the term “body modification” has been replaced with “body styling” here, since the former terms seem to carry connotations of permanence, while the latter term seems more neutral on this matter.

³⁵⁵ The classification system is not applied in a systematic manner in the current examination, following the exact criteria on this chart. It is nevertheless valuable for drawing attention to the possibilities for describing and evaluating dress (e.g. what to consider, what to exclude, what to look for).

³⁵⁶ For a concise overview of semiotics, Chandler 2002.

³⁵⁷ Hölscher 1987; see also, Anguissola 2015; Hijmans 2009, 31-70.

Dress is likewise a system of signs conveying social messages.³⁵⁸ It has the capacity to express individual identities and social roles, as well as economic and social status, or to indicate certain ethnicities, faiths, sexual orientations, and so on.³⁵⁹ Unlike language, the semantics of dress constitute a closed code that cannot easily articulate new messages, but only reproduce and strengthen already established messages in particular social contexts.³⁶⁰ This is, however, not necessarily a point of weakness, considering that dress is capable of conveying messages about the wearer that language cannot, especially conservative messages that require instant communication and constant reiteration, such as constructions of gender. The nonverbal messages carried by dress are not only inexplicit, but also naturalized through repetition, making them less open to controversy or protest. It is for this reason that dress is particularly essential to the maintenance of social systems.

In summary, it is possible to approach both Roman visual culture and dress as a whole based on semiotic principles. This enables an interdisciplinary approach to the private mythological portraiture under consideration. The oft-replicated portrait types - that is, costumes with particular types of body styling, garments, and accessories - had the capacity to signify identities and virtues, which were effortlessly grasped by the ancient viewer in a single glance.

2.2.2 Gender

Moreover, the private mythological portraiture representing girls and women in cross-gendered dress ought to be approached in light of gender theory especially. Sex refers to the biologically determined characteristics of males and females, whereas gender refers to the socially constructed characteristics of men and women, including normative behaviours, roles and relationships. Particularly relevant is the

³⁵⁸ R. Barthes established the connection between dress and semiotics: individual articles of dress are not only functional, but also have a signifying quality (e.g. Roman soldiers threw a heavy woollen cape over their shoulders to protect themselves from the rain; the garment was produced spontaneously for a certain purpose, but then given the name *paenula* and institutionalized, causing it to enter the semantic system of dress with connotations related to protection); moreover, he organizes dress into three categories (i.e. real dress, written dress and visual dress), which are not interchangeable semiotic systems but follow different rules, Barthes 1967. For an overview of dress as a means of nonverbal communication in more recent scholarship, Lee 2015, 23-27.

³⁵⁹ Roach-Higgins - Eicher 1979. For further discussion on the social construction of the individual through appearance (and dress) in ancient civilizations, Sørensen 2006, 117-120. Dress was an important mechanism in social control in the Roman world, since it ensured that every person's gender, age, class, ethnicity and citizenship were identifiable at a glance, Edmondson 2008.

³⁶⁰ McCracken 1987, 110-123. In general, it is clear that language and image signify in different ways, see Chandler 2002; Hijmans 2009. The components of language can be easily and repeatedly reorganized in an infinite number of ways to produce different or even new evocations, including complex intellectual concepts, with little effort on the part of their users and recipients. Dress can also be used to signify, also in new ways. However, once the connection between a particular dress code (i.e. signifier) and its meaning (i.e. signified) is established, then this is basically fixed. It needs to be this way, because for dress - as a form of visual culture - repetition and precise combinations are important for comprehensibility. For instance, an adult wearing a (gold) ring on his or her ring finger is a sign of being married in many cultures, and cannot be readily understood in a different way by the people belonging to those cultures; moreover, a women wearing a wedding dress with a construction hat rather than a veil might mean something to her personally, but it would not be comprehensible to any guests at her wedding, because it is not an established combination (the spectator would certainly recognize the transgression, but would not know how to understand it). Of course, it is not always possible to control how dress was experienced, which could give rise to additional meanings.

theory of gender performativity.³⁶¹ It states that there is no essential, stable gender based on sexual difference, but rather a “stylized repetition of acts” that constitutes gender categories in particular societies; as such, the stability of gender, and especially the predominant binary concept of gender in most western societies, is merely an illusion. Gender is performative in the sense that the concepts of man and woman are being (re)produced all the time. An excellent example of this phenomenon is the construction of gender-symbolic dress codes, as an important tool for the socialization of boys and girls from a young age.³⁶² In most cultures, gender-specific dress is usually consigned to children shortly after birth, and serves as a visual shorthand to reinforce sexual difference. The gendered dress prompts others to attribute certain characteristics and roles to the wearer, and ultimately to act on the basis of these notions when interacting with the child. Over time, the child itself learns the dress code, as well as how to act as one looks. In other words, “gendered dress encourages each individual to internalize as gendered roles a complex set of social expectations for behavior.”³⁶³ This process repeats itself over the course of the dressed individual’s life, especially at particular milestones (e.g. coming-of-age ceremonies, weddings, funerals), practically as a self-reinforcing system.

It is, however, possible to break away from these prescriptions. Integral to the social constructivist view of gender is the concept of transgender: it was “developed in the 1990s as an ‘umbrella’ term to cover and define the range of experiences of those who, for a short time or for most of their lives, [identify with and often] behaviourally adopt elements... generally attributed to a gender which does not correspond to their sex at birth.”³⁶⁴ It is also possible for cisgender men and women to break with gender norms, at least for certain reasons, in defined contexts, or for a limited amount of time. One notable category of gender-transgressive behaviour is cross-dressing, namely, the act of assuming dress normally designated for the opposite sex.³⁶⁵ It is possible for this behaviour to fall on a spectrum, ranging from the full impersonation of men or women, to the select or even subtle takeover of their body styling, garments or accessories.³⁶⁶ The majority would agree that cross-dressing is in fact a transgressive act.³⁶⁷ The cross-dresser challenges the idea that the body provides a stable basis for gender identification and exposes the artificiality of binary gender categories by constituting a “third term” or a “space of possibility”.³⁶⁸ Moreover, the cross-dresser is subversive “by not only making us question what is real, and what has to be, but by showing us how contemporary notions of reality can

³⁶¹ Butler 1990b, 270f.; see also, Butler 1990a. The usefulness of J. Butler’s theory for examining portraiture (including its statutory types) is often noted, e.g. Alexandridis 2005, 114f.; Trimble 2011, 154-156.

³⁶² Eicher - Roach-Higgins 1992, 16-20. For an introduction to dress/gender in antiquity, see Harlow et al. 2020b.

³⁶³ Eicher - Roach-Higgins 1992, 19.

³⁶⁴ For an introduction to the concept of transgender, Hill - McBride 2007; Carlà-Uhink 2017a, 3f. (the quote is on p. 3 and has been adjusted to make it clear that transgender primarily refers to gender identity, which can also be expressed through behaviour).

³⁶⁵ For an introduction to cross-dressing, Hovey 2007.

³⁶⁶ This is also relevant for antiquity, see Cleland et al. 2007, 43.

³⁶⁷ e.g. Butler 2004, 213-218; Garber 1992. For an overview of the debate, Hotchkiss 2012, 9f.

³⁶⁸ Garber 1992, 1-17.

be questioned, and new modes of reality instituted.”³⁶⁹ On the other hand, others have questioned the potential for transgression to serve as a liberating act of social protest: they point out that those adopting the dress of the opposite gender tend to closely conform to the prescriptions for feminine or masculine dress, which in their view ultimately reinforces a binary system of gender.³⁷⁰ Moreover, it is not uncommon for societies to acknowledge perpetual friction between opposing groups by allowing them to exchange status at festivals; by rebelling against the normal order in a regulated manner, these participants actually reaffirm norms while easing tensions between groups.³⁷¹

The social constructivist concepts of transgender and gender-transgressive behaviour are certainly modern, but nevertheless relevant to the study of antiquity: the ancient mentality was clearly dominated by a binary opposition of gender, in which one’s gender is ideally seen to correspond to one’s birth sex, but nevertheless open to manipulation or prone to slippage through performance (e.g. cross-dressing) from one category into another or somewhere in-between.³⁷² This sort of “gender-bending” is evidenced by the private mythological portraiture of women in masculine dress (as well as actions, roles and contexts). By interpreting the material in light of Roman notions of gender-transgressive qualities of women in particular, perhaps further insight into the positive messages generated by the portraiture is attainable.³⁷³ Particularly notable is the model of the “progress narrative”, in which women’s emulation of men is viewed favourably, or even as an attempt to overcome the shortcomings traditionally ascribed to the female sex.³⁷⁴ Glimpses of this mentality are discernible in Roman antiquity and demand further consideration here.³⁷⁵

2.2.3 Social Memory

Theories on the social formation of memory can likewise contribute to our understanding of these commemorative monuments.³⁷⁶ Memory is a complex process. The individual actually does the remembering, but his or her memories are not only organized in socially constructed ways (e.g. through

³⁶⁹ Butler 2004, 217. Earlier, J. Butler claimed that cross-dressing “implicitly suggests that gender is a kind of persistent impersonation that passes as the real,” Butler 1990a, p. viii.

³⁷⁰ For an overview of the debate, Hotchkiss 2012, 9f.

³⁷¹ Højbye 1995, 45f. This observation could easily extend to exchanging gendered dress.

³⁷² Carlà-Uhink 2017a, 3f.; for further discussion, see chap. 2.1.2.

³⁷³ Omphale might be perceived as performing a cisgender drag performance; moreover, the mythical warriorresses and huntresses (i.e. Penthesilea, Virtus, Diana, Atalante) might be perceived as transgender. However, the use of these same dress codes for real women in their portraiture need not express a transgender identity or desire to actually behave in a gender transgressive way. There is a difference between cross-dressing in real life and cross-dressing in an image, see chap. 2.2.3. In any case, it is clear that these gender-transgressive codes were viewed positively for women; they just need to be decoded and understood in their social context.

³⁷⁴ For discussion on the “progress narrative”, Garber 1992, 67-71. 118-127. As N.B. Kampen observes in the context of Roman antiquity, “the relational character of gendered imagery conveys as well its hierarchical nature. Thus, a woman, by taking on selected attributes of men, became more virtuous. A man, taking on attributes of women, became suspect... The visual images help to make viewers aware, over and over, of this ‘fact’: Men and women are different and unequal,” Kampen 1996a, 18.

³⁷⁵ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.

³⁷⁶ Theories of social memory were first developed in detail by M. Halbwachs, see Halbwachs 1925. J.K. Olick and J. Robbins review an abundance of literature on social memory, which is disperse and transdisciplinary, in order to offer a range of working definitions and demonstrate the value of this tradition, Olick - Robbins 1998.

language, typical narratives, character profiles),³⁷⁷ but also intricately connected to membership in a certain social group (e.g. the individual reflects on his or her childhood in terms of belonging to a particular family, school and community).³⁷⁸ The construction of memory tends to occur not at the micro-level (i.e. individual persons) or macro-level (i.e. states/institutions), but at the meso-level (i.e. “tiny publics”, such as families, clubs, social movements), where the individual shows his or her group membership by recognizing and playing by certain rules.³⁷⁹ Overall, no memory is perfectly individual, but socially constructed: no one remembers anything outside of a particular social context because memory is a series of “signs” produced within a specific landscape of rules and expectations.

Social memory often lies at the intersection of “personal” and collective memories: the kinds of memories that individuals share with others are those that are relevant to them in the context of a particular social group, whether structured and lasting, or informal and possibly temporary.³⁸⁰ “This memory involves shared templates and ‘mind maps’ by which group members recall people and events of the past that have been infused with symbolic meaning,... providing a sense of common identity.”³⁸¹ It does not matter if these personages and experiences are real or imaginary - what matters is that these are believed by a particular group, at least to some extent.³⁸² In fact, social memory is frequently selective, biased or edited, in order to suit the social mindscape and metanarratives of a particular group, and therefore not necessarily an accurate reflection of the “truth”. It is possible to not only encourage remembrance, but also to induce forgetting.³⁸³

Of considerable importance here are “sites of memory”: this can refer to any immaterial or material entity, such as a text, image, personage, episode or place, which has been constructed by a particular social group to evoke core visions of the past in that cultural milieu.³⁸⁴ These sites can exist in the minds of the beholder or as concrete monuments, to be visited and re-visited, in order to trigger memories of the past with all of their associated ideas - this is in itself a form of social performance, ensuring the self-perpetuation of a social structure over time.³⁸⁵ The more important the memories are for members of a particular social group, in terms of their understanding of themselves and the world around them, the more important their respective sites of memory become.³⁸⁶ Indeed, “there are many sets of preferences and dis-preferences shaping memories and thus, from a systemic viewpoint, what

³⁷⁷ Ben Zvi 2019, 13-15. 21.

³⁷⁸ Fentress - Wickham 1992, p. ix; see Ben Zvi 2019, 9f.

³⁷⁹ See Fine 2014.

³⁸⁰ Fentress - Wickham 1992, pp. ix-x; see Edelman 2013, pp. xv-xvi; Jerman - Hautaniemi 2006, 2f.; Robben 2018, 57f.

³⁸¹ Edelman 2013, p. xi.

³⁸² Fentress - Wickham 1992, pp. xi-xii; see Ben Zvi 2019, 6f.

³⁸³ Ben Zvi 2019, 9.

³⁸⁴ P. Nora coined the term “les lieux de mémoire”, see Nora 1984-1992. E. Ben Zvi offers this definition of “sites of memory”, Ben Zvi 2019, 10. 15f. He also argues for the existence of memories of the future, such as memories of utopian futures serving crucial roles of raising hope and managing social marginality, Ben Zvi 2019, 8f.

³⁸⁵ Ben Zvi 2019, 7. 10.

³⁸⁶ Ben Zvi 2019, 16.

emerges is a complex generative grammar preferring the production and reproduction of some types of memories, sites of memory... and dis-preferring others.”³⁸⁷

In all cultures and time periods, mortuary practices play an important role in producing the social memories of both individuals and groups.³⁸⁸ It is possible for archaeologists to explore the construction and re-construction of social memories based on the treatment of the remains of the deceased, the material culture employed in rites, and also the built environment, including funerary monuments, structures and contexts.³⁸⁹ Mortuary practices commemorate not only the life of the deceased, but also the past life of a community, through founding myths, family genealogies, and social networks - at the same time, these produce an ideal view into future, both in this life and the next.³⁹⁰ Funerals and festivals of the dead operate as technologies of remembrance, in which particular actions and material create identities for the deceased.³⁹¹ For instance, a funerary monument has the potential to provide a “site of memory”, onto which the patron’s self-perception or the survivors’ memories of the deceased are inscribed in a highly idealized, selective or even “fabricated” manner. As such, these do not merely honour the dead, but re-fashion them.³⁹² Moreover, the power of memory relies on its capacity to be encoded, communicated and understood, which necessarily leads to simplification and conventionalization;³⁹³ indeed, memory is “... simplified, because in order to be generally meaningful and capable of transmission, the complexity of the image must be reduced as far as possible; conventionalized, because the image has to be meaningful for an entire group.”³⁹⁴ Besides the commemoration of the dead, mortuary practices provide a social setting for the display of personal and formally expected emotional reactions;³⁹⁵ individuals assert their personal identities and make claims to group membership, so that social bonds are created, renewed or broken.³⁹⁶

Theories on the social formation of memory are relevant to the study of antiquity in general. Individuals in Roman society were evaluated by their contemporaries in terms of an “exemplary discourse”, which connects actions, audiences, values and memories.³⁹⁷ Actions refer to any kind of habitual conduct or exceptional deeds that are relevant to a particular social group. The primary audience includes the witnesses of these actions, who place them into a certain ethical category (e.g. *virtus*, *clementia*, *pietas*, *concordia*). It is possible for the primary audience to commemorate these actions, including its social implications and ethical significance, with a “site of memory” (e.g. narrative, statue, ritual): that is, a device that calls the actions to mind. It is directed not only at the primary audience in the

³⁸⁷ Ben Zvi, 2019, 18.

³⁸⁸ Chesson 2001, 1.

³⁸⁹ Chesson 2001, 2.

³⁹⁰ Chesson 2001, 6; Williams 2013, 195f.

³⁹¹ Williams 2013, 195f.

³⁹² Williams 2013, 195f.

³⁹³ Kuijt 2001, 81f.

³⁹⁴ Fentress - Wickham 1992, 47f. (The quote has been reorganized without altering the content.)

³⁹⁵ Joyce 2001, 21.

³⁹⁶ Chesson 2001, 1.

³⁹⁷ For the model of exemplary discourse, Roller 2004. For supplemental comments, see Roller 2018, 8-10.

present, but also secondary audiences in the future, who view these actions in terms of their prior evaluation as well as their own judgments. It is possible for both the primary and secondary audiences to strive to imitate these actions - or better yet, to surpass them - thus bringing the “exemplary discourse” full circle, while inscribing competition into the logic of the system. Quite interestingly, these monuments honour not only the individuals and their families, but also the entire social group to which they belong, on account of their shared ideals and values³⁹⁸ - indeed, the commemoration of individuals reveals a tension between their personal virtues and their subordination to an established canon of virtues, which ultimately de-historicizes and de-individualizes them.³⁹⁹ The same concepts are applicable to the private mythological portraiture representing girls and women in cross-gendered dress, even if dealing with “average” women rather than mighty heroines.⁴⁰⁰

Where does this leave personal identity? Was there any possibility for these monuments to express an individual’s sense of self - defined by physical, psychological and interpersonal characteristics - which is not wholly shared with any other person? For monuments that were actually selected by the commemorated individual,⁴⁰¹ this was surely the case, but seemingly only within the confines of what was comprehensible and widely permissible in their social groups. For this reason, the question of whether these monuments, with their gender-bending features, could have offered an expression of transgender identity, or a desire to transgress gender boundaries, will not be explored here. As discussed above, the majority of people in Roman society treated a binary system of gender predicated on sexual difference as “natural” and ideal, or were at least complicit in sustaining this view, meaning that there was little room to break out this mold without risking stigmatization and marginalization.⁴⁰² For people who had a gender identity that differed from the one assigned to them at birth,⁴⁰³ there was unfortunately little opportunity to express this in a public setting, at least not in a manner comparable to those living in modern liberal and democratic societies. On the one hand, there is no reason to exclude the possibility that a woman commissioned one of these monuments specifically because she

³⁹⁸ Hölkeskamp 1996, 325f.

³⁹⁹ Hölkeskamp 1996, 312. 314f.

⁴⁰⁰ As noted by M. Roller, the evidence for the “exemplary discourse” in Roman society is primarily concerned with the elites, yet members of all social strata participate in exemplary thinking and action: “The quantity, variety, and social accessibility of monumental forms thus suggests that actors of every status took care to submit their actions to judging audiences that were socially diverse and thereby represented the *entire* Roman community in whose interest these actions were performed,” Roller 2018, 9f.

⁴⁰¹ It is important to note that none of the monuments examined here were surely selected by the women commemorated by them. It is, however, conceivable that at least some of the monuments with portraits of married couples were selected by the husband/wife or even the wife alone (which is almost surely the case for OMP4).

⁴⁰² People who cross-dressed in Roman society - or were purported to cross-dress - were typically censured and treated as the “other”, see chaps. 2.1.1; 2.1.2. For example, Elagabalus allegedly engaged in gender-transgressive behaviour, including cross-dressing (Cass. Dio 80, 14, 4; SHA Heliog. 26, 1-5). These reports might be explained in a variety of ways. Perhaps this was a genuine expression of transgender identity; a means of constructing exceptional political power (see Varner 2008); an expression of religious belief; or even pure fiction, intended to bring this “bad” emperor into disrepute (see Rantala 2020). In any case, it is clear that ancient authors highlighted his cross-dressing in the literary sources in order to cast him in a negative light, which would have only worked if the readership had actually viewed this gender-transgressive behaviour in a negative way.

⁴⁰³ For discussion on gender diversity in antiquity, see Surtees - Dyer 2020.

felt that it reflected her gender identity, or wished to play out certain fantasies that were prohibited in real life; on the other hand, the same visual codes must have communicated messages to the members of her social group that were both easy to grasp and widely accepted by them, otherwise, its value as a “site of memory” would be lost.⁴⁰⁴ While expressions of gender diversity and transgression in antiquity certainly merit more research, it is questionable whether we should look to commemorative portraiture as evidence for this, due to its limited capacity to challenge the social order. This medium occasionally pushes the boundaries in terms of gender, but without really crossing any “hard lines”.⁴⁰⁵ As such, the following analysis primarily focuses on the social messages of these monuments.⁴⁰⁶

2.3 Conclusions

Several perspectives on cross-dressing in Roman society, especially female-to-male cross-dressing, have been considered in detail here. It is true that cross-dressing was not prohibited in Roman society, but women with masculine garments and accessories were viewed as aberrations, pointing to a disruption in the natural order. It is therefore hardly surprising that women tend to wear dress appropriate to their sex in their private portraiture. Their commemoration in cross-gendered dress, on the other hand, is unusual and demands further evaluation. Finally, the theoretical and methodological considerations have been briefly outlined. It is possible to approach this material using semiotics, against the background of theories of gender, dress and social memory.

⁴⁰⁴ It is important to point out that there is a distinct difference between “pushing boundaries” in real life and in visual culture, also when selecting certain dress codes used for self-representation and commemoration. The portraits of Roman men as nude heroes function in a similar way: the nudity is not real, but replaces the body of the portrait subject like a “costume”; this carried its own set of connotations, which was widely accepted and comprehensible to their social groups. Perhaps there were additional, personal motivations for wishing to be represented nude, but these were not clear to anyone viewing the monument in antiquity. For discussion on portraits of Roman men as nude heroes, see chap. 4.2.3.2.1.

⁴⁰⁵ See App. C.

⁴⁰⁶ On the other hand, the monuments addressed in this examination could benefit from more engagement with theories of cross-dressing (e.g. psychological responses, personal motivations, etc.); this is largely beyond the scope of the current analysis, but will be considered by the author elsewhere.

3 Masculine Dress in Classical Visual Culture

3.1 Introduction

The costume of women in private mythological portraiture of the Roman Imperial Period is inspired by Greek models. It is therefore essential to focus on ancient Greek dress in particular, as well as its reception by the Romans. There are various sources for studying dress in antiquity, including literary and epigraphic texts, visual culture and more rarely, archaeological remains,⁴⁰⁷ but the current focus is necessarily on dress in the visual record. The reason for taking this approach is that semiotic systems for dress not synonymous and so any attempt to reconcile the textual, visual and archaeological sources is seemingly fruitless.⁴⁰⁸ Indeed, ancient imagery is often simplified and idealizing, and need not replicate actual dress practices, even if “repeated patterns [in the visual culture] may reflect actual features of dress, ideological constructions, or both.”⁴⁰⁹ It is therefore essential to ask not what the Greeks wore in real life, but how dress codes developed in their visual culture, as a system of signs conveying messages about the wearers on its own terms. Finally, it is necessary to assess whether these dress codes were still easily grasped by Roman viewers.

3.2 Masculine Dress in Ancient Greek Visual Culture

This section is dedicated to establishing criteria for recognizing and categorizing masculine dress in ancient Greek visual culture, as the building blocks for further examination. This is accomplished by pinpointing types of body styling, garments and accessories that are commonly associated with male figures, but not female ones, in both “realistic” and mythical imagery. From here, it is necessary to simply label, describe and if possible, consider the significance of each article of dress. The scope of this analysis extends to any medium dating from the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic Periods, produced in areas populated by Greek-speaking peoples (e.g. Attica, Laconia, Megale Hellas). The challenge is, of course, the sheer number of images with figural representations from antiquity, which cannot be considered in any systematic manner. As such, it is only possible to speak of general, overarching trends, irrespective of particular periods or regions of production.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁷ For an overview of the types of sources for studying dress in antiquity, Lee 2012, 181f.; Lee 2015, 5-9.

⁴⁰⁸ Barthes 1967; for further discussion on the incompatibility of semiotic systems, Hijmans 2009, 52-56.

⁴⁰⁹ Lee 2015, 5.

⁴¹⁰ Previous research on ancient dress has already started to ascribe particular kinds of body styling, garments and accessories to a certain sex, which serves as the foundation for this examination. For Greek and Roman dress in general, e.g. Cleland et al. 2005; Cleland et al. 2007; Gherchanoc - Huet 2012; Harlow 2012; Harlow et al. 2020a; Harlow - Nosch 2014; Kühnel 1992. For Greek dress in particular, e.g. Bieber 1928; Bieber 1967; Lee 2012; Lee 2015; Llewellyn-Jones 2002a. For Roman dress in particular, e.g. Croom 2002; Edmondson - Keith 2008; Olson 2008; Olson 2017; Pausch 2003; Rothe 2019; Sebesta - Bonfante 1994; Scharf 1994; Tellenbach et al. 2013.

3.2.1 Body Styling

3.2.1.1 Tanned Complexion

This discussion on masculine dress in ancient Greek visual culture begins with body or, more specifically, body styling (e.g. tanning, exercising, hairstyling).⁴¹¹ The colour of one's complexion is a gendered feature. As a general rule, a tanned complexion is suitable for men, whereas a pale complexion is ideal for women.⁴¹² This dichotomy is traditionally assumed to reflect a traditional division of labour along gendered lines, according to an elite perspective: indeed, men frequently carried out their daily business in an outdoor setting, whereas women were encouraged to remain indoors and attend to household chores.⁴¹³ On the other hand, perhaps the polarity in skin colour merely functions as a visual code, signifying that "women are fundamentally different from men," both in terms of their nature and activities.⁴¹⁴ It is common to show sexual distinction through skin colour on black-figure pottery especially: the men are shown in the default colour of the black glaze, whereas women receive an additional layer of white paint (pl. 33a).⁴¹⁵ Darker skin tones for men are attested in other painted media as well.⁴¹⁶ In some instances, however, this visual convention is abandoned, such as on red-figure pottery, where both men and women appear in the same colour.⁴¹⁷

3.2.1.2 Agonal Nudity

Of particular importance here is the concept of agonal nudity: at its most basic level, the term refers to a well-proportioned, muscular body, which is worn like a costume by male figures in ancient Greek visual culture.⁴¹⁸ Both male and female bodies were initially shown in Geometric Art either nude or in a neutral silhouette form (with mere allusions to dress, e.g. belts); however, by the later 8th century BCE, women were normally clothed in long robes,⁴¹⁹ which presumably reflects the social ideal for women to modestly cover their bodies.⁴²⁰ It was also possible for men to appear clothed,⁴²¹ but nudity or at least apparent nudity (i.e. the selective indication of dress) would remain typical (pl. 33b).⁴²²

⁴¹¹ Body modification (or body styling) is considered an aspect of dress, Eicher - Roach-Higgins 1992, 13. For discussion on bodies and their modifications in ancient Greece, Lee 2015, 33-53.

⁴¹² For a detailed analysis of the emergence of this ideal in Archaic Greece, Eaverly 2013, 83-155.

⁴¹³ Lee 2015, 60f. Note, however, that the need to work among lower-class women might override the need to adhere to these elite ideals; indeed, there is evidence that lower-class women worked outside the household, as midwives for instance, Blundell 1995, 145.

⁴¹⁴ Eaverly 2013, 101.

⁴¹⁵ Eaverly 2013, 1; for further discussion, Eaverly 2013, 83-130.

⁴¹⁶ Eaverly 2013, 1.

⁴¹⁷ Eaverly 2013, 2; for further discussion, Eaverly 2013, 131-155.

⁴¹⁸ For discussion on agonal nudity, Hölscher 1993, 525-527. For discussion on nudity as a costume, Bonfante 1989. Agonal nudity, or more specifically, heroic costume (i.e. nude but armed), was to become the favoured dress of warriors and hunters, especially in the mythical realm, Hallett 2005, 14-19.

⁴¹⁹ N. Himmelmann argues that the figures are only apparently naked, Himmelmann 1990, 32f. A.F.; Stewart, however, maintains that the figures are actually naked, Stewart 1997, 40-42; for discussion on the two theories, Hallett 2005, 5f. Note that the most common form of early Greek female clothing (925-570 BCE) is "...a long, narrow, straight gown sewn at the sides and shoulders and with openings for the head and arms. The silhouette is always slim but accentuating the female figure. Almost always a broader or thinner girdle emphasizes the middle of the body," Benda-Weber 2018, 131.

⁴²⁰ Kaesar 2008b, 154.

The significance of male nudity is heavily debated.⁴²³ The traditional view is that portraying men in the nude is in itself heroic and serves to elevate them to a higher, more sublime level,⁴²⁴ but there are notable issues with this.⁴²⁵ Most significantly, male nudity is deployed whenever certain messages are readily conveyed through the exposure of the body, from the vulnerability of a fallen warrior, to the enthusiasm of a komast, or even the exertion of a craftsman.⁴²⁶ In none of the aforementioned cases is their state of undress seen to confer heroic status on them.

Athletics offer the main context in Greek society for male nudity, which is to be understood first and foremost in a somatic sense.⁴²⁷ Revealing the well-proportioned, muscular body of the athlete served to exhibit the physical qualities necessary for contests (*agōnes*), including strength and fitness.⁴²⁸ It is possible for athletic nudity to find connection with additional, more abstract characteristics, such as the virtues encompassed by *aretē* (e.g. excellence, courage), even culminating in heroism – these virtues are, however, still far removed from its essential, somatic significance.⁴²⁹

Agonal nudity developed into a visual code not only for athletes (pl. 34a), but also for other “realistic” men to evoke similar qualities, even in stark contradiction to their actual dress.⁴³⁰ There is no basis for Greek hoplites fighting naked in the real world, but these men are eventually portrayed nude, in order to signify their physical capacities especially (pl. 34b).⁴³¹ The same is true of hunters, participating in the boar or deer hunt (pl. 35a).⁴³² Of course, agonal nudity is ubiquitous among Greek heroes as well. In the images of Herakles’ first labour against the Nemean Lion, the hero has undressed himself like a

⁴²¹ Kaesar 2008b, 155.

⁴²² Himmelmann 1990, 32f.; Stewart 1997, 40-42; see also Hallett 2005, 5f.

⁴²³ For an overview of the debate, Hallett 2005, 9-14.

⁴²⁴ N. Himmelmann attributes the predilection for male nudity in the second half of the 5th century BCE to the idealizing tendencies of the time, Himmelmann 1990, 42-47; for discussion on the hypothesis, Hallett 2005, 12f.

⁴²⁵ Hölscher 1993, 525-527; for further discussion on the hypothesis, Hallett 2015, 10. 13f.

⁴²⁶ Hölscher 1993, 525-527.

⁴²⁷ Hölscher 1993, 525-527. For discussion on the introduction of athletic nudity in Greek society and visual culture, McDonnell 1991. The Greeks of the Classical Period recognized that exercising naked was a uniquely Greek custom, distinguishing them from barbarians, Thuk. 1, 6, 5; Plat rep. 5.452c; for discussion, Hallett 2005, 7f.; Serwint 1987, 194-196; Van Nijf 2012, 254f. It is commonly argued that exercising nude in the gymnasium is an expression of *isonomia*, allowing all citizens of the Greek *polis* to achieve personal excellence, with the sartorial markers of wealth and social distinction cast aside; this should not, however, be taken for granted, since there is evidence that the access to the gymnasium was strictly controlled, Van Nijf, 255f.

⁴²⁸ Hölscher 1993, 525-527.

⁴²⁹ Hölscher 1993, 525-527.

⁴³⁰ Hölscher 1993, 525-527. For catalogues of athletes in ancient Greek visual culture (often portrayed in agonal nudity), Tzachou-Alexandri 1988, 105-348; Kaltsas 2004, 130-253.

⁴³¹ Hölscher 1993, 525-527. In reality, warriors in ancient Greece were properly armoured for warfare; nevertheless, on the Attic funerary monuments featuring non-mythological battles, the warriors are shown in a variety of dress, including agonal nudity, Schäfer 1997a, 29-42 (for a list of the Attic funerary monuments featuring warriors in agonal nudity, see the unnumbered tables at the back).

⁴³² In reality, hunters in ancient Greece wore garments like a short *chiton* and *chlamys*, Sachs 2012, 75f. On the Attic black and red-figure vases featuring non-mythological boar and deer hunts, the hunters are shown in a variety of dress, including agonal nudity, Barringer 2001, 15-46; 60-69 tables 1. 2.

wrestler, since his garments and weapons are set aside (pl. 35b).⁴³³ His greatest weapon is his powerful body - as such, agonal nudity would become the standard dress for Herakles.⁴³⁴ The list might easily go on here: Achilles, Meleager and Theseus reveal their bodies as well.⁴³⁵ Agonal nudity is even adopted into portraiture by the 4th century BCE (e.g. funerary reliefs of Attica and the Greek East) (pl. 36a).⁴³⁶

Overall, agonal nudity is common for male figures performing physically demanding feats, whether in athletic competitions, in battle or during the hunt, in both “realistic” and mythological contexts. This state of undress serves to showcase the corporeal qualities essential for any action presupposing an excellent physical fitness, through which a man’s *aretē* is ultimately displayed.⁴³⁷

Female figures are generally excluded from agonal nudity.⁴³⁸ Set in contrast to the normative, ideal, male body, the female body is conceived of as incomplete, misshapen and ultimately as the “other”.⁴³⁹ Philosophical and medical treatises generally maintain that the optimal physiology is warm, dry and hard, both in terms of physical and mental health.⁴⁴⁰ This state is innate to males, whereas females are naturally cold, wet and soft - as observable in the leakage of menstrual blood and breast milk - and therefore set at a disadvantage.⁴⁴¹ Males are capable of producing sperm, which is effectively blood that is sufficiently heated; the cooler bodies of females, on the other hand, are incapable of transforming blood into semen and merely create a residue to receive it.⁴⁴² The excess humours of females are not only a source of “pollution”, but also make them susceptible to a whole host of diseases (e.g. fever, ophthalmia, dysentery) and mental illnesses (e.g. hysteria).⁴⁴³ Furthermore, their natural characteristics inhibit self-control.⁴⁴⁴ Moist and porous from birth, females are naturally uncontained in mind and body, as well as more prone to liquefying emotions and passions, including sexual desire.⁴⁴⁵ As Aristotle claims, males and females alike can exhibit *sōphrosynē*, but the virtue is defined differently for each sex: “for the man, *sōphrosynē* is rational self-control and a resistance to excess; for the woman, *sōphrosynē* is dutifulness and obedience. A woman cannot control herself, so

⁴³³ For a few examples of Herakles wrestling the Nemean Lion in agonal nudity, Boardman et al. 1990, 24 nos. 1866. 1868. 1870. For discussion on the images of Herakles wrestling (e.g. the Nemean Lion, Antaios), where he deliberately disrobes and disarms himself (much like an athlete), Hallett 2005, 17; Stähli 2012, 226-231.

⁴³⁴ Stähli 2012, 233.

⁴³⁵ For a few examples of Achilles in agonal nudity, Kossatz-Deißmann 1981, 71 no. 200; 86 no. 349a; 135 no. 570. For a few examples of Meleager in agonal nudity, Woodford - Krauskopf 1992, 416 nos. 13; 417 nos. 19. 26. For a few examples of Theseus in agonal nudity, Neils - Wood 1994, 926 nos. 33. 34. 36.

⁴³⁶ For an overview of nude portraits of men in Greek art, Hallett 2005, 20-60.

⁴³⁷ Stähli 2012, esp. 237.

⁴³⁸ For discussion on the possibility of agonal nudity for women, see chap. 3.3.1.1.

⁴³⁹ For an overview of the conception of male and female bodies in philosophy and medicine, Bonnard 2013; Carson 1990; Lee 2015, 35-37. As argued by A.F. Stewart, the nude male is treated as the norm in Greek visual culture, whereas the clothed female is the culturally constructed “other”, Stewart 1997, 40-42.

⁴⁴⁰ Bonnard 2013, 26-29; Carson 1990, 137-145; Lee 2015, 35-37.

⁴⁴¹ Bonnard 2013, 26-29; Carson 1990, 137-145; Lee 2015, 35-37.

⁴⁴² For further discussion of Aristotle’s view on spermatogenesis, Bonnard 2013, 10-11; Lee 2015, 36.

⁴⁴³ Bonnard 2013, 8-10; Carson 1990, 158-164; Lee 2015, 37. The containment of a leaking, unbounded body is one reason for the prescription of concealing dress for females, such as the veil, Lee 2015, 153-158. 243 footnote 26.

⁴⁴⁴ Carson 1990, 137-145; Lee 2015, 37.

⁴⁴⁵ Carson 1990, 137-145; Lee 2015, 37.

her *sōphrosynē* must consist in submitting herself to the control of others.”⁴⁴⁶ With self-mastery being innate only to males, the inferior status of females in Greek society is easily justified, as well as the need to contain female sexuality through enveloping dress and marriage at an early age.⁴⁴⁷

There is, however, more at work here than the general perception that female bodies are weak and inferior. The extension of agonal nudity to fully-developed women was ultimately precluded by the fact that their bodies - featuring supple breasts and fleshy curves - carried erotic connotations.⁴⁴⁸

“Realistic” women portrayed in a state of nudity are typically *hetairai*, or female sex workers, which are most easily identifiable when engaging in sexual relations or reclining with men in a symposium context (pl. 36b).⁴⁴⁹ The popularity of these nude women on sympotic vessels suggests that their fully-developed bodies are primarily valued as a source of erotic pleasure. Nude women engaging in various grooming activities (e.g. bathing, depilation, hairdressing) are also identified as *hetairai*, but the possibility of respectable women cannot be excluded here.⁴⁵⁰ Indeed, elite women are shown nude in at least one context, the nuptial bath (pl. 37a).⁴⁵¹ The theme is especially common on *lebetes gamikoi* and *loutrophoroi* for nuptial bathwater, as well as *pyxides* for cosmetics and jewellery, which were produced for women in particular. In the case of the nude *hetairai*, the voyeuristic appeal for male users is clear, whereas the nude bride-to-be seemingly offered a beautiful and desirable model for female users.⁴⁵² Female bodies were viewed as inferior to male bodies, but were necessary for biological and social reproduction and therefore valued in terms of sexuality and fertility.⁴⁵³

In the mythological context, respectable women are typically nude to stress their vulnerability (e.g. Cassandra, Helen, Thetis) (pl. 37b. 38a),⁴⁵⁴ whereas women outside the normal social order (e.g. maenads) are typically nude to highlight their desirability⁴⁵⁵ - there is, of course, potential for overlap here. Female nudity was monumentalized with Praxiteles’ Knidian Aphrodite (pl. 144a), reportedly

⁴⁴⁶ Aristot. Pol. 1260a20-24; 1277b20-24; Carson 1990, 142 (quote on p. 142).

⁴⁴⁷ Carson 1990, 160-164; Lee 2015, 37.

⁴⁴⁸ Kaeser 2008b, 154. For discussion on female undress in general, Bonfante 1989, 558-562. 566-569; Lee 2015, 182-190; Moraw 2003. It seems, however, that agonal nudity is extended to girls, see chap. 3.3.1.1.

⁴⁴⁹ For the nudity of prostitutes, Bonfante 1989, 559f.; Kaeser 2008b, 154; Kaeser 2008c, 342. 344. 346; Lee 2015, 182-185; Moraw 2003, 7-9. For further discussion on prostitution on Greek ceramics, Kapparis 2018, 338-365.

⁴⁵⁰ Kaeser 2008b, 154; Lee 2015, 61f., 69f. 79-81. 183f.; Moraw 2003, 10-43.

⁴⁵¹ Lee 2015, 184; Moraw 32-35. For further discussion on the bridal bath on Greek ceramics, Sutton 2009.

⁴⁵² Lee 2015, 182-185; Moraw 2003.

⁴⁵³ Lee 2015, 182.

⁴⁵⁴ Bonfante 1989, 560; Moraw 2003, 7-9; Vazaki 2013, 55. For ancient Greek images of Ajax attempting to rape Cassandra (who is frequently nude), Touchefeu 1981, 339-349 nos. 16-108. For ancient Greek images of Paris seducing or abducting Helen (in the nude), Kahil - Icard 1988, 518 nos. 93-96; 531 no. 172. For ancient Greek images of Menelaos threatening Helen (in the nude), Kahil - Icard 1988, 551f. no. 362a. 367. For ancient Greek images of Peleus trying to abduct Thetis (in the nude), Vollkommer 1994, 264f. nos. 194. 195.

⁴⁵⁵ The maenads - as “women outside the norm” - are occasionally modeled after *hetairai* to express their physical desirability, Villaneuva Puig 2012.

inspired by the *hetaira* Phryne. The emphasis is on her beauty and fecundity: her nude body provoked an erotic response, but was perhaps understood by women in terms of their own sexualities.⁴⁵⁶

In summary, the female body is defined in contrast to the male one: as weak, unbounded and ultimately as the source of excessive emotions and behaviour, but also as fertile and erotic. This opposition plays out in the visual record as well.⁴⁵⁷ These perspectives on the body partially explain why women are incapable of aspiring to agonal nudity, with its somatic connotations of physical strength and fitness on the one hand, but abstract connotations of *aretē* on the other.

3.2.1.3 Short Hairstyles, Facial Hair, Body Hair

Hairstyles are often a useful indicator of gender, but exhibit changes in fashion over time.⁴⁵⁸ Children of both sexes generally have long, loosely-hanging hair. Young males were depicted in the early Archaic Period with their hair short at the front, but long at the back; afterwards, shorter hairstyles appear as well. From the middle of the 6th century BCE, the majority of men were depicted with short hairstyles (although long hairstyles are still attested among certain gods, for instance). Women, in contrast, tend to wear their long hair bound up or covered.

Men are biologically capable of growing beards, whereas children and women are not.⁴⁵⁹ Youths are generally depicted with “peach fuzz”, middle-aged men with a full beard, and elderly men with a longer, unkempt beard, suggesting that facial hair was considered an important marker of masculinity. Body hair is gendered male as well, although poorly indicated in the visual culture.

3.2.2 Garments

3.2.2.1 Short *Chiton*

The short *chiton* is a sleeveless or short-sleeved tunic of wool or linen, typically reaching to mid-thigh or at least no lower than the knees (pl. 38b).⁴⁶⁰ It consists of either one or two rectangular sections of fabric sewn into a relatively narrow tube, which is then slipped over the head.⁴⁶¹ It is usually attached on both shoulders (i.e. *amphimaschalos*), but occasionally only on one shoulder (i.e. *heteromaschalos*). The fabric is usually sewn, or less often buttoned at the shoulders - this seldom created sleeves due to the relatively narrow cut of the tunic. The precise length of the tunic depended on the original cut of the fabric, as well as the degree to which the garment was shortened. When worn in combination with

⁴⁵⁶ Lee 2015, 186-190. According to N. Salomon, however, the Knidian Aphrodite - as a woman who fears having her genitals seen - produced a negative view on female sexuality in Greek society: “Woman, thus fashioned, is reduced in a humiliated way to her sexuality... We are defined as primarily sexual, as vulnerable in our sexuality, and deployed as a shamed ‘other’ through the conditioning of culture,” Salomon 1997, 204. For further discussion on the Knidian Aphrodite (and her successors), Havelock 1995.

⁴⁵⁷ As shown by N. Salomon, the male nude appeared earlier and is associated with excellence and confidence, whereas the female nude appeared later and is associated with sexuality and self-consciousness, Salomon 1997.

⁴⁵⁸ For discussion on hairstyles, Lee 2015, 72.

⁴⁵⁹ For discussion on facial and body hair, Lee 2015, 76.

⁴⁶⁰ For an overview of the short *chiton* (also referred to as the *chitoniskos*), Bieber 1928, 20f.; Cleland et al. 2007, 33; Geddes 1987, 312; Hölscher 2015, 332; Kühnel 1992, 50f.; Lee 2015, 110-112.

⁴⁶¹ Note that the tunics worn by males were typically narrower than the ones worn by females, Bieber 1928, 21.

the cuirass, the tunic is typically cut short and left unbelted. Otherwise, the tunic is cut to various lengths, belted once at the waist and bloused to produce an a generally short overfall (i.e. the excess fabric pulled out over the belt); in rare cases, a second belt is seen to overlies the hidden one as well.⁴⁶² The addition of an overfold (i.e. the excess fabric hanging down from the upper edge of the tunic) is relatively uncommon on the short tunics of men (pl. 38b).⁴⁶³

The tunic under consideration is essentially a shorter and generally narrower form of the *chiton* (pl. 39a), a full-length tunic worn by men and women alike in the Archaic Period.⁴⁶⁴ Thucydides indicates that the *chiton* was eschewed by the majority of Athenian men by the 5th century BCE.⁴⁶⁵ The visual sources paint a similar picture: only elderly deities and rulers continue to wear the *chiton*, as a sign of their wealth and dignity, as well as men of certain professions (e.g. priests, actors, musicians, charioteers).⁴⁶⁶ This shift in male dress is typically attributed to the development of democracy and isonomy at Athens.⁴⁶⁷ The *chiton* carried exotic and luxurious connotations, on account of its purportedly eastern origins, as well as its white, impeding and voluminous design, rendering the garment unsuitable for work; as a result, it was increasingly rejected by men in favour of more moderate dress (e.g. *himation*).⁴⁶⁸ Women, on the other hand, continued to wear the *chiton*, but with a wider cut and even more folds - this probably reflects the exclusion of women from democratic institutions, the longstanding association between femininity and extravagance, as well as the alignment of women with the “other” (e.g. old men, barbarians).⁴⁶⁹

In contrast, the short *chiton* is a traditionally masculine tunic between the Archaic and Hellenistic Periods. It was, without a doubt, a highly gendered garment in the visual record.⁴⁷⁰ This simple and practical tunic was seemingly adopted by men as a matter of course, in a variety of contexts, perhaps even underneath the *himation*.⁴⁷¹ Quite significantly, however, the short *chiton* is associated with active men in particular, especially those engaged in strenuous activities bringing honour like fighting and hunting, the traditional pursuits of men.⁴⁷² The symbolic connections drawn between battle and the

⁴⁶² For discussion on the overfall (often referred to as the *kolpos*), see chap. 5.1.1.1.2.2.

⁴⁶³ For discussion on the overfold (often referred to as the *apoptygma*), see chap. 5.1.1.1.2.2.

⁴⁶⁴ For an overview of the long *chiton* (as well as Athenian men generally giving up the long *chiton* by the 5th century), Bieber 1928, 20f.; Cleland et al. 2007, 32; Geddes 1987; Kühnel 1992, 47-49; Lee 2015, 106-110.

⁴⁶⁵ Thuk. 1, 6, 4.

⁴⁶⁶ Bieber 1928, 20f.; Geddes 1987, 308f.; Lee 2015, 108f.

⁴⁶⁷ Geddes 1987, 321-331.

⁴⁶⁸ Geddes 1987, 311. 315-321; Lee 2015, 107-110.

⁴⁶⁹ Lee 2015, 109f.

⁴⁷⁰ For a diachronic overview of dress in ancient Greek visual culture, which demonstrates that the short *chiton* was consistently worn by men in visual culture (but only exceptionally by women), Bieber 1967, 23-36. The short *chiton* is connected with men in the literary sources as well; for instance, the *chitoniskos* (surely a diminutive form of *chiton*, referring to a short *chiton*) is worn by men in civic and military contexts, e.g. Xen. an. 5, 4, 13; Aristoph. Av. 946. 955; Lys. 10; Plat. Hipp. min. 368b-c.

⁴⁷¹ Geddes 1987, 312; Hölscher 2015, 175; Kühnel, 1992, 50f. M.M. Lee, however, finds the visual evidence for the short *chiton* being worn underneath the *himation* lacking, Lee 2015, 111.

⁴⁷² Geddes 1987, 312; Serwint 1993, 416.

hunt as acts of strength, discipline and courage are ubiquitous in Greek literature and visual culture, and hence fundamental to constructing and staging masculinity.⁴⁷³

As early as the Archaic Period, the short *chiton* is represented as military attire.⁴⁷⁴ In real life, the tunic would have been worn beneath the cuirass to protect against chafing, while allowing for freedom of movement.⁴⁷⁵ In the visual culture, however, warriors can wear the short *chiton* alone. On the Ionic Frieze of the Parthenon, for instance, several men in the cavalcade wear the short *chiton*; it seems that equestrian parades were a regular sight at Classical Athens, with the cavalry as a relatively new phenomenon in the military (pl. 39b).⁴⁷⁶ There is, moreover, almost no trace of the cuirass for warriors on Attic funerary monuments of 480-380 BCE, thus leaving the short *chiton* exposed to full view; this is valid for both infantrymen and cavalrymen, whether at rest or in battle (pl. 40a).⁴⁷⁷ It is possible to encounter uncuirassed warriors on Attic ceramics as well (pl. 40b).⁴⁷⁸ There is no need to reconcile the stark divergence between image and reality: the cuirass was evidently not considered a necessary identifying attribute of the warrior in ancient Greek visual culture.⁴⁷⁹ The short *chiton* was an integral feature of the warrior's image in its own right, which would remain valid for generations to come. This is reflected in the mythological imagery as well. The short *chiton* was suitable dress for heroes in battle, such as Achilles, Herakles and Theseus (pl. 41).⁴⁸⁰

The short *chiton* is also represented as hunting attire by the Archaic Period.⁴⁸¹ There are men commemorated as hunters on Attic funerary monuments of the Classical Period, identifiable by attributes like the *lagabolon*, hunting dogs or a hare as quarry.⁴⁸² It is possible for them to wear a short *chiton* in this role (pl. 42a).⁴⁸³ Men in generic hunting scenes can wear this tunic as well. This is attested by the Archaic and Classical Attic black and red-figure vases featuring the boar or deer hunt,

⁴⁷³ For discussion, Barringer 2001, 119-145.

⁴⁷⁴ Bieber 1967, 23-35.

⁴⁷⁵ Lee 2015, 110f.

⁴⁷⁶ For discussion on the cavalcade in general, Neils 2001, 132-137, Jenkins 1994, 23f.; Boardman 1999, 325-330. For discussion on the dress of the men in the cavalcade, Stevenson 2003. For some examples of riders and charioteers wearing the short *chiton*, Stevenson 2003, 646 fig. 11; 647 figs. 13, 14; 648 fig. 15; 651 fig. 19.

⁴⁷⁷ For discussion on the dress of warriors on Attic funerary monuments of the Classical Period (including the short *chiton*), Schäfer 1997a, 29-42 (for a list of the Attic funerary monuments featuring warriors with a short *chiton*, see the unnumbered tables at the back). It is true that the cuirass would become more common on Attic funerary monuments by the second half of the 4th century BCE, but without replacing the short *chiton*.

⁴⁷⁸ For discussion on the images of hoplite battles on Attic ceramics, Muth 2008, 142-238. For a few examples of hoplites wearing a short *chiton* without a cuirass, Muth 2008, 205 fig. 128; 223 fig. 143; 234 fig. 154.

⁴⁷⁹ The notion of light-armed warriors (i.e. without a cuirass in reality) on the Attic funerary monuments has been rejected, Schäfer 1997a, 41f.

⁴⁸⁰ For a few examples of Achilles wearing a short *chiton* in combat, Kossatz-Deißmann 1981, 74 no. 211; 85 no. 345; 163 no. 722. For a few examples of Herakles wearing a short *chiton* in combat (with the lion-skin, however, often functioning like a corselet), Boardman et al. 1990, 7 no. 1702; 77 no. 2501; 134 no. 2950. For a few examples of Theseus wearing a short *chiton* in combat, Neils - Wood 1994, 927 nos. 39, 45; 929 no. 67, 106.

⁴⁸¹ Xen. kyn. 6, 11 also mentions that hunters should wear light attire.

⁴⁸² For a list of Greek funerary reliefs with young men as hunters, both within and outside Attica, Schild-Xenidou 1997, 257f. footnotes 50-52; for a list of further examples from Attica (including older men as well), Barringer 2001, 256 footnote 13.

⁴⁸³ For some examples, Clairmont 1993a, 232 cat. 1.030; Clairmont 1993b, 701 cat. 2.808, 2.809; 747 cat. 2.868; Clairmont 1993c, 75f. cat. 3.195; 96 cat. 3.233.

which is the largest corpus of hunting depictions in Greek vase painting from ca. 580-380 BCE.⁴⁸⁴ The imagery was in all likelihood created for the aristocratic classes, for whom hunting - just like warfare, athletics and the symposium - was a social prerogative and means of staging masculinity.⁴⁸⁵ Roughly a third of these vases feature at least one hunter in a short *chiton* (pl. 42b).⁴⁸⁶ Non-mythological hunting imagery all but vanishes from Attica at the end of the 5th century BCE,⁴⁸⁷ and shifts to East Greece and Macedonia.⁴⁸⁸ The hunting imagery of the 4th century BCE is a hybrid Greek and eastern iconography, but continues to feature men in short tunics, alongside their nude companions (e.g. the so-called Alexander Sarcophagus from Sidon, frieze of Tomb II at Vergina).⁴⁸⁹ The evidence for mythical hunters in the short *chiton* is fairly meagre. Greek heroes like Herakles, Theseus and the men in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt (pl. 43a) seldom confront fantastical beasts in the short *chiton*.⁴⁹⁰

Short tunics were not, however, entirely exclusive to men in visual culture: women occasionally wore this article of dress not as an undergarment,⁴⁹¹ but as an overgarment (pl. 43b).⁴⁹² In such cases, it is particularly colourful or ornate, and perhaps alternatively referred to as an *ependytes*, which literally means “to put over”.⁴⁹³ The Athenians located this decorative overtunic in the East, considering that Persian and other Eastern men commonly wear this garment over their trousers in their visual

⁴⁸⁴ For an overview of the material, Barringer 2001, 15-46. 60-69 tables 1. 2.

⁴⁸⁵ Barringer 2001, 10-69.

⁴⁸⁶ For the dress worn by the hunters, Barringer, 2001, 60-69 tables 1. 2. Hunters dressed in the short *chiton* are, however, more common on Attic black-figure vases (with at least 41% of the black-figure bases vases meeting this criteria, as opposed to only 17.5% of the red-figure vases). For a more comprehensive catalogue of hunting imagery in the Archaic and Classical Greek world, Schnapp 1997.

⁴⁸⁷ These vases witnessed a spike in production between 520-470 BCE, perhaps in an attempt to maintain social control since the aristocracy's political influence was waning; afterwards, the vases were appropriated by the lower classes and with this loss of exclusivity started to dwindle in popularity, Barringer 2001, 42-46. 174f.

⁴⁸⁸ For discussion, Barringer 2001, 181-202. For further discussion on images of the hunt (as well as war and abduction) in Macedonian visual culture of the 4th century BCE, Cohen, 2010.

⁴⁸⁹ For the frieze of Tomb II at Vergina, Franks 2012. For the so-called Alexander Sarcophagus, Von Graeve 1970. For further examples of non-mythological Greek or Macedonian hunters wearing the short *chiton* in visual culture of the 4th century BCE, Barringer 2001, 185 figs. 99.100; 199f. fig. 109; Cohen 2010, 76-78 fig. 26.

⁴⁹⁰ For a few examples of Herakles confronting fantastic beasts in a short *chiton*, Boardman et al. 1990, 22 no. 1843; 38 no. 2038; 89 cat. 2586. For a few examples of Theseus confronting fantastic beasts in a short *chiton*, Neils - Wood 1994, 927 no. 45; 931 no. 102; 941 no. 238. For a few examples of the Kalydonian Boar Hunt with hunters in short *chitones*, Woodford - Krauskopf 1992, 416f. nos. 7. 8. 12. 17. These heroes typically hunt in the nude.

⁴⁹¹ It has been suggested that women wore the short *chiton* as an undergarment, Serwint 1993, 416. It is true that undergarments are of little interest in the literary sources, but this idea is supported by Demosth. or. 19, 196-198, where the *chitoniskos* (a type of short *chiton*) of a captive Olynthian is probably a shift. In any case, there is no trace of undergarments in the visual sources: these articles of dress are typically obscured by overlying garments, but the lack of discernible undergarments through particularly transparent dress of female figures might suggest that the Greeks simply found them unnecessary or undesirable in this medium, Lee 2015, 98. As such, it is difficult to study ancient undergarments in any source. An excellent example of this dilemma is the *strophion* (breast-band); for an overview of the *strophion* in the textual and visual sources, Stafford 2005.

⁴⁹² Cleland 2005a, 110; Cleland 2005b, 93; Cleland et al. 2007, 53; Miller 1997, 176. 182. For examples of female figures wearing the short *chiton* in this manner, Miller 1997, figs. 93. 97. 98. 100. 102. 106.

⁴⁹³ The decoration is clear on red-figure ceramics, and both the decoration and colour are clear on white-ground ceramics, Cleland 2005a, 110; Cleland 2005b, 93; Miller 1997, 176. For the identification of the short *chiton* worn as an overtunic as the *ependytes*, Lee 2015, 123f.; Miller 1989, 323; Miller 1997, 176. (Note that there is also a short overtunic with sleeves, called the *chitoniskos cheiridotos*, Lee 2016, 121f.; Miller 1997, 156-165.)

culture.⁴⁹⁴ In Classical Attic visual culture, this decorative overtunic is occasionally adopted by the Greeks, as a sign of elegance and luxury.⁴⁹⁵ Most often, however, it is worn by women.⁴⁹⁶ Moreover, it is worn by the sexes in a different manner: men wear it as an overtunic, either over a full-length *chiton* (e.g. priests, musicians) or over a short *chiton* (e.g. young men, warriors), or even as a tunic on its own, whereas women wear it over the full-length *chiton*.⁴⁹⁷ Overall, it is possible for female figures to wear short tunics in ancient Greek visual culture, but not as an outer tunic in its own right.⁴⁹⁸

3.2.2.2 *Exomis*

The *exomis* is yet another type of sleeveless or short-sleeved tunic made of linen or wool, typically reaching to mid-thigh or at least no lower than the knees (pl. 44a).⁴⁹⁹ The defining feature of the tunic is being attached on only one shoulder - typically the left one - usually by sewing, but occasionally by buttoning. The name of the tunic is, in fact, derived from ἔξ and ὤμος, literally translating to “off the shoulder”.⁵⁰⁰ This has the effect of leaving the shoulder and part of the chest exposed on one side.

There are two types of *exomides*.⁵⁰¹ First of all, the tunic-like *exomis* is structured and belted like a short *chiton*, but the cut is simply too narrow to attach the fabric at both shoulders; moreover, a short sleeve is often formed on the attached side.⁵⁰² This sort of *exomis* was probably a second-hand garment, recycled from old attire.⁵⁰³ Second of all, the mantle-like *exomis* is formed from a short, rectangular section of fabric, which is not sewn into a tube like a short *chiton*, but rather left open on one side.⁵⁰⁴ On the one side of the body, the fabric is draped under the armpit and attached on the shoulder, with the possibility of adding a short sleeve there.⁵⁰⁵ On the other side of the body, the two edges of the fabric are brought together. The draped fabric is finally secured with a belt at the waist and bloused.⁵⁰⁶ As Hesychius of Alexandria summarizes in Late Antiquity, the mantle-like *exomis* is essentially a mantle which functions as a tunic, insofar as the fabric is draped like a mantle, but belted

⁴⁹⁴ Miller 1989, 327; Miller 1997, 171. For further discussion on the possible Eastern antecedents for the *ependytes*, Miller 1989, 328f.; Miller 1997, 171-173. In the Archaic visual culture of the Greek East, it is worn by male aristocrats, musicians and divinities; on Attic black-figure ceramics, however, it is only ever worn by *aulos* players, perhaps from Ionia, Miller 1997, 173-175.

⁴⁹⁵ Miller 1997, 176. 181. M.C. Miller reassesses the claim that the *ependytes* was particularly associated with sacerdotal, cultic and divine figures in Classical Attic art: she instead argues that it was worn by Athenians in general as a sign of conspicuous consumption, Miller 1989, 314-327. 329.

⁴⁹⁶ Miller 1997, 176.

⁴⁹⁷ M.C. Miller notes that the garment was worn differently by each sex, Miller 1989, 325; Miller 1997, 182. For examples of males wearing it in this manner, Miller 1997, figs. 94-96. 101. 103- 105. For examples of females wearing it in this manner, Miller 1997, figs. 93. 97. 98. 100. 102. 106. For discussion on the exceptions to the rule (including dancing girls wearing it over the short *chiton*), see chap. 3.3.1.1.1.

⁴⁹⁸ For discussion on the exceptions to the norm, see chap. 3.3.

⁴⁹⁹ For an overview of the *exomis*, Bieber 1929, 21; Cleland et al. 2007, 64; Geddes 1987, 312; Kühnel 1992, 72; Lee 2015, 112; Losfeld 1991, 90-94.

⁵⁰⁰ Serwint 1993, 416 footnote 77.

⁵⁰¹ Bieber 1928, 21.

⁵⁰² Bieber 1928, 21. The term provided for this type of *exomis* by M. Bieber is “die echte Exomis” (i.e. tunic-like *exomis*); she does not provide a term for the other type of *exomis* (i.e. mantle-like *exomis*).

⁵⁰³ Lee 2015, 112; Pipili 2000, 154.

⁵⁰⁴ Bieber 1928, 21.

⁵⁰⁵ Bieber 1928, 21.

⁵⁰⁶ Bieber 1928, 21.

and secured like a tunic.⁵⁰⁷ By leaving the limbs and one arm especially unobstructed, the *exomis* facilitates even more freedom of movement than the short *chiton* (*amphimaschalos*), making the garment particularly suitable for strenuous action and hard labour.

The *exomis* was typically adopted by male slaves and craftsmen, who were lower-class citizens, slaves or foreigners, considering that banausic work was generally limited to socially inferior groups.⁵⁰⁸ There is, however, no indication that it was adopted by working-class women as well.⁵⁰⁹ The connection between the *exomis* and physical labour is attested by the visual sources: male workers like artisans and fishermen start to wear it in the Classical Period (pl. 44b).⁵¹⁰ In this case, the tunic-like version is usually worn, insofar as less fabric is required.⁵¹¹ Its use by male workers is also reflected in the mythological imagery. Hephaistos, as the Greek god of craftsmen, is shown in the *exomis* by the 5th century BCE,⁵¹² perhaps even in his cult statue in the Hephaisteion.⁵¹³ For Charon, the ferryman to the afterlife, it reflects his sordid, manual task (pl. 45a).⁵¹⁴ It is likewise ubiquitous for comic actors, presumably due to their low status and need for unhindered movement (pl. 45b).⁵¹⁵

The *exomis* is commonly adopted by Greek warriors as well, in which case, the mantle-like *exomis* is usually selected.⁵¹⁶ It is worn by riders and charioteers on the Ionic Frieze of the Parthenon (pl. 46a), as well as by infantrymen and cavalrymen on Attic funerary monuments of the Classical Period (pl. 46b).⁵¹⁷ It is completely unrealistic for the military context, but evidently considered appropriate⁵¹⁸ for evoking masculine virtues. The *exomis* is rarely worn by Greek heroes, but, in isolated instances, is considered

⁵⁰⁷ Hesych. s.v. ἐξωρίς; Bieber 1928, 21.

⁵⁰⁸ Bieber 1928, 21; Lee 2015, 112; Pipili 2000, 154. The association between the *exomis* and the working classes is attested in the textual sources as well, e.g. Aristoph. Vesp. 444; IG II² 1673 (for discussion, see Pritchett - Pippin 1956, 205f.); it seems to have been worn in everyday life at Athens as well, e.g. Aristoph. Lys. 662.

⁵⁰⁹ Lee 2015, 112. For discussion on the dress of female slaves, see chap. 3.3.1.5.

⁵¹⁰ For the representations of male labourers in Greek art in general, Ziomecki 1975; Himmelmann 1994, 23-48. For discussion on the representations of male labourers in the *exomis* in ancient Greek visual culture, Himmelmann 1994, 39; Lee 2015, 112; Pipili 2000, 154; Serwint 1993, 416f. For some examples of male labourers wearing the *exomis* in ancient Greek visual culture, Himmelmann 1994, 38 fig. 17; Ziomecki 1975, 55 fig. 18; 122 fig. 47.

⁵¹¹ Bieber 1929, 21.

⁵¹² Hermany - Jacquemin 1988, 651; Pritchett - Pippin 1956, 205f. footnote 10. There are, however, seemingly no images of Argos, Daedalos or Prometheus in the *exomis* in ancient Greek visual culture (the garment is, however, attested in Roman visual culture), see Blatter 1984; Nyenhuis 1986; Gisler 1994.

⁵¹³ For the argument, Harrison 1977.

⁵¹⁴ Vergil draws a direct connection between Charon's *exomis* and his squalor, Verg. Aen. 6, 301. Charon wears the short *chiton* in visual culture, but the *exomis* becomes his canonical dress on white-ground *lekythoi* by the middle of the 5th century BCE, Sourvinou-Inwood 1986, 121; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 348-350. For a few examples of Charon in the *exomis*, Sourvinou-Inwood 1986, 212f nos. 5. 7a. 7b.

⁵¹⁵ Compton-Engle 2015, 60. According to M. Bieber, the *exomis* worn by comic actors is not the tunic-like *exomis*, but the mantle-like version, Bieber 1928, 21. For examples of comic actors dressed in the *exomis*, Denoyelle 2010, 107 figs. 3. 4; Bieber 1920, 143 fig. 127; 147 fig. 130.

⁵¹⁶ Bieber 1928, 21.

⁵¹⁷ For examples from the Ionic Frieze of the Parthenon, Stevenson 2003, 649 fig. 16; 650 fig. 17. For discussion on the dress of warriors on Attic funerary monuments of the Classical Period (including the *exomis*), Schäfer 1997a, 29-42 (for a list of monuments featuring warriors wearing the *exomis*, see the unnumbered tables at the back); for an example from outside Attica, Schild-Xenidou 1969, 40 cat. 43.

⁵¹⁸ Schäfer 1997a, 41f.

suited to their combative role (e.g. Odysseus, Theseus) (pl. 47a).⁵¹⁹ Greek warriors in Amazonomachies occasionally wear the *exomis* as well (pl. 159a).⁵²⁰ The evidence for hunters wearing the *exomis* is, on the other hand, rather limited. On funerary monuments from Attica in the Classical Period, if the hunter is shown at rest in a *himation*, then the garment is often deliberately shortened and draped on the body in a manner akin to the *exomis* (pl. 47b).⁵²¹ This manner of wearing the *himation* is certainly peculiar, but probably reflects the man's active role in the chase.⁵²²

Two different kinds of tunics attached on one shoulder have been encountered so far. Both types of *exomides* are designed to display the chest, but for the short *chiton* (*heteromaschalos*), the bodily display is not always intentional: the wearer might purposely detach the tunic on one shoulder, or the tunic might just as well inadvertently come undone. This partial nudity begs the question: how did the body become undressed?⁵²³ Whether the wearer exhibits agency is significant. The exposed chest has the potential to evoke either power or vulnerability, depending on whether the wearer acts or is acted upon.⁵²⁴ It is, however, not always possible to draw such neat distinctions from the visual culture itself. Indeed, the exact type of chest-exposing tunic is often difficult to discern and the semantic possibilities of the garments are not necessarily fixed, even if delimited. This is especially true in later times, when the short, chest-exposing tunics of particular mythical figures are to some extent simplified and standardized, and even used irrespective of context, as a sort of identifying attribute.⁵²⁵ For the sake of clarity, any short, chest-exposing tunic is merely referred to as such, with the exact type of garment and the issue of agency dealt with as possible and necessary.

3.2.2.3 *Chlamys*

The *chlamys* is a relatively short, woolen cloak, which was in all likelihood introduced to the Greeks by the Thessalians.⁵²⁶ It is formed from either a wide, rectangular piece of fabric or – perhaps under Macedonian influence – a wide piece of fabric curved at the lower edge.⁵²⁷ The *chlamys* is typically fastened with a brooch around the neck in one of two ways: on the right shoulder, so that the right arm is covered, but the left remains free (in which case, the border of the *chlamys* falls down the front and back of the torso in a zigzag pattern, unless the fabric is gathered up over the left arm) (pl. 48a);⁵²⁸ or

⁵¹⁹ For an example of Theseus dressed in the *exomis* for combat, Neils - Wood 1994, 940 no. 76. For an example of Odysseus dressed in the *exomis* for combat, Touchefeu-Meynier 1992a, 632 no. 9.

⁵²⁰ For a few examples, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 606 nos. 295. 298. 299.

⁵²¹ For examples of *epheboi* as hunters with a shortened *himation*, worn like an *exomis*, on classical Attic funerary reliefs, Clairmont 1993a, 296-298 cat. 1.289; Clairmont 1993b, 93-95 cat. 2.149; 157f. cat. 2.218; for an example from outside Attica, Woysch-Méautis 1982, 125 cat. 268. pl. 40.

⁵²² Clairmont 1993a, 296-298 cat. 1.289.

⁵²³ Lee 2015, 190.

⁵²⁴ For discussion on partial undress in ancient Greek visual culture in general, Lee 2015, 190-195.

⁵²⁵ A prime example of this is the dress of the Amazons, see chap. 5.1.1.

⁵²⁶ For an overview of the *chlamys*, Bieber 1928, 22f.; Cleland et al. 2007, 34; Geddes 1987, 312; Hallett 2005, 45-52; Hölscher 2015, 334; Lee 2015, 116-118; Oehler 1961, 21-28; Scharf 1994, 44-49. The *chlaina* is a similar cloak, but larger and fairly uncommon by the Classical Period (although still visible in images of Apollo Kitharoidos and philosophers, for instance), Bieber 1928, 23.

⁵²⁷ Bieber 1928, 1928; Lee 2015, 117f.

⁵²⁸ Bieber 1928, 22f.; Oehler 1961, 26f.

at the front of the neck and thrown to the back, leaving both arms unobstructed.⁵²⁹ Otherwise, the *chlamys* is occasionally pinned together with a brooch, but then simply bunched on the left shoulder and lightly wound around the arm (pl. 48b).⁵³⁰ It is possible that the *chlamys* was also worn unpinned like a mantle and draped on the body in various ways.⁵³¹

The *chlamys* is a distinctly masculine cloak in the visual record of the Archaic to Hellenistic Periods.⁵³² It is ubiquitous in images of warriors and hunters, both in the non-mythological and mythological realm.⁵³³ It is worn by riders and charioteers on the Ionic Frieze of the Parthenon (pl. 49a), as well as by infantrymen and especially cavalrymen on Attic funerary monuments of the Classical Period (pl. 49b).⁵³⁴ The same is true of hunters on funerary monuments (pl. 42a),⁵³⁵ as well as on Attic ceramics featuring non-mythological boar or deer hunts (pl. 42b).⁵³⁶ Its use by warriors and hunters is attested in mythological imagery as well. Herakles at times wears his lion-skin like a *chlamys* (pl. 50a), and other Greek heroes like Achilles and Theseus wear the cloak itself.⁵³⁷ The *chlamys* is adopted by active men especially for several reasons. It is relatively short and typically fastened, as well as easily wrapped around the left arm. It therefore allows for more strenuous action than the *himation*.⁵³⁸ At the same time, it offers some coverage and hence protection of the body; in fact, it is even seen to function like a shield during battle and the hunt in ancient Greek visual culture (pl. 50a).⁵³⁹ The *chlamys* is also worn by travelers, hence why this garment is practically an identifying attribute of the messenger god

⁵²⁹ Bieber 1928, 28; Oehler 1961, 27f.

⁵³⁰ Oehler 1961, 28.

⁵³¹ For the possible ways to drape the unpinned *chlamys*, Oehler 1961, 21-26. These cases are largely excluded from the current examination, due to the difficulties in distinguishing between the *chlamys* and other mantles.

⁵³² For a diachronic overview of dress in ancient Greek visual culture, which demonstrates that the *chlamys* was consistently worn by men in visual culture (but only exceptionally by women), Bieber 1967, 23-36. The *chlamys* is generally connected with men in the literary sources as well. The masculine nature of the *chlamys* is attested by Aristoph. Thesm. 141f., when a youth of indeterminate gender is asked: "Are you being raised male? Then where is your dick? Your *chlaina* [= *chlamys*]? Your Spartan shoes?" (translation in Lee 2015, 117). It is often identified as a military cloak for Greek *strategoí*, Plut. Perikles 35; Lys. 13; in fact, the expression donning the *chlamys* became a metaphor for assuming a leading role in the military, Philod. col. 15, ll. 1-6, ed. C. Jensen, (Leipzig 1911) 27; Plut. mor. 34E. 186C. 813D-E. It is the ceremonial dress of *epheboi* at Athens by the 4th century BCE at the latest, Ath. pol. 42, 5; Philostr. soph. 2,550. Note that an *ephebe* is a youth in need of physical and psychological training for life as a citizen; with the institutionalization of the *ephebeia* by the 4th century BCE at the latest, however, the term referred more specifically to an Athenian youth obliged to complete two years of military service, which possibly involved some form of hunting, Lee 2015, 40 (for further discussion about the institution of *ephebeia*, as well as its possible connection to hunting, Vidal-Naquet 1981; Barringer 2001, 47-53; Schild-Xenidou 1997).

⁵³³ It is also common among young men in general, or specifically *epheboi*, Bieber 1928, 22.

⁵³⁴ For examples from the Ionic Frieze of the Parthenon, Stevenson 2003, 645 fig. 9; 646 fig. 11; 649 fig. 16; 650 figs. 17. 18; 651 figs. 19. 20. For discussion on the dress of warriors on Attic funerary monuments of the Classical Period (including the *chlamys*), Schäfer 1997a, 29-42; for a few examples, Clairmont 1993b, 89-93. cat. 2.131; 127f. cat. 2.192; 143-145 cat. 2.209

⁵³⁵ For a few examples, Clairmont 1993b, 338f. cat. 2.348b; 701f. cat. 2.809; 760 2.876a.

⁵³⁶ For an overview of the Attic black and red-figure vases featuring non-mythological boar and deer hunts, as well as the attire worn by the hunters (including the *chlamys*), Barringer, 2001, 15-46; 60-69. tables 1. 2.

⁵³⁷ For a few examples of Herakles wearing the lion skin like a *chlamys* (with the lion skin sometimes thrown over the scalp), Boardman et al. 1990, 25 no. 1891; 38 no. 2038; 61 no. 2310. For a few examples of Achilles wearing a *chlamys*, Kossatz-Deißmann 1981, 86 no. 349a; 89 no. 372; 118 no. 487. For a few examples of Theseus wearing a *chlamys*, Neils - Wood 1994, 928 no. 50; 929 nos. 68. 69.

⁵³⁸ Geddes 1987, 312.

⁵³⁹ Barringer 2001, 32. 52; Bieber 1928, 23; Hallett 2005, 48 footnote 38.

Hermes.⁵⁴⁰ In the Kingdom of Macedonia, on the other hand, the *chlamys* was presumably adopted as an ethnic costume and therefore worn as a matter of course.⁵⁴¹ Macedonian rulers of the Hellenistic Period wore purple cloaks, as confirmed by the visual sources.⁵⁴² Furthermore, it enters into the iconography of heroized male figures in the sepulchral context by the Hellenistic Period (pl. 50b).⁵⁴³

3.2.2.4 *Himation*

The *himation* is an unpinned mantle.⁵⁴⁴ In the Archaic Period, men wore the *himation* over their *chiton*. As discussed, the *chiton* took on luxurious and effeminate connotations over the course of the 6th century BCE, leading men at Athens to give up the garment and wear the *himation* alone or perhaps with a short tunic.⁵⁴⁵ Athenian women, on the other hand, continued to wear the *chiton*, as well as the *himation* by the end of the 6th century BCE. It is true that the form of the *himation* hardly differed between the sexes, but the manner in which the mantle was draped could. Men tended to wear the *himation* so that the right shoulder and arm would remain free (pl. 51a), but the opportunities for variation, for different degrees of bodily display, and hence for non-verbal communication, were immense (pl. 51b). Women, on the other hand, wore the *himation* over either shoulder (or both shoulders) or even as a veil, but always in combination with the voluminous, full-length *chiton* (pl. 39a). As such, the *himation* for women served as an additional, concealing layer of fabric.

3.2.3 Accessories

3.2.3.1 Weapons and Armour

Weapons and armour are typically limited to male figures in ancient Greek visual culture, especially warriors and hunters. Some examples of weapons are the sword, spear, battle axe, bow/arrow and *lagabolon* (hunting stick).⁵⁴⁶ Some examples of armour include the helmet, cuirass, greaves and shield.⁵⁴⁷ At this point, is it worth noting the concept of heroic costume.⁵⁴⁸ The Greek hero is not strictly portrayed in a state of undress: by the 4th century BCE, the standard dress of the hero was agonal nudity, which was virtually always combined with other articles of dress, such as the *chlamys* (short, fastened cloak), *balteus* (swordbelt), and *krepides* (knee-high boots), not to mention various arms and armour (e.g. shield, spear, *lagabolon*). It is therefore not nudity itself, but the state of being naked and armed that constitutes heroic costume. Otherwise, it is possible for men dressed in the short *chiton* or *exomis* to assume these arms. The wide variety of permutations need not be outlined here.

⁵⁴⁰ Cleland et al. 2007, 48; for a few examples, Siebert 1990, 307f. nos. 206-208.

⁵⁴¹ Arr. an. 7, 9; Lukian. dial. mort. 396-397; for discussion, Hallett 2005, 46.

⁵⁴² Hallett 2005, 46-51.

⁵⁴³ Hallett 2005, 51. This is attested in portrait reliefs from Eastern Greece, as well as portrait statues from Andros and elsewhere.

⁵⁴⁴ For an overview of the *himation*, Lee 2015, 113-116.

⁵⁴⁵ For discussion, see chap. 3.2.2.1

⁵⁴⁶ For discussion on weapons, Cleland et al. 2007, 10.

⁵⁴⁷ For discussion on armour, Cleland et al. 2007, 10-12.

⁵⁴⁸ For discussion on heroic costume, Hallett 2005, 14-19.

3.2.3.1.1 Special Case - The Club and Lion Skin of Herakles

Herakles is virtually always shown with the club and lion skin in ancient visual culture (pl. 52a).⁵⁴⁹ The club and lion skin are, in fact, so closely connected to Herakles that this particular combination of arms functions as an indexical sign, pointing directly to the ultramasculine hero even in his absence. At first, Herakles was primarily depicted as a bowman.⁵⁵⁰ Starting in the 6th century BCE, however, the club became the hero's most common weapon.⁵⁵¹ It was reportedly fashioned by Herakles himself from a tree trunk, which the hero had torn out of the ground.⁵⁵² The club's massive, heavy quality is frequently emphasized in the imagery.⁵⁵³ Around the same time, the lion skin became the hero's most common armour.⁵⁵⁴ Herakles acquired this magical, impenetrable skin by slaying the Nemean lion with his bare hands.⁵⁵⁵ The hero wears the lion skin in various ways: on the head (like a helmet); wrapped tightly around the body (like a corselet); hanging from the arm (like a shield); or knotted around the neck and thrown behind him (like a *chlamys*).⁵⁵⁶ The multifunctional nature of the lion skin rendered other forms of armour redundant.⁵⁵⁷ The precise reasons for Herakles adopting the club and lion skin in particular are not clear,⁵⁵⁸ but their significance is generally straightforward. At the most basic level, the club and lion skin - used as lethal weapons - identify him as a strong, combative figure. On a deeper level, the club and lion skin are a testament to his previous superhuman feats: he only managed to acquire these arms by using his own body as a weapon. It is possible to portray other mythical figures with the club or lion skin as well, but not as defining attributes and often in a different manner.⁵⁵⁹ Moreover, it seems that the combination of club and lion skin is not attested for other mythical figures in ancient Greek visual culture, with the exception of those wishing to dress-up as this hero in particular.⁵⁶⁰

3.2.3.2 Athletic Accessories

It is hardly surprising that athletic accessories are typically associated with men in ancient Greek visual culture, considering that regular exercise in the *gymnasion* was restricted to male citizens (with the exception of Sparta).⁵⁶¹ The athlete is normally depicted in a state of agonal nudity. The only accessory

⁵⁴⁹ For discussion on the club and lion skin of Herakles in the ancient textual sources, Boardman et al. 1988, 729. For discussion the club and lion skin of Herakles in visual culture, Boardman et al. 1990, 184-186.

⁵⁵⁰ Boardman et al. 1990, 184.

⁵⁵¹ The club first appears on Corinthian vases dating to roughly 600 BCE, and is introduced into Attic visual culture shortly after 580 BCE, Boardman et al. 1990, 184f.

⁵⁵² Apollod. 2, 4, 11; Theokr. 25, 206-210; Paus. 2, 31, 10. According to Diodorus Siculus, however, Hephaistos gave the club to Herakles as a gift, Diod. 4, 14, 3.

⁵⁵³ Boardman et al. 1990, 185.

⁵⁵⁴ The lion skin first appears on Corinthian vases dating to roughly 650 BCE; however, the lion skin is not regularly worn by Herakles in Attic visual culture until the 560s, Boardman et al. 1990, 185.

⁵⁵⁵ Pind. l. 6, 47f. According to Apollodorus, the lion skin is from the lion of Kithairon, Apollod. 2, 4, 9f.

⁵⁵⁶ Boardman et al. 1990, 185.

⁵⁵⁷ Boardman et al. 1990, 186.

⁵⁵⁸ Boardman et al. 1990, 184f. Perhaps the arms carry raw, rustic connotations, or associate the hero with eastern smiting gods (with maces and skins).

⁵⁵⁹ The club of Theseus, for instance, is noticeably thinner and lighter; moreover, the lion skin adopted by other mythical figures is generally smaller and not worn in a herculean manner, Boardman et al. 1990, 185.

⁵⁶⁰ For example, Omphale dresses up like Hercules, see chaps. 3.3.2.3; 4.

⁵⁶¹ Regular exercise in the gymnasium was restricted to males in Greek society; in contrast, females only occasionally exercised in a ritual context, with the exception of girls at Sparta, Lee 2015, 57-60.

worn by the athlete is a cap, but only during practice, not during competitions.⁵⁶² It seemingly functioned as a sort of hairnet. Otherwise, the athlete might use a variety of hand-held accessories. Some of these items were part and parcel of the games, such as the discus, the javelin and the pick-axe. Others were important for grooming, such as the *aryballos*, the *strigil* and the *spongus*.⁵⁶³ The *aryballos* is a small flask containing oil, which the athlete would rub on his skin before exercising (pl. 52b).⁵⁶⁴ The purpose of this practice is not entirely clear.⁵⁶⁵ It might have served to protect and massage the skin, as well as to produce a dark tan, perhaps with the addition of colour.⁵⁶⁶ The *strigil* - a curved, bronze tool - is used to scrape off oil, sweat and dust after training (pl. 53a).⁵⁶⁷ The *spongus* is a soft, porous and absorbent material used to clean the body after the fact.⁵⁶⁸ Victorious athletes are also shown with items like wreaths and palm branches.⁵⁶⁹

3.2.3.3 Boots

Boots are a type of leather footwear covering part or the majority of the calf, with the option of adding fur lining for extra warmth.⁵⁷⁰ Male figures adopt several types of boots in ancient Greek visual culture. The standard form in the Archaic Period was the *endromides*, literally meaning “to run in” (pl. 53b).⁵⁷¹ The boots are between mid-calf to knee length, with pointed toes, crisscrossing laces and an open front with a long, rounded tongue.⁵⁷² The *endromides* are primarily worn by men, especially active men, starting with the statues of Kleobis and Biton from Delphi in ca. 580.⁵⁷³ In the Classical Period, the *embades* - seen to originate among the Thracians - became the most prevalent type of boot.⁵⁷⁴ These boots are almost knee length, thin soled and well fitted to the leg, secured with a band around the top edge; the defining features, however, are the flaps hanging down from the top (which are either part of the boot or an inner lining).⁵⁷⁵ The *embades* are popular among riders, including the cavalrymen on the Ionic Frieze of the Parthenon (pl. 54a).⁵⁷⁶ Elsewhere as well, the boots are typically limited to men,⁵⁷⁷ especially rulers, warriors, hunters and members of the Dionysian *thiasos*.⁵⁷⁸ Other types of boots

⁵⁶² Miller 2004, 17.

⁵⁶³ Lee 2015, 169; Miller 2004, 14-16. A variant shape is the *alabastron*, essentially an elongated *aryballos*.

⁵⁶⁴ Lee 2015, 57; Miller 2004, 14f.

⁵⁶⁵ For an overview of the debate, Lee 2015, 57; Miller 2004, 15. For the distribution and consumption of oil in the Greek gymnasiums, Kennell 2001.

⁵⁶⁶ Hannah 1998, 30-33.

⁵⁶⁷ Lee 2015, 60; Miller 2004, 15f. For a detailed analysis of the *strigil*, Kotera-Feyer 1993.

⁵⁶⁸ Miller 2004, 16.

⁵⁶⁹ For catalogues featuring champions in contests (including athletes) in ancient Greek visual culture, Tzachou-Alexandri 1988, 105-348; Kaltsas 2004, 320-368.

⁵⁷⁰ Cleland et al. 2007, 21.

⁵⁷¹ For discussion on the *endromides*, Lee 2015, 163; Morrow 1985, 39-42.

⁵⁷² Morrow 1985, 39.

⁵⁷³ For an overview of the types of figures wearing the *endromides* in ancient Greek visual culture (e.g. Perseus, Hermes, Apollo), Morrow 1985, 39-42. (Note that the gorgons constitute the exception to the rule.)

⁵⁷⁴ For discussion on the *embades*, Goette 1988, 423-444; Lee 2015, 163; Morrow 1985, 64-68.

⁵⁷⁵ Morrow 1985, 65.

⁵⁷⁶ Morrow 1985, 64-67.

⁵⁷⁷ Morrow 1985, 67.

⁵⁷⁸ For an overview of the types of figures wearing the *embades* in ancient Greek visual culture (e.g. Thracians, Dionysos, Boreas, Greek rulers and warriors), Goette 1988, 423-444. (Note that women, such as the Amazons and Artemis, constitute the exception to the rule.)

existed for women as well. The *kothornoi* - soft, unlaced boots, sometimes with a pointed toe - are attested among bathing women and mantle dancers, as well as effeminate foreigners.⁵⁷⁹

3.3 Girls and Women with Masculine Dress in Ancient Greek Visual Culture

The section explores the possibility of female figures adopting masculine dress in ancient Greek visual culture, in both “realistic” and mythical imagery. It is not possible to offer a comprehensive analysis of this phenomenon here, but to at least touch on some of the most prominent cases. This examination has a few aims. First of all, it seeks to confirm that the adoption of the dress just outlined by female figures was truly exceptional. Secondly, it seeks to determine if any discernible patterns for this transgressive behaviour exist. It is important to ask which kinds of women tend to adopt masculine dress; if there is anything linking these categories of female cross-dressers, or anything distinguishing them; and whether their takeover of masculine dress is contingent on particular aspects of their social identities, such as age, class or ethnicity. Thirdly, it seeks to probe the overall significance of representing female figures in masculine dress. Is the cross-dressing based on reality, or does it constitute a visual code? Were the images viewed as threatening, socially affirming, or perhaps somewhere in between? Overall, the main goal here is to gain an impression of the types of female figures adopting masculine dress in visual culture, as well as the reasons for this.⁵⁸⁰

It is clear that certain kinds of dress are specific to male figures in ancient Greek visual culture. The most significant example of body styling is agonal nudity: this visual convention is grounded in the realistic habitus of athletes, but then transferred to other men requiring a high level of physical fitness (e.g. warriors, hunters) as well. Short and securely fastened garments (i.e. short *chiton*, *exomis*, *chlamys*) are likewise adopted by active men. There are also various accessories associated with men in particular (e.g. arms, armour and boots), which fit into battle and hunting contexts. Female figures, on the other hand, are certainly portrayed nude, but with softer, fleshier bodies, as well as to different effects, such as evoking eroticism and vulnerability. Furthermore, they tend to wear longer, more voluminous garments: the standard items include the *peplos* (pl. 54b), the *chiton* (pl. 39a) and the *himation* (at times doubling as a veil) (pl. 55a), all of which are more concealing and restrictive in nature.⁵⁸¹ It is also worth noting that women are often shown with accessories from beauty regimens

⁵⁷⁹ Cleland et al. 2007, 21; Lee 2015, 163.

⁵⁸⁰ This will prove a valuable point of reference for exploring the portraits of women as goddesses and heroines in cross-gendered dress in the following chapters. The transformations and possible feminizations to the dress cannot be examined in detail here. This will, however, be assessed in greater detail for goddesses and heroines of particular interest (i.e. Omphale, Penthesilea, Virtus, Artemis, Atalante) later on, see chaps. 4.1; 5.1; 6.1.

⁵⁸¹ It is possible for dress historians to divide civilizations into two categories: 1) *civilisations de l'ouvert* (i.e. where the display of the body is obvious and communal, without necessarily implying sexual connotations; here, exhibitionism and voyeurism are viewed positively and body language underlines sexual availability), 2) *civilisations de la couverture* (i.e. where bodies, but especially female bodies, are covered, in an attempt to control sexuality and the relationships between the sexes), see Chafiq - Khosrokhavar 1995, 145. In general, ancient Greece (as well as Rome) falls into the latter category, but men had more leeway in removing clothing than women did before being considered imprudent, Llewellyn-Jones 2012, 280f. Moreover, women veil as a matter of course, for the sake of propriety and invisibility, but also to mark them out as potential sources of dishonour, whereas men only veil when they feel that their honour has been impaired or when indulging in emotions considered inappropriate for

(e.g. jewelry, mirrors, parasols)⁵⁸² or domestic work (e.g. spindle, distaff, wool basket).⁵⁸³ The dress for male and female figures outlined here is attested with remarkable consistency in visual culture from the Archaic to Hellenistic Periods,⁵⁸⁴ indicating the existence of a gendered dress code.

The rare cases in which female figures adopt masculine dress in ancient Greek visual culture demand further consideration here, especially in terms of what the cross-dressing signifies in its social context. To this end, the visual culture is approached primarily with semiotics, which is the study of signs, as well as their usage and meaning.⁵⁸⁵ According to semiotic theory, signs can only effectively signify through oppositional difference, that is, through binarisms that are by no means natural, but cultural constructions allowing humans to impose order on the dynamic complexity of experience.⁵⁸⁶ Indeed, “concepts... are defined not positively, in terms of their content, but negatively by contrast with other items in the same system. What characterizes each most exactly is being whatever the others are not.”⁵⁸⁷ Binary signs are not viewed equally, but rather hierarchically.⁵⁸⁸ The unmarked sign is the dominant one, conceived of as neutral, normal and natural. The marked sign, on the other hand, is out-of-the-ordinary and hence conceived of as charged, aberrant and unnatural. Following this line of reasoning, a woman dressed in a *peplos*, *chiton* or *himation*, and holding accessories related to the beauty regime or domestic work is an unmarked sign in ancient Greek visual culture. In contrast, a woman dressed in a short *chiton*, *exomis* or *chlamys*, and holding accessories related to athletics, battle or the hunt is a marked one - these masculine attributes are major red flags, causing the viewer to pause and question the situation. It was presumably perceived as a form of cross-dressing, whether involving full or selective impersonation. The unmarked and marked signs are only meaningful in relation to each other, and therefore equally essential for the construction of norms.

3.3.1 “Realistic” Female Figures in Greek Society

3.3.1.1 Active Girls - Physical Education and Coming-of-Age Rituals

Like in most other societies, the Greeks evidently considered it important to draw sexual distinction through dress from a young age.⁵⁸⁹ There was seemingly no concept of unisex childhood dress in ancient

public display; it follows that women are permanently inferior to men, whereas men who veil are temporarily feminized, Cairns 2002. This concern with concealing the female body is surely reflected by the types of garments selected for women in the visual record as well (e.g. *peplos*, *chiton*, *himation*, veil), Llewellyn-Jones 2012, 281. On the other hand, it is clear that the representation of women’s dress is not realistic, but offers an idealized view of the body through the clothes (e.g. transparent garments, wet drapery, lacks of veils); as such, the desire to present the female body to the male and female viewers could override all other concerns, Llewellyn-Jones 2002b.

⁵⁸² Lee 2015, 140-154. 165-169.

⁵⁸³ Cleland et al. 2007, 48. 101. 175.

⁵⁸⁴ For a diachronic analysis of dress in ancient Greek visual culture, which clearly demonstrates these differences in dress for men and women, Bieber 1967, 23-36.

⁵⁸⁵ For a concise overview of semiotics, Chandler 2002.

⁵⁸⁶ For discussion on oppositions in semiotic theory, Chandler 2002, 90-93.

⁵⁸⁷ De Saussure 1983, 115.

⁵⁸⁸ For discussion on markedness in semiotic theory, Chandler 2002, 93-99.

⁵⁸⁹ As discussed by J.B. Eicher and M.E. Roach-Higgins, gender-symbolic dress was an essential tool for socialization from a young age, Eicher - Roach-Higgins 1992, 16-20. It is important to preface this discussion by noting that there is no need to bridge the gap between reality and image. In other words, it cannot be assumed that actual dress

Greece. In the visual culture, at least, dress was gendered early on, with girls wearing the same long, concealing robes as their mothers (pl. 55b) - it is therefore clear that this was established as a cultural ideal for females of all ages in the imagery, however this actually manifested itself in reality.⁵⁹⁰

Despite such expectations, children are usually given wider latitude to breach sartorial norms than adults.⁵⁹¹ In modern societies that regularly prescribe skirts to females, a young girl might nevertheless wear trousers without incurring censure; it is assumed that she will familiarize herself with the proper gendered codes through trial-and-error. The reason for such tolerance is that the gender of an individual is not fully defined until undergoing a certain *rite de passage*, or entering into a socially significant role or relationship.⁵⁹² In ancient Greece, “marriage is for the girl what war is for the boy: for each of them mark the fulfillment of their respective natures as they emerge from a state in which each still shared in the state of the other.”⁵⁹³ As such, partial divergence from sartorial norms is tolerable for children, which perhaps accounts for their rare occurrence in imagery (pl. 56a).⁵⁹⁴

The portrayal of girls in masculine dress in ancient Greek visual culture is largely found in representations of coming-of-age ceremonies.⁵⁹⁵ In particular, these scenes deal with initiatory cross-dressing, which is an exchange of gendered dress integral to one’s induction into a new status or condition.⁵⁹⁶ Initiatory cross-dressing was a fairly common phenomenon in ancient Greece.⁵⁹⁷ For

practices are perfectly represented by the imagery, so the visual language for dress needs to be considered in its own right. It is true that the possible differences between reality and image might lead to methodological problems in considering the dress of “realistic” females in visual culture. For the purposes of this study, however, this should not present a major issue. It is assumed here that “repeated patterns [in the visual culture] may reflect actual features of dress, ideological constructions, or both,” Lee 2015, 5. There is clearly a system of gendered dress in visual culture, but this probably reflects an elite ideal more than a reality for all women at all times. For instance, females in visual culture basically always have long robes, regardless of their age, status or origins. It is, conceivable that female slaves at times wore shorter tunics in reality, since economic realities might outweigh cultural ideals; this was probably not perceived as particularly masculine in this context, but essentially gender neutral, as a sign of harsh conditions or destitution. In the visual culture though, mistresses and their female slaves always wear the same long robes; a shorter robe is only associated with men in this semiotic system and therefore only understood in those terms. It is possible to demonstrate that there is no contradiction in exploring the dress of “realistic” females in imagery based on the representations of the Arkteia, see chap. 3.3.1.1.2. It is assumed here that the images of prepubescent girls engaging in this coming-of-age ritual, as well as their ritual dress, bore some relationship to reality. Their nude state and short tunics would have surely been out of place of these elite maidens in reality. At the very least, these outfits must have been perceived as masculine in the visual culture, and therefore functioned as a visual code to evoke ideas related to the ritual, e.g. inversion/liminality.

⁵⁹⁰ Moraw 2003, 18 footnote 79. For a few examples of girls playing in full-length robes in Greek visual culture, Beck 1975, pl. 57 fig. 293; pl. 58 fig. 298; pl. 61 fig. 311.

⁵⁹¹ Eicher - Roach-Higgins 1992, 19.

⁵⁹² Strathern 1992, 66f.; Sørensen 2006, 119.

⁵⁹³ Vernant 1980, 23.

⁵⁹⁴ For a possible depiction of a girl in a short tunic, Beck 1975, pl. 60 fig. 309. It is possible for girls to wear a *chiton* that is slightly shorter than the full-length version, e.g. Nausikaa and other maidens dressed in tunics reaching to mid-calf, Touchefeu-Meynier 1992b, 713 no. 2.

⁵⁹⁵ For discussion on some examples, Vazaki 2013, 48f.

⁵⁹⁶ Cross-cultural studies indicate that cross-dressing occurs in two sorts of ritual contexts: during recurrent, collective occasions and festivals, as well as in individual *rites de passage*, both of which are attested in ancient Greece (another context for cross-dressing noted in anthropological studies is the sustained practice of the few), Miller 1999, 241-244. For an overview of the paradigm of initiatory transvestitism, Lincoln 2003.

⁵⁹⁷ For discussion on cross-dressing in ancient Greek coming-of-age rites, La Guardia 2017; Lambropoulou 1995.

instance, Spartan and Argive maidens wear beards and masculine dress in prenuptial rites.⁵⁹⁸ It has been proposed that such acts are ruled by the law of symmetrical inversion: the cross-dressing entails a temporary inversion of social norms, only to be restored by the end of the ritual and thus naturalized.⁵⁹⁹ In other words, each sex briefly plays the other, ultimately to assume the unambiguous masculine and feminine identities demanded of them by society. This interpretive paradigm is not without critique,⁶⁰⁰ but its virtue is the consideration of coming-of-age ceremonies as a turning point, at which an individual takes on the features that socially define the adult man or woman.⁶⁰¹ In such a context, the cross-dressing at least signifies an in-between condition, the liminal state between childhood and adulthood.⁶⁰² What is ultimately at stake here “... is the passage from the status of ... *pais* to the acquisition of clear-cut male or female habitus, and therefore to the phases in which a breach of the normative code becomes unacceptable.”⁶⁰³ As such, the cross-dressing is ultimately socially affirming: the initiates transgress boundaries under divine auspices, only to reinforce them.⁶⁰⁴

A cursory glance at some of the most noteworthy representations of “realistic” girls in masculine dress will be offered here. This includes visual culture relevant to physical education (i.e. *agoge*, dance training), as well as coming-of-age ceremonies (i.e. the Arkteia, the Pyrrhiche, the Heraia). It is not possible to conduct a more comprehensive analysis of this trend here, but this is sufficient to demonstrate the general applicability and strength of the paradigm of initiatory cross-dressing in understanding images of “realistic” girls in masculine dress.⁶⁰⁵

3.3.1.1.1 Attic Dance Training

An excellent example of the phenomenon are the images of girls dancing, which was presumably a standard aspect of elite female education at Athens.⁶⁰⁶ In the so-called “dance school” scenes on Attic ceramics, the maidens are shown dancing indoors. Some of them are completely nude, occasionally wearing a *kestos* (cross-bands).⁶⁰⁷ It is possible that their athletic nudity is not an accurate reflection of reality, as with male athletes,⁶⁰⁸ but rather functions as a visual convention, as with warriors/hunters;

⁵⁹⁸ For discussion on these rites, La Guardia 2017, 100.

⁵⁹⁹ Vidal-Naquet 1968; for a summary of the interpretive model, Dodd 2003, 72f.

⁶⁰⁰ For detailed discussion (and especially critique) of the interpretative model, Dodd 2003; Polinskaya 2003. As pointed out by F. La Guardia, the hermeneutical core of the model fails to take into account the multifacetedness of social identities in ancient Greece, which is especially problematic in this case due to the ambiguous gender of young people, La Guardia 2017, 102-104. Indeed, sartorial prescriptions are less strict for children than adults to start with (see Eicher - Roach-Higgins 1992, 19), which problematizes the applicability of the law of symmetrical inversion to the cross-dressing.

⁶⁰¹ La Guardia 2017, 102-104.

⁶⁰² La Guardia 2017, 102-104.

⁶⁰³ Carlà-Uhink 2017a, 15.

⁶⁰⁴ Carlà-Uhink 2017a, 15.

⁶⁰⁵ It is certainly conceivable that the masculine dress discussed is resemanticized when transposed into new contexts. For example, the masculine dress of young female pyrrhichists takes on erotic connotations at the symposium, see chap. 3.3.1.1.3.

⁶⁰⁶ For discussion on dancing as a part of the education of elite girls, Beck 1975, 55; Vazaki 2003, 22-25. For the visual evidence, Beck 1975, 58-60; Vazaki 2003, 45-84.

⁶⁰⁷ For examples of nude girls, Beck 1975, pl. 76 fig. 376; pl. 77 fig. 381; pl. 79 figs. 387, 389; pl. 81 fig. 395a.

⁶⁰⁸ Girls do not train in the nude in Attica, with the exception of all-female events, Vazaki, 55-57.

the display of their youthful and well-trained bodies - which is otherwise not visible through the dress - emphasizes their physical fitness and strength and, by extension, their *aretē*.⁶⁰⁹

Other girls are clothed in long robes or short tunics (i.e. short *chiton*, *ependytes*, or both) (pl. 56b).⁶¹⁰ It has been argued elsewhere that the practicality of the short tunic in part accounts for its adoption by active females: it allows for ease of movement as well as the exhibition of the virginal body.⁶¹¹ Moreover, “it represents a reversal of roles for respectable female figures, whose bodies are generally covered from neck to feet in multiple layers of garments”.⁶¹² It is possible to push this interpretation a step further here. It is clear that lengthy, concealing attire is no hindrance to physical activity, since females of all ages dance in long robes (pl. 43b).⁶¹³ Moreover, the short tunic is predominantly attested among young female dancers.⁶¹⁴ It therefore seems that the selection of short, masculine dress is less practical than symbolic: it ultimately serves to put the gender ambiguity of these youthful, unfettered maidens on display.⁶¹⁵ In fact, there is reason to believe that their short tunics carry a deeper ritual significance.⁶¹⁶ The “dance schools” prepared Athenian girls to perform at festivals, whether in a cultic setting or during initiation ceremonies⁶¹⁷ - this includes coming-of-age ceremonies, which are the main contexts for girls adopting masculine dress in the visual record.⁶¹⁸

3.3.1.1.2 Arkteia

A series of 6th and 5th-century Attic krateriskoi portray female figures running or dancing towards an altar or palm tree, identifying the setting as a sanctuary.⁶¹⁹ Some of them wear a short *chiton* and - based on their short stature, oversized heads, rounded torsos and flat chests - have been identified as young, prepubescent girls, not yet close to menarche (pl. 57).⁶²⁰ Others are entirely nude and seemingly girls on the cusp of menarche - that is, nearly marriageable young women - to judge from their taller stature, proportionate heads and budding breasts (pl. 58). These nude and semi-clad maidens occasionally bear torches or wreaths. Finally, a few of the scenes include women dressed in a

⁶⁰⁹ Vazaki 2003, 58. 86.

⁶¹⁰ For examples of girls in full-length robes, Beck 1975, pl. 76 figs. 374. 375. For examples of girls in the short *chiton*, Beck 1975, pl. 76 fig. 377; pl. 77 figs. 378-380. 382; pl. 78, figs. 383. 384; pl. 90 figs. 391b. 395b. For examples of girls in the *ependytes* (which can be combined with the short *chiton*), Beck 1975, pl. 77 fig. 382; pl. 78 fig. 384; pl. 80 fig. 391b; pl. 85 fig. 395b. The *ependytes* is worn by the maiden dancers either by itself or in combination with the short *chiton*, which is highly unconventional, since this garment is typically worn by females over the full-length *chiton*, see chap. 3.2.2.1. The mature female instructors are, however, always modestly attired. These women play the flute or stand with the *narthex*, indicating their pedagogical role, Beck 1975, 55.

⁶¹¹ Lee 2015, 111 (this refers to the *chitoniskos* in particular).

⁶¹² Lee 2015, 111.

⁶¹³ It is even possible for women to dance enveloped in a mantle, e.g. Boss et al. 2002, 82 cat. 32.

⁶¹⁴ Vazaki 2003, 48 (this refers to the evidence from Attic ceramics in particular).

⁶¹⁵ The short dress of girls is identified as a visual cue with such connotations in other contexts, Parisinou 2002, 61.

⁶¹⁶ Vazaki 2013, 49.

⁶¹⁷ Vazaki 2013, 86-88 (note that the training of *hetairai* in “dance school” scenes formed the exception).

⁶¹⁸ For discussion of some examples, Vazaki 2013, 48f.

⁶¹⁹ For studies on the krateriskoi, G.-Kahil 1963; G.-Kahil 1965; Kahil 1981; Kahil 1983. For a broad overview of the iconography of the krateriskoi, Scanlon 1990, 74-90.

⁶²⁰ For an analysis of the age of the female runners represented on the krateriskoi from Brauron, Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 33-66. This assessment of sexual maturity has, however, been questioned by others, Beaumont 2012, 176f.; Marinatos 2002, 35; Scanlon 1990, 80; Perlman 1983.

combination of a *chiton* and *himation*, seemingly officiating at the ceremonies (by adjusting the dress of the maidens, holding palm branches and baskets, etc.) (pl. 57a).⁶²¹

The krateriskoi were discovered within the Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron especially, as well as other sites associated with the goddess in Attica (e.g. Mounichia).⁶²² It is generally agreed that the krateriskoi feature the ritual of the Arkteia, or “playing the bear”, in particular.⁶²³ These rites were enacted in honour of Artemis at Brauron and Mounichia by girls from elite Athenian families, who are identified in the ancient sources as anywhere between five and ten or even older.⁶²⁴ Aetiological sources for the Arkteia indicate that the festival was established to quell the wrath of Artemis: the Athenians suffered from famine and disease after killing a she-bear sacred to Artemis, and needed to atone for their crime by consecrating their daughters as “bears” to the goddess before marriage.⁶²⁵ While the details of the Arkteia are obscure and heavily debated, it is generally agreed that the event is a coming-of-age ritual, to ease the transition from *parthenos* to *gyne*.⁶²⁶ At the same time, the placation of Artemis probably ensured the welfare of the entire community.⁶²⁷ Weighing the various reconstructions of the rites, or even proposing a new one, is beyond the scope of this examination. In any case, the textual and visual sources indicate that various kinds of dress featured at the Arkteia, which merit further consideration, especially in terms of the relationship between gendered dress and coming-of-age rituals.

⁶²¹ For an example, Scanlon 1990, 113f. cat. 17. C. Sourvinou-Inwood suggest that some of the girls wear a full-length *chiton*, Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 119. 121-123. It is, however, unclear whether the females figures running/dancing in a long *chiton* are girls or women, see Scanlon 1990, 112 cat. 12; 113 cat. 12. 15.

⁶²² For discussion on the proveniences the krateriskoi, Scanlon 1990, 74f.; Kahil 1983, 235-237. The consistent ceramic shape and subject matter, as well as the proveniences connected to Artemis, seem to indicate that the krateriskoi functioned as ritual vessels for the virginal goddess. One of the krateriskoi even depicts the same type of vase decorated with silhouettes of three dancing girls, lying on the ground on its side, as though just used in a libation, G.-Kahil 1965, 24; Scanlon 1990, 112 cat. 11.

⁶²³ L. Beaumont critically assesses the assumption that the ritual of the Arkteia is featured on the krateriskoi by evaluating the iconography on its own terms; in the end, she concurs with this notion, Beaumont 2012, 181. Others, however, dispute the connection. G. Ferrari prefers to situate the rites in Athens’ legendary past, rather than in the present (based on the notion that nudity was inconceivable even for young Athenian girls), Ferrari 2002, 169-176. Furthermore, N. Marinatos suggests that not all of the maidens depicted on the krateriskoi necessarily participate in the Arkteia, but only a particular age group, namely, the pubescent girls, Marinatos 2002, 35.

⁶²⁴ For discussion on the ages of girls in the Arkteia, Perlman 1983.

⁶²⁵ For discussion on the foundation myths of the Arkteia at Brauron and Mounichia, Scanlon 1990, 90-101. According to T.F. Scanlon, the act of “playing the bear” is detectable in the iconography of the krateriskoi: several of the maidens exhibit idiosyncratic gestures - extending their arms out in front of them, with their palms turned upward, or else cupping their hands together - which are not restricted to runners or dancers, to nude or clad maidens; the ubiquitous gestures are seen to imitate a bear holding out its paws while standing on its hind legs, Scanlon 1990, 78f. However, it is possible that “playing the bear” refers to another aspect of the ritual altogether.

⁶²⁶ For the interpretation of the Arkteia as a coming-of-age ceremony, Jeanmarie 1939, 257-264. His view is generally accepted, e.g. Beaumont 2012, 181-183; Kahil 1983, 237; Lee 2015, 200; Marinatos 2002, 36-39; Perlman 1983, 116; Scanlon 1993, 93; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 111-118. Note that daughters were married off as young as twelve at Gortyn, the earliest possible age for the onset of menarche, although probably closer to fourteen at Athens, Perlman 1983, 116f.

⁶²⁷ Faraone 2003.

The krateriskoi show an array of gendered dress. The prepubertal girls perform the ritual in the short *chiton*.⁶²⁸ Quite interestingly, the *chitoniskos* - in a wide variety of colours and decorations - is the most commonly attested article of dress in the 4th-century BCE inventories of Artemis at Brauron,⁶²⁹ but rather scarce in other inventories in Greece.⁶³⁰ Perhaps their prevalence here is reflective of the garment's special significance at the Arkteia.⁶³¹ This short *chiton* has been interpreted as childhood dress in particular.⁶³² Following this line of reasoning, "the short *chiton* belonged to, and symbolized, the childhood which was being ritually abandoned with the girl's induction into the Arkteia."⁶³³ There is, however, no compelling evidence that girls wear the short *chiton* as a matter of course, at least not in the visual sources (pl. 59a).⁶³⁴ Rather, the garment is overwhelmingly worn by male figures, and hence more readily evokes masculine connotations.⁶³⁵ The girls on the brink of menarche perform the ritual in the nude, which is interpreted in a variety of ways.⁶³⁶ In any case, this state of undress in a footrace - seemingly bordering on athletic nudity, but which also shows off their developing bodies - is a visual convention typical of men, from which the female sex is normally excluded.⁶³⁷ In contrast, the women officiating at the ceremonies are dressed in the modest, long *chiton* and *himation*.

Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 645 provides another invaluable snippet of information about the dress at the Arkteia. Here, the chorus of old women boasts about their religious service as "bears" at Brauron and

⁶²⁸ This of course assumes that the krateriskoi offer an accurate reflection of the dress used during the ritual. The tunics are of various types: knee-length or shorter, sleeved or sleeveless, belted and unbelted, and with different forms of decoration, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 119-121.

⁶²⁹ For an overview of the dress in the Brauron inventories, Cleland 2002, 66-132; Cleland 2005a; Cleland 2005b. For tables describing the *chitoniskoi* in the Brauron inventories, as well as some conclusions, Cleland 2005a, 50 table 2: 1; 53 table 2: 2; 62f.

⁶³⁰ The sheer number of *chitoniskoi* in the Brauron inventories contrasts with other inventories in Greece, where the *chiton* and *chitonarion* are common, but the *chitoniskos* scarce, Brøns 2017, 53-56.

⁶³¹ It seems that the Brauron inventories record various items of dress, often woven and worn by their female dedicants, and then offered at various stages in their reproductive cycle (e.g. marriage, childbirth); for discussion on the nature of these dedications, Brøns 2017, 36; Cleland 2002, 97-100; Cleland 2005a, 95; Cleland 2005b, 88. This conceivably extends to the Arkteia, as a rite of passage from childhood to adulthood. Then again, there is no need to connect the *chitoniskoi* mentioned in the Brauron inventories to the Arkteia in particular: L. Cleland argues that the *chitoniskos* refers to a short, colourful overtunic for females, which can be worn on a number of occasions, Cleland, 2005a, 110; Cleland 2005b, 93; Cleland et al. 2007, 53.

⁶³² Beaumont 2012, 193; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 32. 123.

⁶³³ Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 123.

⁶³⁴ Other prepubertal girls from Brauron are dressed hardly any differently than mature women. A series of votive statuettes dating to the 4th century CE represent young girls in a long *chiton*, Beaumont 2012, 186. On a contemporary votive relief dedicated by Aristonike, featuring a sacrifice to Artemis, the female figures are clearly differentiated from the male figures regardless of their age: boys and men alike wear only the *himation* (perhaps with a shorter tunic beneath), whereas girls and women wear a long *chiton* underneath, Despinis 2002, 158. The short *chiton* is therefore not specifically connected with childhood in the visual culture here.

⁶³⁵ E. Parisinou argues that the short tunics of females are traced back to male patterns of dress in general, and notes that the tunics of girls in the Arkteia belong to this visual code, Parisinou 2002, 61. M.M. Lee also notes that the *chitoniskos* is men's clothing, yet worn by the girls at the Arkteia, Lee 2015, 111.

⁶³⁶ e.g. Ferrari 2002, 169-176; Lee 2015, 185; Perlman 1983, 125; Scanlon 1990, 81; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 123.

⁶³⁷ A. Vazaki interprets the undress of girls training for the dance on Attic ceramics as agonal nudity, Vazaki 2003, 58. 86. Perhaps a similar interpretation is merited here. At the very least, their states of undress represents an inversion of social conventions (and perhaps allowed the younger participants to get a sense of the signs of puberty awaiting them), Lee 2015, 185.

mentions the *krokotos* in connection with the ritual.⁶³⁸ The term *krokotos* is derived from “crocus flower” and seemingly refers to a garment dyed with saffron, which might yield anything from a yellowish to reddish hue.⁶³⁹ It need not have an exact structure: functioning as a substantive, it might refer to any saffron-coloured garment.⁶⁴⁰ To focus on the *krokotos* used at the Arkteia in particular, the exact form of this garment remains unclear,⁶⁴¹ especially since it cannot be definitively identified in visual sources.⁶⁴² Moreover, its ritual use remains unclear.⁶⁴³ The ancient texts are, at least, unequivocal about the ultrafeminine nature of the *krokotos*. The saffron colour is overwhelmingly

⁶³⁸ Aristoph. Lys. 645.

⁶³⁹ Brøn 2017, 97f.; Cleland et al. 2007, 107; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 224f.

⁶⁴⁰ Cleland et al. 2007, 107.

⁶⁴¹ Based on the ancient passage as well as the later scholia, the saffron-coloured garment is variously interpreted as a type of *chiton* or *himation*. Since the *krokotos* in Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* 645 is a substantive in the singular, masculine, accusative case, the term likely refers to either the *chiton* or *chitoniskos* – both of which might feature on the krateriskoi, Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 121. However, the scholia on Aristoph. Lys. 645 in the Leyden and Ravenna MSS (see Scanlon 1990, 90-91) specify that the “bears” wear a κροκωτὸν ἱμάτιον, Scanlon 1990, 79; Ferrari 2002, 168. The *krokotos* is mentioned several times in the inventories of Artemis at Brauron, IG II2, 1514 lin. 58. 60-61. 62; 1516 lin. 52; 1517B lin. 162; 1522 lin. 9. 12. 28; 1524B lin. 213-214. 235; 1528 lin. 13. 22-23; 1529 lin. 8. 17. 18. It is often assumed that the *krokotoi* listed in the Brauron inventories bears a special relationship to the Arkteia, Brøn 2017, 97; Cole 1998, 38; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 121. Nevertheless, the connection between the *krokotos* in the inventories and the actual ritual is neither securely established, nor is it possible to pinpoint a certain garment type here. The *krokotos* occasionally refers to a saffron-coloured *chitoniskos* (IG II2, 1514 lin. 58; 1528 lin. 22-23), or *truphema* (a certain luxurious garment) (IG II2, 1517B lin. 162), but is most often used as a substantive (IG II2, 1514 lin. 60-61. 62; 1522 lin. 28; 1524B lin. 213-214; 1529 lin. 8. 18; see also IG II2, 1516 lin. 52; 1522 lin. 9. 12; 1524B lin. 235; 1528 lin. 13; 1529 lin. 17): the adjective standing alone strongly suggests that “the significance of colour subsumed that of type”, Cleland 2005a, 97. 100f. (For tables describing the *krokotos* in the Brauron inventories, as well as some conclusions, Cleland 2005a, 52 table 2: 1; 54 table 2: 2; 97; 100f.)

⁶⁴² Whether the *krokotos* even appears on the krateriskoi is extremely difficult to judge, since these black and red-figured ceramics with painted details offer no reliable indication of colour, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 119-122. It is possible that the saffron-coloured tunic is connoted through white paint, but the convention is hardly attested in the corpus, Kahil 1965, 26; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 121. In any case, there is a strong tendency to connect the *krokotos* with the short *chiton* worn by the prepubertal maidens running or dancing (perhaps “playing the bear”): besides the magico-medical benefits of the saffron-coloured fabric for the coming-of-age ritual, the cloth is considered suitable for imitating the tawny coat of a bear during the ritual enactment, Cleland et al. 2007, 106; Kahil 1977, 97; Kahil 1983, 237f.; Lee 2015, 200; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 121. The dedications of saffron-coloured *chitoniskoi* in the Brauron inventories are probably nothing more than a red herring in this respect: the inventories list fifty-eight dedications of *chitoniskoi* in a wide variety of colours (e.g. *leukos*, *batracheious*, *halourgos*), but the saffron-coloured version features only twice. (For tables describing the *chitoniskoi* in the Brauron inventories, as well as some conclusions, Cleland 2005a, 50 table 2: 1; 53 table 2: 2; 62f.) Any of these *chitoniskoi* could have featured at the Arkteia, with the saffron-coloured version bearing no special significance (or at other occasions entirely, see Cleland, 2005a, 110; Cleland 2005b, 93; Cleland et al. 2007, 53). It is possible that the *krokotos* is represented by other garments on the krateriskoi. For instance, C. Sourvinou-Inwood tentatively suggests that some of the girls wear a tucked-in *chiton*, which is similar to the loincloth of Atalante and other female athletes, Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 121-123. Moreover, it is possible that the *krokotos* is represented on other categories of visual culture altogether (e.g. the votive statues of girls in the long *chiton* from Brauron, see Lloyd-Jones 1983, 94), or even nowhere at all, due to its status as arcane dress, Scanlon 1990, 107; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 122.

⁶⁴³ For various interpretations of the use of the *krokotos* at the Arkteia, Cleland et al. 2007, 106; Ferrari 2002, 168f.; Dowden 1989, 31f.; Kahil 1977, 97; Kahil 1983, 237f.; Lee 2015, 200; Marinatos 2002, 37; Perusino 2002; Scanlon 1990, 79-81. 93-95. 107; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 119-152. This uncertainty is partly due to the divergent manuscript traditions for Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* 645, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 136-148. Most of the texts transmit “κατέχουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν”, as well as the widely authorized emendation “κᾶτ’ ἔχουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν”, both of which mean “wearing the *krokotos*”. The scholiasts to Aristophanes, as well as the *Suda* s.v. “arktos e Brauroniois”, indicate that the maidens wear the *krokotos* while “playing the bear”, see Scanlon 1990, 90-95. The Ravenna MS, on the other hand, transmits “κατατέχουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν”, or “letting the *krokotos* fall down”, which is likewise subject to divergent interpretations: it is taken to mean either removing the garment (Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 136-148), or else putting it on, in the sense of letting it fall to the feet (Ferrari 2002, 168f.).

associated with women,⁶⁴⁴ which is partially explained by the magico-medical properties of the crocus flower, which is used to treat menstrual ills.⁶⁴⁵ At the same time, the dye is an expensive commodity with luxurious and erotic connotations.⁶⁴⁶ Women adorn themselves with the *krokotos* to seduce men,⁶⁴⁷ and perhaps even wore a bridal veil of the same hue.⁶⁴⁸ For men, on the other hand, the *krokotos* connotes unmanliness;⁶⁴⁹ it is repeatedly used by Aristophanes to mark out a male cross-dresser.⁶⁵⁰

It is possible to make a few hypotheses about the significance of these outfits. Most notably, the dress is characterized by stark oppositions (i.e. masculine vs. feminine), which is probably explicable in terms of ritual cross-dressing.⁶⁵¹ Indeed, by adopting dress modes normally reserved for men (e.g. athletic nudity, short *chiton*), the little “bears” are clearly situated in a liminal state: the maidens ritually dramatize their still indeterminate, undomesticated nature, which stands in contrast to the distinct roles as wives and mothers awaiting them.⁶⁵² If, however, the colourful and ornate *chitoniskoi* listed in the inventories of Artemis at Brauron are in fact linked to the Arkteia, then perhaps a “gender-bending” ritual dress is detectable here: indeed, the short tunic is overwhelmingly associated with men, but vivid colours and decoration are typically associated with women.⁶⁵³ While the *krokotos* is shrouded in mystery, in the context of a coming-of-age ritual, it seems reasonable to assign it to the final stage. Indeed, the *krokotos* is conceivably used to signify a marriageable young woman, or at least a future one.⁶⁵⁴ The overt sexualization of the maidens through this garment alludes to their future role as

⁶⁴⁴ Alkman, fr. 46, ed. Page; Aristoph. Lys. 44. 47. 51. 219-222; Aristoph. Eccl. 879; Eur. Hec. 468-474; for discussion, Brøn 2017, 97; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 224.

⁶⁴⁵ Cleland et al. 2007, 106.

⁶⁴⁶ Cleland et al. 2007, 106f.

⁶⁴⁷ Aristoph. Lys. 44. 47. 51. 219-222; Aristoph. Eccl. 879; for discussion, Goff 2014, 110f.

⁶⁴⁸ In Aischyl. Ag. 239, Iphigeneia wears a *krokotos* to her sacrifice, seemingly with the false expectation of marrying Achilles; for discussion, Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 223f. The *flammeum* mentioned in Roman comedy is perhaps derived from the Greek tradition, but the evidence is not conclusive, Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 223-225.

⁶⁴⁹ This is especially evident in Aristophanes’ works, see Cleland 2002, 157. 159-161 (for further discussion on cross-dressing in his comedies, Høiby 1995).

⁶⁵⁰ When Dionysos attempts to wear Herakles’ lion skin over his *krokotos* in the *Batrachoi*, the hero can hardly contain his laughter at the incongruity, Aristoph. Ran. 45-47. In the *Eccliazusae*, Blepyrus’ wife steals his only *himation* in order to sneak into the assembly, thus forcing him to wear her *krokotos* outside; his neighbour considers his dress shameful, Aristoph. Eccl. 331-332. Similarly, in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, Agathon wears feminine dress, including the *krokotos*, and is referred to as a *gynnis* (“womanish” man); Euripides then convinces Mnesilochus to put on Agathon’s garments in order to sneak into the all-women’s festival of the Thesmophoria, which causes him considerable distress, Aristoph. Thesm. 136-143. 253. 941. 945. 1043. 1220.

⁶⁵¹ C. Sourvinou-Inwood suggests that the short *chiton* of childhood was exchanged for the sexually-charged *krokotos*, and then shed, so that the maidens were nude; at the end, the *chiton* and *himation* were finally adopted, to symbolize their readiness for marriage, Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 123. It seems, however, that the short *chiton*, as an essentially male garment, should be understood in terms of ritual cross-dressing.

⁶⁵² M.M. Lee rightly argues that girls wear the *chitoniskos* and undress in female initiation rites (i.e. Arkteia) in order to cast them outside the proper social order, Lee 2015, 111. 185. Likewise, E. Parisinou rightly identifies the short dress in the Arkteia as a visual code with these sorts of connotations, Parisinou 2002, 61.

⁶⁵³ For discussion on the longstanding association between femininity/luxury (especially in dress), Cleland et al. 2007, 54f. 68f. 118.

⁶⁵⁴ Goff 2004, 110-113; Ferarri 2002, 176; Perlman 1983, 125f.; Perusino 2002, 171-172; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 123. 127f.

desirable, married women, but also to their currently unbridled, dangerous sexuality, which is symbolically acted out and controlled through ritual.⁶⁵⁵

3.3.1.1.3 Pyrrhiche

Female figures dancing the Pyrrhiche appear on Attic ceramics between 470-400 BCE.⁶⁵⁶ This distinctive, bellicose dance had already been performed by men in Attic visual culture of the Archaic Period (pl. 59b), probably to signify their preparedness for war or even as a form of military training within the *palaestra*.⁶⁵⁷ A few of them are Amazons, dressed in outfits primarily modeled after Greek warriors or Skythian archers, or some eclectic combination thereof.⁶⁵⁸ The remainder of the female pyrrhichists are evidently mortal girls (or young women) (pl. 60a).⁶⁵⁹ They are usually dressed the same as their male counterparts, either in agonal nudity or a short *chiton*.⁶⁶⁰ On the other hand, several of their outfits are feminized, by including a *strophion* (breast-band), *perizoma* (loin cloth) and *kestos* (cross-bands).⁶⁶¹ The female pyrrhichists are armed just like the male ones, with a lance (or more rarely, a sword), a helmet and a shield.⁶⁶² While the dance of the female pyrrhichists is compositionally similar to that of the males, their movements are not as bellicose, but more elegant, with maneuvers drawn from other dances rather than war.⁶⁶³ The context for the armed dances varies. The majority occur within the so-called women's quarters, which is not a realistic snapshot of an archaeologically definable space, but an idealized view of female activities within the household.⁶⁶⁴ This includes the "dance school" scenes. In a few cases, they dance at the symposium,⁶⁶⁵ or in an outdoor, sacral context.⁶⁶⁶

The images of female pyrrhichists are traditionally interpreted in light of Xenophon's *Anabasis*.⁶⁶⁷ Here, the Greeks lead out a dancing girl to perform the Pyrrhiche for the Paphlagonians at a symposium, in the finest attire, with a light shield and with obvious charm.⁶⁶⁸ This passage has prompted the

⁶⁵⁵ Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 129.

⁶⁵⁶ For an overview of the material, Lesky 2000, 85-123. 134. 140-142. 147-152. 244; Poursat 1968, 586-609.

⁶⁵⁷ Lesky 2000, 243.

⁶⁵⁸ For a detailed description of the representations of the "Amazons", Lesky 2000, 85-90. These female pyrrhichists are either Amazons themselves, dancing in honour of the Ephesian Artemis (Kall. Artem. 240-243), or else women in Attica performing a ritual imitation of their dance, Lesky 2000, 89f. For discussion on the dress of Amazons in general, see chap. 5.1.1.

⁶⁵⁹ For a detailed description of the representations of mortal girls (or young women) dancing the Pyrrhiche (in the women's quarters or symposium), Lesky 2000, 90-115. Unlike the male pyrrhichists, the girls never dance in a chorus, but as distinct individuals, Lesky 2000, 134.

⁶⁶⁰ For an overview of the dress of the female pyrrhichists, Lesky 2000, 137f.

⁶⁶¹ For discussion on the *strophion* and *perizoma* in general, Lee 2015, 98-100; this is interpreted below as a gender-bending dress for female athletes, see chap. 3.3.2.4. For discussion on the *kestos* (especially its feminine, erotic connotations), Lee 2015, 137-139.

⁶⁶² It seems, however, that the girls do not use the standard, lethal lance, but a mere imitation thereof.

⁶⁶³ Lesky 2000, 115. 134.

⁶⁶⁴ For an overview of the depictions of female pyrrhichists in the so-called women's quarters, Lesky 2000, 141f. This includes the "dance school" scenes, see chap. 3.3.1.1.

⁶⁶⁵ For an overview of the depictions of female pyrrhichists at the symposium, Lesky 2000, 140f.

⁶⁶⁶ For an overview of the depictions of female pyrrhichists in cult, Lesky 2000, 142.

⁶⁶⁷ Xen. an 6, 1, 12-13; for discussion on the passage and its impact on interpretations, Lesky 2000, 147f.

⁶⁶⁸ When the Paphlagonians ask whether Greek women actually fight alongside their men, the Greeks falsely reply that these very women had put their adversary, the Persian King Artaxerxes II, to flight; as such, the Greeks

ascription of erotic connotations not only to images of female pyrrhicists at the symposium,⁶⁶⁹ but in the other contexts as well.⁶⁷⁰ This view has been rightfully challenged, by making a red-figure *pyxis* from ca. 440 BCE the starting point for interpretation (pl. 60b).⁶⁷¹ Here, a girl dances the Pyrrhiche in front of an altar and cella with a cult statue of Artemis, which is yet another part of the ritual preparation for marriage.⁶⁷² The images of girls dancing the Pyrrhiche in the women's quarters contain sacral and nuptial imagery as well,⁶⁷³ suggesting that they are training for this prenuptial dance for Artemis, which will allow them to successfully leave the world of the *parthenos*.

Overall, the dress of the female pyrrhicists is reasonably explained as initiatory cross-dressing.⁶⁷⁴ By donning attire normally worn by men and dancing their militaristic dance, the female pyrrhicists ritually act out their ambiguous nature before assuming their future roles as wives and mothers. After undergoing a temporary stint of wildness, the maidens outlive and relinquish their unfettered nature and enter into the normal social order, as domestic, subordinate members of the Greek city-state. Just like with men, the Pyrrhiche danced by girls ultimately serves to maintain the *status quo*, but in a different manner: for men the dance is connected to their roles as warriors, but for women it dramatizes their rejection of these roles. There is, however, a striking caveat here. The Pyrrhiche was associated with female initiation rites, but the fact remains that it also entered into the symposium (pl. 61a). As such, the wildness of the *parthenos* armed for battle was not only a cause for fear, requiring containment through ritual acts, but also exerted an erotic charm on male spectators.⁶⁷⁵

3.3.1.1.4 Spartan Agoge and Heraia

A series of Laconian bronzes dated to the 6th and early 5th centuries BCE portray female figures in masculine dress. The most notable here are the statuettes of adolescent girls with budding breasts, running in a short *chiton* (pl. 61b).⁶⁷⁶ There are also bronze mirror handles and statuettes representing prepubescent girls with undeveloped breasts and slim hips, either in a state of athletic nudity or in a

willfully distort the truth to characterize Artaxerxes II as even weaker than a woman, Lendle 1995, 364. In any case, the erotic connotations of the dance are evident in the context of the all-male symposium, Lesky 2000, 148.

⁶⁶⁹ Lendle 1995, 363f. While the erotic interpretation at least seems valid for the dancers at the symposium, overall, only a few of the vases occur in this context, Lesky 2000, 148.

⁶⁷⁰ In scenes from the women's quarters, for instance, the naked bodies of the female pyrrhicists, as well as the inclusion of male observers and erotes, are viewed in an erotic sense, Liventhal 1985, 37-52. The identity of the male attendee is uncertain. He is always standing, resting on a stick, and observing the dance, sometimes gesturing in interest; he sometimes assumes a prominent position or plays the flute, suggesting that he is a trainer, Poursat 1968, 607. He might also be a family member, Vazaki 2003, 58.

⁶⁷¹ Lesky 2000, 147-152. For the red-figure *pyxis*, Lesky 2000, 119-122.

⁶⁷² The goddess wears a *peplos* as well as a *kekryphalos* (hairnet) and holds not only a bow, but also a torch, with a possible marital significance. The remainder of scenes on the vessel seem to feature maidens and priestesses engaged in prenuptial rites to Artemis (e.g. dedicating garments and toys). It is therefore conceivable that this armed dance is yet another aspect of the ritual preparation for marriage.

⁶⁷³ The sacral symbols are miniature temple models. The nuptial symbols are wreaths, erotes and cranes.

⁶⁷⁴ This is understood in terms of P. Vidal-Naquet's law of symmetrical inversion, Lesky 2000, 148-152.

⁶⁷⁵ Lesky 2000, 152. For discussion on cross-dressed female figures at the symposium, see chap. 3.3.1.4.

⁶⁷⁶ For an overview of the material, Parisinou 2002, 60; Pomeroy 2002, 27. 164f.; Scanlon 1988, 198-202; Stewart 1997, 30. 108.

perizoma (pl. 62).⁶⁷⁷ These girls are shown with various accessories, including agonal attributes (e.g. strigils, baldrics), musical instruments (e.g. flutes, castanets), and symbols of unmarried girls at Sparta (e.g. blossoms, balls).⁶⁷⁸ The majority of the bronzes with secure proveniences come from within Spartan territory, some even with cultic connections (e.g. to Artemis Ortheia); the others at least demonstrate Laconian influence, whether as foreign imports or local imitations.⁶⁷⁹

The Laconian bronzes conceivably offer a rare view of female athletes from Sparta.⁶⁸⁰ Like other city-states, there are a few once-in-a-lifetime footraces for girls at Sparta (e.g. in honour of Helen), presumably functioning as prenuptial rites.⁶⁸¹ Sparta is, however, seemingly unique in mandating regular exercise for girls in the *agoge*, the educational system attributed to the legendary Spartan lawgiver Lykourgos.⁶⁸² Although the curriculum for boys and girls is rather similar, the intention for each sex could not have been more diverse: indeed, males trained to become strong and courageous warriors, whereas females trained to withstand the pangs of childbirth and to bear healthy offspring.⁶⁸³ Plato refers to this approach to female education as a “midway system”, insofar as girls partake in gymnastics but then refrain from military service.⁶⁸⁴ The athletic costume of Spartan girls is hardly addressed in the ancient Greek texts⁶⁸⁵ and the later details offered by Plutarch are ambiguous and

⁶⁷⁷ For an overview of the material, Pomeroy 2002, 27. 164f.; Scanlon 1988, 191-197; Stewart 1997, 30. 108-118. 231-234; Vazaki 2003, 56f. For discussion on the possibility of agonal nudity for girls in general, Vazaki 2003, 58. 86. (Note that a series of *patera* handles represent girls dressed in a *perizoma* as well, but these will not be considered here, see Stewart 1997, 110f. 232f.)

⁶⁷⁸ For an overview of the iconography, Stewart 1997, 111f. A. Vazaki notes that some of these attributes are typical of unmarried girls, Vazaki 2003, 56f.

⁶⁷⁹ One of the statuettes of a girl dressed in a short *chiton* comes from Sparta; the remainder were produced under Laconian influence, Scanlon 1998, 198; Stewart 1997, 108. About one-third of the bronze mirror handles and statuettes of nude girls come from Spartan territory; the remainder were produced under Laconian influence, Scanlon 1988, 191-193; Stewart 1997, 111. 232f. Note, however, that none of the bronze mirror handles with girls in the *perizoma* are known to come from Spartan territory; moreover, A. Stewart also claims that their faces often closely resemble late Archaic Corinthian work, Stewart 1997, 111. 231f.

⁶⁸⁰ It is generally accepted that the girls running in a short *chiton* are Spartan athletes, e.g. Christesen 2018, 557; Parisinou 2002, 60; Pomeroy 2002, 27. 164f.; Scanlon 1988, 198-202; Stewart 1997, 30. 108. The nude girls have been interpreted as athletes and cultic dancers, due to the athletic and musical accoutrements, but also as *hetairai* or other erotic entertainers; for an overview of these interpretations, Scanlon 1988, 191-193.

⁶⁸¹ For ancient sources on the footraces, Theokr. 18, 22-25; Paus. 3, 13, 7; for discussion on the footraces, Christesen 2018, 557; Pomeroy 2002, 24f.; Scanlon 1988, 198-202; Serwint 1993, 418f.

⁶⁸² For a broad overview of physical education for girls in ancient Sparta, Christesen 2018, 554-560; Neils 2012, 155-158; Pomeroy 2002, 12-19. 24-27; Scanlon 1988, 186-191. 205; Stewart 1997, 113.

⁶⁸³ Plat. Kritias fr. 32; Xen. Lak. pol. 1, 3-4; Plut. Lycurgus 14, 1-15, 1. It is true that these writers are non-Spartans, but they probably have some idea about this practice.

⁶⁸⁴ Plat. leg. 7, 805E-806A. Moreover, it remains unclear whether physical training continued into adulthood, or at least throughout the women's childbearing years. The ancient Greek literary sources indicate future mothers were supposed to exercise in order to bear strong and healthy children (see Plat. Kritias fr. 32, Xen. Lak. pol. 1, 3-4), which could potentially include all women of childbearing age. Aristoph. Lys. 78-84 characterizes a Spartan woman (Lampito) as athletic, but this could be a stereotype about Spartan women. S. Pomeroy assumes that at least some married women managed to stay in good physical shape, Pomeroy 2002, 27. P. Christesen, on the other hand, argues that women ceased to exercise after marriage, Christesen 2018, 554-560.

⁶⁸⁵ While the ancient Greek literary sources indicate the existence of institutionalized athletics for Spartan girls (and perhaps even women), as well as their initiatory and eugenic function, hardly any insight is offered into their athletic costume. It is commonly believed that females exercised in the nude at Sparta, e.g. Pomeroy 2002, 25-27. The practice of exercising in the nude or at least partial nudity is hinted at in contemporary sources, see Dissoi logoi 2, 10; Anac. fr. 399; Aristoph. Lys. 79-83; Plat. Kritias fr. 32; Theokr. 18, 22-24 (see also FGrH 90 F103

possibly anachronistic: the maidens are either nude or in scant attire, which at least conforms to the dress of the Laconian bronzes under consideration.⁶⁸⁶

The dress of the girls on the Laconian bronzes is by no means standard dress for Spartan girls, but rather an exceptional, masculine costume employed in the context of the *agoge* as well as other initiatory rites. Indeed, there is no evidence that women's dress in Sparta substantially diverged from the modest standards set by other Greeks.⁶⁸⁷ Images of "realistic" females from Laconia are certainly rare, but these women all wear the usual feminine dress (e.g. full-length robes, veils, etc.).⁶⁸⁸ The same holds true for Attic visual culture.⁶⁸⁹ The only securely identifiable case is the personification of Sparta herself: she wears a long, diaphanous dress and dismounts from a horse.⁶⁹⁰ It is possible that "realistic" females in chariot-racing, homoerotic courtship or formal education scenes are imagined as Spartans,⁶⁹¹ but all of them wear conventional feminine dress as well (pls. 63. 64).⁶⁹² Sparta is often

Z144.4). It is possible that Plato's prescription of nude exercise for females in Plat. rep. 452B. 457A and leg. 833C is based on Spartan reality, Pomeroy 2002, 26f. The nudity of females exercising at Sparta is explicitly mentioned in the Roman elegiac texts (which is later and fits the genre), Ov. epist. 16, 149-152; Prop. 3, 14. It is possible that the practice of exercising in a short tunic is mentioned in contemporary sources. It is often claimed that a reference to Spartan girls as *phaineromerides* ("thigh-flashers") (Ibycus, fr. 339; see also Sophocles, fr. 788N and Eur. Andr. 595-601) refers to some sort of short tunic; this has been connected with their athletic costume, as seen on the Laconian bronzes, Cleland et al. 2007, 174f.; Christesen 2018, 557f.; Parisinou 1992, 60; Pomeroy 2002, 31f.; Scanlon 1988, 189; Stewart 1997, 30. 114.

⁶⁸⁶ Plutarch offers the most detailed discussion on the dress, but this is much later, Plut. Lycurgus 14, 2; 15, 1. He claims that Lykourgos freed Spartan girls from their womanish nature by accustoming them - just like male youths - to appear nude or lightly clad (*gymnos*) in athletic contests and dances; he refers once more to the girls' "undressing" (*apoduseis*) in the same contexts. This state of (un)dress did not threaten the Spartan girl's modesty, but encouraged an austere and active lifestyle, evoked virtues like *arete*, and even motivated the male spectators to wed the girls. Plutarch's passage has been connected back to the Laconian bronzes of nude female athletes and dancers, Scanlon 1988, 191. 193f.; Stewart 1997, 30. 108. It has also been connected back to the Laconian bronzes of female runners dressed in a short *chiton*, Scanlon 1988, 189.

⁶⁸⁷ Cleland et al. 2007, 175. The reference to Spartan girls as *phaineromerides* ("thigh-flashers") (Ibycus, fr. 339; see also Sophocles, fr. 788N and Eur. Andr. 595-601), seen to refer to a short tunic, has even been connected with the everyday attire of Spartan females of all ages, Pomeroy 2002, 31f.; Stewart 1997, 114; see also Parisinou 1992, 66f. However, the actual length of their "thigh-flashing" dress is not mentioned. Since the outfit was ungirded, perhaps this merely refers to a long, unbelted *peplos*, which is already worn by girls in Attica to reflect their untamed nature, Blundell 1995, 155; see also Lee 2015, 103f.; Pomeroy 2002, 134f. As such, the mention of "thigh-flashing" dress probably fuels the notion that Spartan females are emancipated and licentious. Furthermore, the ritual cross-dressing reportedly enacted by women at the consummation of marriage (Plut. Lycurgus 15, 3; for discussion, Pomeroy 2002, 42f.) would only be significant if some sense of appropriate, gendered dress had existed.

⁶⁸⁸ The Vix Krater, seemingly created in Sparta, features a woman in a full-length tunic and veil, Pomeroy 2002, 42f. fig. 4. There are also *kylikes* from Laconia featuring modestly attired women at a symposium; for a few examples, Pipili 1987, 72 fig. 104; 73 fig. 104a; Thomsen 2011, 107 fig. 48. The same dress codes are attested for mortal women in a mythical setting: Helen of Sparta, for instance, wears the same sort of modest, full-length robes on a Laconian stele of the Archaic Period, whereas Menelaos is dressed in a short *chiton* and sword; for the Laconian stele, Pipili 1987, 30f. fig. 45; Pomeroy 2002, 169 fig. 8.

⁶⁸⁹ For an overview of the visual depictions of "realistic" Spartan females in Attic imagery, Neils 2012. (Helen of Sparta also wears modest, female dress in Attic imagery; for some examples, Kahil - Icard 1988, 508 no. 30-32.)

⁶⁹⁰ Neils 2012, 154 fig. 11.1.

⁶⁹¹ Neils 2012, 154-165. As discussed by J. Neils, the exact function of Attic images of Spartan women is not entirely clear. Perhaps the imagery was prescriptive (i.e. how women should not behave), humorous or even reflective of male fantasies of women in traditionally masculine domains. In any case, the Attic imagery probably offers more insight into Athenian perceptions of Spartan women than realities.

⁶⁹² The female charioteers wear a *peplos* with an overfold falling to the buttocks, rather than the long, sleeveless *xystis* of male charioteers, Neils 2012, 158-161; for discussion on the *xystis* (which was seemingly limited to men in Greek visual culture), Lee 2015, 112. In scenes of female courtship, the girls are wrapped in a *himation* in a

cast as the antithesis of Athens, but their takeover of masculine dress is seemingly limited to initiatory and eugenic contexts, just like elsewhere in the Greek world.⁶⁹³

Given the provenience and style of the Laconian bronzes, as well as the rich textual tradition for female athletics at Sparta, it seems reasonable to identify these nude and lightly clad maidens as athletes or dancers in the Spartan *agoge* or other initiation rites in particular. This need not, however, have been universally the case: indeed, the foreign imports and local imitations might serve a similar aim in other city-states. A case in point is a bronze statuette of a girl running in a short-sleeved *exomis*, revealing the right breast, dating to about 560 BCE (pl. 65a).⁶⁹⁴ A marble statue from the Roman Imperial Period, which can be traced back to a bronze original of about 460 BCE, shows a young woman in a similar pose and outfit (pl. 65b).⁶⁹⁵ In both cases, the short tunic is neatly arranged beneath the right breast, which suggests that the garment was designed to intentionally expose her breast.⁶⁹⁶

It has been argued that this athletic costume identifies the girl as a participant in the footraces at the festival of the Heraia at Olympia in particular, since Pausanias reports that maidens would run this race with loose hair and in a tunic falling to just above the knee and revealing the right breast.⁶⁹⁷ Given that the Heraia footraces were exclusive to unmarried girls and commemorated Hippodameia's betrothal to Pelops, presumably these functioned as prenuptial rites.⁶⁹⁸ This would explain the use of the typically masculine *exomis* by the maidens: since the function of initiation is to effect a radical transformation in the individual, ritual cross-dressing allows the initiate to act out their ambiguous nature, in a state of liminality, before emerging as a full member of society.⁶⁹⁹ It is therefore conceivable that the bronze statuette of a female runner demonstrates the existence of Laconian craftsmen at Olympia, who specialized in creating figurines for the Heraia race.⁷⁰⁰ Perhaps the marble statue even offers a likeness of a victrix at the Heraia, since the winners were allowed to dedicate statues of themselves.⁷⁰¹

manner similar to male *eromenoi*, Neils 2012, 163f.; nevertheless, all of the female figures wear a conventional, long *chiton* underneath, which distinguishes them from their male counterparts. There is also a possible depiction of a Spartan girl heading to school, Neils 2012, 164f. fig. 11.5. She wears the same feminine dress.

⁶⁹³ The institutionalization of regular exercise for girls at Sparta - whether in the nude or short tunics - was seemingly unique, but ultimately served as preparation for marriage and especially childbirth.

⁶⁹⁴ For the bronze statuette, Serwint 1993, 406f. It was reportedly discovered in the former Yugoslavia or Albania. The stylistic features - i.e. the slender body, muscular legs, underdeveloped chest, and long face - allow us to trace the statuette to either a Laconian workshop or itinerant craftsman.

⁶⁹⁵ For the marble statue, Serwint 1993, 408-410.

⁶⁹⁶ Cohen 1997, 68.

⁶⁹⁷ Paus. 5, 16, 3.; Serwint 1993, 410f.; Pomeroy 2002, 26. This assumes, of course, that the information offered by Pausanias is in still reflective of ancient custom, and that the *exomis* as an athletic costume for girls was exclusive to the Heraia footraces.

⁶⁹⁸ Scanlon 1988, 87-89; Serwint 1993, 418.

⁶⁹⁹ As demonstrated by N. Serwint, the athletic costume for the Heraia is not directly patterned after that of active mythical women like the Amazons, Artemis or Atalante, since the interpretation is anachronistic, Serwint 1999, 411-416 (for the dress of the Amazons, Artemis and Atalante, see chaps. 5.1.1; 6.1.1). Rather, the *exomis* is significant in its own right: "... it is the most appropriate garment for the initiates because... it is characteristically male"; this is understood in terms of P. Vidal-Naquet's law of symmetrical inversion, Serwint 1993, 416-422.

⁷⁰⁰ Christesen 2018, 554; Serwint 1993, 407. If the overall hypothesis about the Heraia is valid, then the statuette would offer a clear instance of the Laconian bronzes appealing to, as well as being adapted to the needs of similar

Overall, a few conclusions about the dress of the Laconian bronzes can be reached as a whole. First of all, the girls are probably athletes (as well as dancers). It is plausible that the imagery offers a reflection of actual training conditions.⁷⁰² There is no reason to assume that these girls wear dress considered appropriate to their sex, not even at Sparta. The adoption of athletic nudity and short tunics is understood as a form of cross-dressing. In particular, the Laconian bronzes seem to reflect the well-known eugenic and initiatory rites for girls at Sparta (i.e. *agoge*, prenuptial footraces), but probably also coming-of-age ceremonies elsewhere (e.g. Heraia). These fit bodies - whether nude or lightly clad - were evidently viewed positively, as models for Spartan girls to emulate.⁷⁰³

3.3.1.2 Woman Saying Farewell - Arm-Bearing Wives and Mothers

Images of Greek men departing for war were extremely popular on Attic ceramics of the 6th and 5th centuries BCE, as an expression of military virtue and preparedness for battle.⁷⁰⁴ Quite interestingly, the men are fairly passive in the departure scenes, in comparison with their own wives or mothers: these women take on various responsibilities, including holding the weapons and armour ready for their male relatives (pl. 66a).⁷⁰⁵ This motif is highly significant: "... she holds the weapons, with which the hoplite will arm himself and therefore turns the man into a warrior. Whenever women are shown as the bearer of arms in farewell scenes, the imagery seeks to express that it is the women who provide the city with soldiers."⁷⁰⁶ The images of wives and mothers handling arms therefore serves to reaffirm traditional gender roles in Greek society. Indeed, the men head off to the battlefield for the sake their homeland and families, whereas the women (and children) are left behind.⁷⁰⁷ Moreover, the women selflessly prioritize their city-states (*polis*) over their own household (*oikos*) - and with it their personal feelings - by actively ensuring that their male kin fulfill their civic duties by going to war.⁷⁰⁸

3.3.1.3 Bathing Beauties - Women with Athletic Accessories

It is possible to model nude women after bathing male athletes, a motif that appears primarily on sympotic vessels from Attica starting around 500 BCE.⁷⁰⁹ Here, the women stand around a *louterion* (water basin), with their clothing conspicuously set aside, and use grooming accessories such as the *strigil*, *spongos* and *aryballos* (pl. 66b).⁷¹⁰ The iconography is clearly borrowed from the masculine

audiences in other areas of Greece. It is nevertheless possible - considering the evidence for Spartan domination at Elis in the Archaic Period - that the footrace adhered to the Spartan model and even included a number of Spartan competitors after the Heraia was transformed into a Panhellenic festival, Pomeroy 2002, 26; Neils 2012, 156; P. Christesen, however, sees no reason to assume that Spartan girls took part in the games, Christesen 2018, 556.

⁷⁰¹ Paus. 5, 16, 3; Neils 2012, 155f.

⁷⁰² Lee 2015, 59 (in reference to nude bodies).

⁷⁰³ Lee 2015, 59 (in reference to nude bodies).

⁷⁰⁴ For an examination of the material, Spieß 1992.

⁷⁰⁵ Spieß 1992, 121. As A.B. Spieß notes, other responsibilities include extending a wreath or *taeniae* to the departing warrior or pouring a libation.

⁷⁰⁶ Lissarrague 1984, 62 (translation by the author); for further discussion, Spieß 1992, 122f.

⁷⁰⁷ Spieß 1992, 123f.

⁷⁰⁸ Spieß 1992, 123f. Perhaps the prioritization of *polis* over *oikos* was coded as masculine, but in the end, it served to reaffirm traditional gender roles.

⁷⁰⁹ For an examination of the material, Stähli 2009, 43-46.

⁷¹⁰ The *alabastron* appears as well.

world of athletics.⁷¹¹ The scenes are, however, by no means reflective of reality; moreover, just like their male counterparts, the grooming activities of the women primarily serve to display their bodies, in order to highlight their physical attractiveness.⁷¹² Indeed, the women are never seen to actively train their bodies in order to participate in athletic competitions, and so their state of undress is not conceived of as agonal nudity. Overall, these bathing beauties are presented like male athletes - in a state of undress, with athletic accessories - but only as a pretext for showing off their erotic bodies.⁷¹³ Since the majority of the scenes are attested on sympotic vessels, it seems that these nude women were conceived of as *hetairai*, presented as the object of the male gaze.⁷¹⁴

3.3.1.4 Regulated Alterity - Female Entertainers at the Symposium and Komos

Female entertainers at the symposium and komos - i.e. *hetairai*, musicians, dancers - normally appear in feminine dress.⁷¹⁵ The women are portrayed in either long, flowing robes (pl. 67) or basically nude (pl. 68a), in order to show off their erotically charged bodies.⁷¹⁶ There are, however, certain exceptions to the rule.⁷¹⁷ The *hetairai* are occasionally patterned after male symposiasts:⁷¹⁸ for instance, it is possible for them to wear their *himatia* in a manner similar to their reclining male clients, that is, wrapped directly around their lower torsos.⁷¹⁹ It is also possible for specialized types of female entertainers to assume masculine dress.⁷²⁰ The komos is an intoxicated dance performed by elite men especially, as “the culmination of the symposium’s seemingly more civilized pursuits”.⁷²¹ The male komasts frequently take on a youthful, “ordinary” appearance (pl. 68b).⁷²² In contrast, the so-called Anakreontic komasts are clearly male - as indicated by their prominent beards - and carry drinking vessels in a fundamentally masculine setting, but their garments and accessories are feminine, eastern and luxurious: indeed, they are dressed in the long *chiton* and *himation*, soft boots (*kothoroi*) and

⁷¹¹ Stähli 2009, 43; for discussion on athletic accessories, see chap. 3.2.3.2.

⁷¹² Stähli 2009, 43-46. The athletic imagery offers a convenient visual code for exhibiting physical beauty, which is confirmed by the development of the iconography: in the course of time, properly attired women approach the naked ones with objects typical of female adornment, such as mirrors and jewellery boxes.

⁷¹³ However, C. Vout maintains that there is no reason to strictly separate nude women with athletic accessories from the masculine athletic world, Vout 2012, 243-247.

⁷¹⁴ Undressed women on sympotic vessels are interpreted by some as *hetairai*, Lee 2015, 183. It is also possible to show *hetairai* bathing, but proper women are shown bathing as all, Lee 2015, 61f. 183f.

⁷¹⁵ For discussion on *hetairai* in general (especially their images), Kaesar 2008c.

⁷¹⁶ Vazaki 2013, 48. For a few examples of female entertainers at the symposium in long dress, Schäfer 1997b, pl. 24 fig. 1; pl. 28 fig. 3; pl. 31. For a few examples of female entertainers at the symposium in a state of nudity, Schäfer 1997, pl. 12 fig. 2; pl. 51 fig. 2; pl. 52 fig. 1. For discussion the erotic connotations of female nudity, see chap. 3.2.1.2. Note that girls are also present here.

⁷¹⁷ For female cross-dressing in images from the symposium in general, Miller 1999, 244f.

⁷¹⁸ It has been claimed that the undress of sex workers distinguishes them from elite women and marks them as lower class, but at the same time “... equates them on some level with male symposiasts, whose nudity is celebrated as an extension of the athletic ideal,” Lee 2015, 183; see also Miller 1997, 244. It seems, however, that the connection between the soft, fleshy bodies of *hetairai* and the hard, muscular bodies of male athletes does not hold out here; for discussion on the bodies of *hetairai*, see chap. 3.2.1.2.

⁷¹⁹ Rumpf 1953, 88; see also Kaesar 2008c, 344; Lee 2015, 116; Miller 1997, 244.

⁷²⁰ M.M. Lee notes that female entertainers, especially dancers, wear the short *chiton*, Lee 2015, 111; she also notes that female dancers and acrobats wear a *chlamys*, Lee 2015, 118. It is clear, however, that this only applies to specific categories of female entertainers.

⁷²¹ Smith 2002, 40.

⁷²² Miller 1999, 237-240.

headgear (e.g. *mitra*, *sakkos*), and occasionally earrings and parasols (pl. 69).⁷²³ Women are also present at the komos, presumably as female entertainers.⁷²⁴ They are shown in the *peplos*, long *chiton* or full nudity.⁷²⁵ A few komos scenes, however, feature female dancers - marked out by their white skin - in a short *chiton*, at times mirroring the outfits of their male counterparts (pl. 70a).⁷²⁶ It has been suggested that "... the female revellers ... represent rare examples... of women behaving in a purely masculine manner".⁷²⁷ Besides this, the Pyrrhiche - an armed, ritual dance for girls - entered the symposium context due to its erotic appeal (pl. 61a).⁷²⁸ Female acrobats are dressed in the *perizoma* (or exercise trunks) and perhaps also the *chlamys* (pl. 70b).⁷²⁹ It is hardly surprising that these professional entertainers are associated with drinking parties.⁷³⁰

It seems highly unlikely that these cross-dressed women offer a "dose of gender equality."⁷³¹ The female entertainers were either low-class workers or slaves, exchanging their services for money or being reluctantly exploited, which ultimately precluded them from assuming an equal position as their male clients.⁷³² Rather, it seems that cross-dressing was a ritually tolerated feature of both the symposium and the drunken komos that followed, considering that Dionysos is a bestower of wine and himself a latent cross-dresser, embodying the upside-down world.⁷³³ The bearded men in feminine garments attempt to transcend gender categories, or to "play the other".⁷³⁴ It seems that the female entertainers occasionally adopt masculine dress not merely to facilitate their dance routines,⁷³⁵ but also to fully participate in the same sort of regulated state of alterity. Overall, their projection of self-determination and equality to men is nothing more than role-play⁷³⁶ - in fact, it seems reasonable that

⁷²³ For examinations of the material (ca. 530-460 BCE), Frontisi-Ducroux - Lissarrague 1990; Miller 1999. For discussion on the bodies and fundamentally masculine setting, Frontisi-Ducroux - Lissarrague 1990, 212; Miller 1999, 230. For discussion on the dress, Frontisi-Ducroux - Lissarrague 1990, 212f.; Miller 1999, 230-232. For the interpretation of the dress as feminine (and not merely eastern/effeminate), Miller 1999, 236-241.

⁷²⁴ Smith 2002, 39f.

⁷²⁵ Smith 2002, 41.

⁷²⁶ For instance, a few komos scenes attributed to the KY Painter portray both the male and female dancers in a short red *chiton*, Smith 2002, 33. 36-38. Other female komos dancers wear the short *chiton* elsewhere as well, however; for an overview of these images, Smith 2002, 38f. This short tunic has been identified as masculine in character, Kaesar 2008c, 342.

⁷²⁷ Smith 2002, 37f.

⁷²⁸ For an overview of the depictions of female pyrrhichists at the symposium, Lesky 2000, 140f.; for the erotic interpretation, Lesky 2000, 148. For further discussion on female pyrrhichists, see chap. 3.3.1.1.3.

⁷²⁹ For the *perizoma* as a garment of female acrobats, Kossatz-Deißmann 1982, 78f. For the *chlamys* as a garment of female acrobats, Lee 2015, 118. For discussion on the dress of the female athlete, see chap. 3.3.2.4.

⁷³⁰ For discussion on acrobats at the symposium in the literary sources, Kossatz-Deißmann 1982, 78f.

⁷³¹ J.T. Smith argues that the cross-dressed women offer a "dose of gender equality" specifically in reference to the female komos dancers in a short red *chiton* (i.e. dressed just like the men), Smith 2002, 40.

⁷³² Kaesar 2008c, 341f.

⁷³³ Frontisi-Ducroux - Lissarrague 1990, 230-232; Miller 1999, 233f. 236. 244-246. For an overview of the various interpretations offered for the cross-dressing in these contexts (e.g. cultic, eastern luxury), Frontisi-Ducroux - Lissarrague 1990, 213-217; Miller 1999, 232-236.

⁷³⁴ Frontisi-Ducroux - Lissarrague 1990, 228-230.

⁷³⁵ Smith 2002, 45f.

⁷³⁶ Kaesar 2008c, 344. 346.

cross-dressing was only permissible for female entertainers due to being of little consequence.⁷³⁷ Indeed, proper women never wear the *himation* without an underlying *chiton*,⁷³⁸ nor participate in cross-dressed dances outside of certain ritual contexts.⁷³⁹

3.3.1.5 Females of Non-Ideal Status - Workers, Slaves, Barbarians?

It is worth considering whether females of non-ideal status (e.g. workers, slaves, barbarians) are portrayed in typically masculine dress,⁷⁴⁰ in order to signify their difference from proper, upper-class women,⁷⁴¹ or to highlight their “otherness” in general.

It has been suggested that lower-class females simply made do with a short *chiton*, worn as an outer tunic, regardless of the modest standards of the elite.⁷⁴² It is entirely possible that in reality, impoverishment precluded the adherence to the sartorial prescriptions of the elite. Nevertheless, such traces of destitution are virtually absent in visual culture. There were attempts to distinguish the free elite from slaves, by portraying the latter with a non-Greek physiognomy, of a shorter stature, diligently working, and so on.⁷⁴³ Their hairstyles might run contrary to gender expectations: indeed, female slaves tend to wear cropped hair like a man.⁷⁴⁴ In terms of attire, however, female slaves are not usually marked out from the elite by garment types, but by their overall quality: they might, for instance, wear fewer garments, or simpler, more loosely fitting garments, with a lack of decoration and status signifiers, but not as a rule.⁷⁴⁵ In fact, on Classical Attic funerary monuments and ceramics, the female slaves in the household are practically indistinguishable from their mistresses: both are dressed in the same types of modest, full-length tunics, sometimes of different degrees of quality, other times not (pl. 71).⁷⁴⁶ Even female figures engaged in heavy labour in an outdoor setting (e.g. fetching water, agricultural work) are virtually always dressed in full-length robes, even though the garments are impractical for the tasks at hand (pl. 72a).⁷⁴⁷ The rare exceptions merely prove the rule: for instance, a female figure carrying water and running away from a grotesque man is uniquely depicted in a short

⁷³⁷ B. Kaesar notes that *hetairai* can only play their almost manly roles due to their low status, Kaesar 2008c, 346. Their potential to cross-dress would seem to fit into this trend as well.

⁷³⁸ Lee 2015, 116.

⁷³⁹ For discussion, see chap. 3.3.1.1. It has also been argued that there are images of women dressed up as satyrs in a cultic context to honour Dionysos, Surtees 2014, 283f.

⁷⁴⁰ Suggested by Lee 2015, 118.

⁷⁴¹ Suggested by Lee 2015, 111.

⁷⁴² Serwint 1993, 416.

⁷⁴³ Lee 2015, 49.

⁷⁴⁴ Lee 2015, 74.

⁷⁴⁵ Cleland et al. 2007, 172; Oakley 2000, 246.

⁷⁴⁶ Oakley 2000; Westermann 1955, 14.

⁷⁴⁷ For the images of female figures fetching water in general, Manakidou 1992/1993 (note however, that these are interpreted as upper-class women, 51f.). For the images of female figures picking apples in general, Pfisterer-Haas 2003, 140-167. 178-188 (note, however, that these are interpreted as upper-class women, 144-147). It is clear that lower-class women participated in these sorts of activities in visual culture as well. For an image of female slaves fetching water, Oakley 2000, 243 fig. 9.9. Moreover, it is possible that the women engaged in more strenuous harvesting activities (e.g. climbing trees) are female labourers; for an example, Pfisterer-Haas 2003, pl. 34 fig. 4.

chiton (pl. 72b).⁷⁴⁸ As such, the evidence for lower-class females spurning the sartorial expectations of their sex in the visual sources is rather limited. There is no compelling evidence that female slaves and workers wore the short *chiton* as an outer tunic as a matter of course. Males of all classes – from elite to servile – on the other hand, do wear the short *chiton* as an outer tunic, which confirms that the selection of this garment type is ultimately contingent on gender, rather than social standing.

Barbarians were marked out as the “other” through their dress in ancient Greek visual culture, including permanent body modifications (e.g. tattooing, circumcision), non-Greek garments (e.g. *anaxyrides*, *alopekis*, *zeira*) as well as accessories (e.g. “Thracian” *kithara*, *pelta*, *uraeus*).⁷⁴⁹ In addition, it is possible to show barbarian men in effeminate dress, in order to heighten the sense of cultural distance.⁷⁵⁰ For instance, an Attic *oinochoe* features revelers at a Lydian drinking party wearing a *mitra* (turban) and *kothoroi* (soft boots), which were considered women’s dress (pl. 73).⁷⁵¹ Moreover, it is possible that certain foreign garments were already considered effeminate in their own right.⁷⁵² For instance, the *chiton cheirototos* (long-sleeved tunic) or the *kandys* (sleeved coat) were worn by Persian men; nevertheless, if these male garments are adopted by Athenians at all, then primarily by women and children, suggesting the conflation of these socially inferior categories (i.e. barbarian/female/immature).⁷⁵³ Whether barbarian women assume masculine dress is not so clear.⁷⁵⁴ The images of Etruscan and Thracian women, for instance, generally conform to the sartorial norms attested for Greek women.⁷⁵⁵ Notable here is an image of female slaves collecting water at a fountain: the women are marked out as Thracians by their tattoos, but otherwise wear long, concealing

⁷⁴⁸ For the image, Manakidou 1992/1993, 71f. fig. 18. It seems that the artist decided to show the woman in a short *chiton* not due to performing heavy labour, since her female companion has long robes, but due to actively fleeing in a manner similar to a gorgon; note also that the setting is perhaps mythical, due to the presence of a satyr.

⁷⁴⁹ For studies on the representation of foreigners in ancient Greek visual culture (i.e. Skythians, Thracians, Persians and Africans, as well as Etruscans, Phrygians and Lydians), Bérard 2000; Castriota 2000; DeVries 2000; Miller 2000; Shapiro 2000; Sparkes 1997; Tsiafakis 2000. For discussion on permanent body modifications (frequently associated with barbarians), Lee 2015, 82-88. For discussion on barbarian garments (which were occasionally taken over by the Greeks as well), Lee 2015, 120-126.

⁷⁵⁰ This phenomenon is attested in the mythical realm as well. Significant in this regard is Bousiris, the King of Egypt, who was killed by Herakles for attempting to sacrifice him; both the king and his priests are portrayed as cowardly, fleeing figures, with the possibility of adding effeminate dress (e.g. the long *chiton* characteristic of dignified men and priests, but combined with feminine sartorial features like high girding and accessories like the *kestos*). For Bousiris in the textual and visual sources, Laurens 1986. For further discussion, Miller 2000.

⁷⁵¹ DeVries 2000, 358-361 fig. 13.10. It is also notable that the Persians, Skythians and Thracians were excluded from the most defining form of male costume among the Greeks, namely agonal nudity, Sparkes 1997, 142.

⁷⁵² This could not, however, have been universally the case; for example, the *zeira* (a patterned mantle from Thrace) was worn by Athenian men, probably due to its military connotations, Lee 2015, 124f.

⁷⁵³ Lee 2015, 125f. The *chiton cheirototos* and *kandys* are, however, worn by Athenian women with other feminine dress (e.g. in combination with a full-length *chiton*), Lee 2015, 121-123.

⁷⁵⁴ This phenomenon is at least attested in the mythical realm, but not merely by virtue of being barbarians (e.g. Thracian women as man-killers, Amazons as warrior-women, see chap. 3.2.2). A possible exception is Andromeda: she is usually shown in traditional female dress, but she can also wear an outfit typical of Persian and Skythian men, i.e. the *kidaris* (elongated cap), the *anaxyrides* (sleeved and trousered garment) under a short, decorative sleeveless tunic; for a few examples, Schauenburg 1981, 776 nos. 2. 3. 5. Otherwise, mythical barbarian women are generally shown in feminine dress, e.g. DeVries 2000, 347 fig. 13.5 (female attendants of Midas); Tsiafakis 2000, 374 fig. 14.4 (Geropso, Thracian nurse of Herakles).

⁷⁵⁵ For discussion on the images of Etruscan men and women, Shapiro 2000, 330-336. For discussion on the images of Thracian women (as slaves at Athens), Tsiafakis, 372-374; Sparkes 1997, 141.

garments, which is standard for most women in the visual record (pl. 74a).⁷⁵⁶ It was evidently important to distinguish barbarian from Greek women through their dress, but the need to signify “otherness” did not extend to showing them in masculine dress.

There was the option to portray females of non-ideal status in masculine dress, in a manner that was generally unthinkable for Greek women of the upper-classes. Female workers, slaves and barbarians already exist at the margins of the social order, which perhaps allowed them to break away from the sartorial norms of the elite with relative ease. The evidence is, however, only really strong in particular cases, such as *hetairai* in the sexualized context of the bath, or female entertainers in the topsy-turvy context of the symposium and komos: the low status of these women was probably a necessary prerequisite for adopting masculine dress, but not the motivating factor. In short, it seems that cross-dressing as a visual convention is not employed for non-ideal females as a rule, but only in situations that demanded it, to produce a certain effect (e.g. erotic appeal, alterity).

3.3.1.6 Summary

Masculine dress is occasionally worn by “realistic” female figures in ancient Greek visual culture. This is especially the case for prepubertal girls or marriageable young women.⁷⁵⁷ First of all, masculine dress was selected for physical education, such as the institutionalized athletics at Sparta and dance training at Athens.⁷⁵⁸ It seems that the short tunics and fastened cloaks are selected here not merely for freedom of movement, but also to put the gender ambiguity and the developing bodies of these youthful, still undomesticated maidens on display. Moreover, these forms of physical education had a eugenic and initiatory function, preparing the girls for adulthood: indeed, regular exercise at Sparta was treated as a prerequisite for bearing healthy children, whereas dance training at Athens prepared girls for various festivals, including coming-of-age ceremonies. In fact, masculine dress is primarily worn in the context of coming-of-age ceremonies (e.g. Arkteia, Pyrrhiche, Heraia), to temporarily allow the maidens to “play the other” before taking on their prescribed roles as wife and mother.⁷⁵⁹ This is by no means limited to the visual culture addressed here, but also valid for other cases, such as prenuptial dances, kalathiskos dances and sword dances.⁷⁶⁰ Overall, “realistic” girls occasionally wear masculine dress, but such exceptions actually reinforce the norms: the ritual cross-dressing casts them outside the normal social order, but only temporarily and ultimately to reaffirm social boundaries.

The evidence for “realistic” women in masculine dress is a bit more limited. Wives and mothers only hold weapons and armour in order to help prepare their husbands and sons for battle, which reaffirms traditional gender roles.⁷⁶¹ Besides that, *hetairai* are shown bathing with grooming accessories from the

⁷⁵⁶ For the image, Tsifakis 2000, 243 fig. 9.9; 373f.

⁷⁵⁷ For discussion, see chap. 3.3.1.1.

⁷⁵⁸ For discussion, see chaps. 3.3.1.1.1; 3.3.1.1.4.

⁷⁵⁹ For discussion, see chaps. 3.3.1.1.2; 3.3.1.1.3; 3.3.1.1.4.

⁷⁶⁰ For discussion on these dances and their ritual significance, Bron 1996; Vazaki 2003, 48f. 61f.

⁷⁶¹ For discussion, see chap. 3.3.1.2

athletic context as a pretext for showing off their erotic, nude bodies.⁷⁶² It is also possible to portray female entertainers in masculine dress, since cross-dressing was ritually tolerated in the context of the symposium and komos.⁷⁶³ In contrast, there is no evidence that non-ideal females (e.g. workers, slaves, barbarians) wore masculine dress as a matter of course; this is, however, seemingly an important prerequisite in a number of cases (e.g. female sex workers, entertainers).⁷⁶⁴

Quite significantly, the dress of “realistic” females shared certain commonalities that were hardly impacted by issues of intersectionality in ancient Greek visual culture. There was clearly a gender-specific dress for female figures, irrespective of age, class or ethnicity, which is common to women and girls, mistresses and slaves, as well as Greeks and barbarians alike. For instance, female figures basically always wear long robes. It is true that a young girl might wear her tunic unbelted in contrast to a married woman,⁷⁶⁵ that a female slave might wear a tunic of lower quality than her mistress, and that a barbarian woman might wear an *ependytes* over her Greek tunic, but none of these factors affect the basic sartorial code that mark her as female. Due to the remarkable consistency in gendered dress for female figures, it is all the more striking when they assume the dress of the opposite sex.

3.3.2 Mythical Female Figures in the *Mundus Inversus*

3.3.2.1 Women “Out of Control” - Maenads, Murderesses and Demonesses

The majority of female figures portrayed in masculine dress come from the mythical realm. Many of them act completely out of control. A logical starting point here are the maenads, that is, women who accompanied Dionysos and practiced ecstatic rites (e.g. dancing, playing music), or were temporarily inflicted with insanity by Dionysos, often as a punishment for impiety.⁷⁶⁶ As a rule, the maenads are dressed like other women in ancient Greek visual culture - that is, in long, flowing gowns - but with wild and exotic elements, such as *thyrsos*, drinking vessels, leopard skins and slithering snakes (pl. 74b).⁷⁶⁷ It is not uncommon to show their dress in a state of disarray (e.g. drapery flying, breasts or legs exposed), due to their frenzied activities (pl. 75).⁷⁶⁸ In rare cases, however, the maenads are dressed in much shorter tunics, probably to emphasize their unrestrained, undomesticated nature, as women outside the normal social order.⁷⁶⁹ This outfit is especially favoured for murderous maenads. Pentheus attempted to disguise himself as a woman and spy on the Theban women spirited away by Dionysos,

⁷⁶² For discussion, see chap. 3.3.1.3.

⁷⁶³ For discussion, see chap. 3.3.1.4.

⁷⁶⁴ For discussion, see chap. 3.3.1.5.

⁷⁶⁵ For discussion on the different belting practices of girls and women, Lee 2015, 135f.

⁷⁶⁶ For the maenads in the literary sources, Krauskopf et al. 1997, 780-782. Note that some maenads are supernatural beings, but many of them are mortal women.

⁷⁶⁷ For the maenads in the visual sources, Krauskopf et al. 1997, 783-803; Steinhart - Knauß 2008.

⁷⁶⁸ For a few examples, Krauskopf et al. 1997, 785 no. 29; 786 no. 42; 793 no. 115. As discussed by B. Cohen, it is possible for the breasts of women to become exposed due to their garments becoming accidentally loosened or set into disarray through their own actions, Cohen 1997, 70-72.

⁷⁶⁹ For an example, Krauskopf et al. 1997, 789 no. 83. For an actor dressed like a maenad in a short tunic, Schwarzmeier 2008, 80 fig. 1.

which resulted in them unwittingly tearing him to pieces (pl. 75a).⁷⁷⁰ Quite similarly, Orpheus - who had likewise rejected the worship of Dionysos - is torn apart by the Thracian women, loyal followers of the god.⁷⁷¹ It is also possible for maenads to wear their animal skin like a *chlamys*.⁷⁷² Besides that, the women often wield knives or swords, whether targeting animals or men.⁷⁷³

Some other mortal women acting out of control include Klytaimnestra, the Peliades, Medea and the Danaids. All of these heroines are notorious for killing their own family members (pl. 76).⁷⁷⁴ These murderesses are shown in traditional female dress, but are marked out by their lethal weapons (e.g. swords, axes), which properly belong to men on the battlefield.⁷⁷⁵ The cross-dressing symbolizes their usurpation of male prerogatives: indeed, the women are ruthless man-killers, seeking revenge for perceived injustices against themselves. They are portrayed as strong, capable figures, but also as monstrous aberrations: all of them behave in an active, violent manner, which completely overturns the natural order.⁷⁷⁶ Moreover, they are morally ambiguous heroines. Some of them reject the institution of marriage by taking a lover or killing their husbands. Others jealously respond to infidelity by shedding the blood of innocent victims. Most significantly, however, all of the murderesses slay members of their own families. Overall, it seems that mortal wives, mothers and daughters are never armed to kill for a truly noble cause, and therefore suffer for their actions. These women are not merely a source of fascination, but also a repository for the fear of the man-killer within one's own household.

Moving onto purely supernatural beings, it is notable that the dress of demonesses - including the Gorgones (pl. 77), the Erinyes (pl. 78a), the Harpyiai (pl. 78b), as well as Skylla and Lyssa - commonly

⁷⁷⁰ For an overview of Pentheus in the literary sources, Bažant - Berger-Doer 1994, 306f. For some examples of the Theban women dressed in short tunics, Bažant - Berger-Doer 1994, 308 nos. 8. 9; 314 nos. 66. 67. For discussion on the Theban women as man-killers, Cohen 2000, 123-127; Lorenz 2008b, 303f.

⁷⁷¹ For an overview of Orpheus in the literary sources, Gareizou 1994, 81-83. For examples of the Thracian women dressed in short tunics, Gareizou 1994, 87 nos. 51. 60; 88 no. 67. For discussion on the Thracian women as man-killers, Cohen 2000, 107-115; Lorenz 2008b, 297-302.

⁷⁷² For a few examples, Krauskopf et al. 1997, 783f. no. 7; 788 no. 62.

⁷⁷³ For a few examples, Krauskopf et al. 1997, 785 no. 29; 786 nos. 42. 45.

⁷⁷⁴ First of all, Klytaimnestra, the wife of Agamemnon, plotted with her lover Aigisthos to murder her husband and his mistress Cassandra upon returning from the Trojan War, see Morizot 1992; Lorenz 2008b, 279-281. 284f. Secondly, the Peliades - the daughters of Pelias, the King of Iolchos - were tricked into butchering their own father by Medea, who had hoped to secure the throne for her husband Jason, see Simon 1994; Lorenz 2008b, 293-296. Medea was later abandoned by Jason in favour of Princess Kreousa of Corinth; she took revenge on him by brutally killing not only her female rival, but also her own sons by Jason, see Schmidt 1992; Lorenz 2008b, 285. 289-297. Quite similarly, Prokne retaliated against her husband Tereus for raping her sister Philomela and cutting out her tongue by killing their son and serving him for dinner, see Touloupa 1994; Lorenz 2008b, 293-296. Finally, the Danaids - the fifty daughters of Danaus, the King of Libya - were forcibly married off to the sons of Aegyptus; almost all of them killed their husbands on their wedding night, see Keuls 1986; Lorenz 2008b, 281-285.

⁷⁷⁵ For a few examples of Klytaimnestra attacking Agamemnon with an axe, Morizot 1992, 75 nos. 14. 15. 16. For a few examples of Medea attacking her sons with a sword, Schmidt 1992, 391 nos. 28. 30. 31. For a few examples of Prokne threatening her son with a sword, Touloupa 1994, 527 nos. 2. 3. 4. For an example of one of the Peliades (Alkandra) about to dismember Pelias with a sword, Cohen 2000, 111 fig. 4.3. For an example of the Danaids attacking their husbands with swords, Keuls 1986, 338 no. 5. These women behave like men by taking up arms and "fighting", but also use objects from everyday life in the household, such as pestle or skewer, Lorenz 2008b, 307f.

⁷⁷⁶ Lorenz 2008b, 307-309.

exhibits masculinizing traits.⁷⁷⁷ These women actively pursue their victims with an intensity and fierceness typically associated with hunters. The sense of gender inversion is heightened by the fact that their targets are generally powerful men: that is, Perseus, Orestes, Phineus, Odysseus and Aktaion respectively. These demonesses tend to don the short *chiton*, which facilitates freedom of movement and shows off their well-trained limbs. They occasionally don animal skins to evoke their wild nature, as well as boots for the chase (i.e. *endromides*, *embades*). These bloodthirsty and vengeful women are armed with a wide variety of weapons used by men, such as swords, spears and hunting nets.

In summary, it is possible for female figures acting out of control to assume masculine dress in ancient Greek visual culture. For the majority of mortal women, the assumption of masculine garments is fairly uncommon. The maenads occasionally don shorter tunics, especially in scenes where the women tear men apart in frenzy. In any case, both the maenads and other mortal murderesses (e.g. Klytaimnestra, Medea, the Danaids) are marked out by their assumption of lethal weapons. The dress of demonesses, on the other hand, is as a rule patterned after that of active men, both in terms of their garments and weapons. It seems that the exchange of gendered garments is not merely functional here - otherwise, the dancing maenads would likewise wear the short *chiton* as a rule. Rather, the motif is presumably selected to produce a sense of inversion. Maenads ripping men to pieces, wives and mothers ruthlessly slaughtering their male kin, or demonesses viciously pursuing their male victims presented thoroughly negative examples of female behaviour. Their masculine dress instantly marked them as the antithesis of civilized and domesticated Greek women, that is, as primitive, aggressive beings.⁷⁷⁸

3.3.2.2 Swift, Winged Goddesses - Iris and Nike

It is also possible to portray swift, winged goddesses in masculine dress. The most significant example is Iris, the goddess of the rainbow and the messenger of the gods.⁷⁷⁹ She is virtually always depicted as a winged figure holding a caduceus, due to her role in carrying messages between the gods, as well as from heaven to earth.⁷⁸⁰ Her garments vary considerably. She is often dressed in full-length robes (pl. 79a); otherwise, she often wears a short *chiton*, typically combined with (winged) boots (pl. 79b).⁷⁸¹ Another swift, winged goddess is Nike, the goddess of victory.⁷⁸² Her responsibility was to announce and bestow victory. In the Archaic Period, at least, it is possible that Nike was depicted in not only long

⁷⁷⁷ Parisinou 2002, 61-66. It is also possible to show other essentially violent or avenging forces in a short *chiton*, such as Ananke (necessity), Bia (violence) and Dike (justice); for examples, Simon 1981, 757 no. 1; 758 no. 2; Simon 1986, 114 no. 2; Shapiro 1986, 389 no. 3; 390 nos. 9. 10.

⁷⁷⁸ The short dress for women in general is rightly identified as a visual code carrying these sorts of connotations, Parisinou 2002, 61. 66f.

⁷⁷⁹ For an overview of Iris in the literary sources, Kossatz-Deißmann 1990, 741f.

⁷⁸⁰ Kossatz-Deißmann 1990, 758.

⁷⁸¹ There is a chronological development: Iris is commonly depicted in short robes in the 6th century BCE, in long robes in the 5th century BCE, then in short robes in the 4th century BCE, Kossatz-Deißmann 1990, 758.

⁷⁸² For Nike in the textual and visual sources, Moustaka - Goulaki-Vourtira - Grote 1992.

robes, but also short ones (pl. 80a); afterwards, it drops out of her wardrobe entirely (pl. 80b).⁷⁸³ The shorter dress was presumably convenient due to these women's active roles. It was, however, clearly not a necessary garment for either woman.⁷⁸⁴ Moreover, it seems that full-length robes were outright preferred for other, essentially peaceful winged goddesses in antiquity, such as Eos (the goddess of the dawn) (pl. 81a) and Psyche (the undying soul).⁷⁸⁵ As such, it is easy to rule out the possibility that Iris and Nike don the short *chiton* strictly for practical reasons. Rather, the masculine dress highlights the fact that the goddesses behave in an unconventional manner for women: much like Hermes (pl. 81b), the female messengers assume an extremely active role by flitting throughout the universe.⁷⁸⁶

3.3.2.3 Arm-Bearing Beauties - Aphrodite, Omphale and Nereids

It is striking that beautiful, nude women are occasionally portrayed bearing arms.⁷⁸⁷ The most notable example is Aphrodite, the goddess of beauty and fertility.⁷⁸⁸ It is possible that cult images of the armed goddess existed in Laconia by the early Archaic Period, perhaps due to her connection to Great Goddesses of the East (e.g. Inanna, Ishtar, Astarte).⁷⁸⁹ Already in Homer's *Iliad*, however, she is no longer conceived of as a war goddess: she is badly injured while fighting on the side of the Trojans due to her status as a weakling goddess.⁷⁹⁰ Her aggressor even admonishes her for overstepping the bounds of her nature.⁷⁹¹ Moreover, in the Gigantomachy on the Great Altar of Pergamon - in which basically any god can participate - Aphrodite is depicted fighting in a particularly cowardly way, by stepping on the face of her dying enemy.⁷⁹² It would therefore seem surprising that statuary types portray Aphrodite bearing arms in her own right by the 4th century BCE (e.g. Aphrodite of Capua, of Epidauros, of Arles) (pl. 82a).⁷⁹³ There is, however, a perfectly logical explanation for this: these images ought to be viewed in light of Aphrodite's seductive, disarming influence on Ares, the god of war, which is a common theme in Hellenistic poetry.⁷⁹⁴ Indeed, "the goddess is seemingly acting as a man arming himself, but in reality she asserts herself as the mighty goddess of love and beauty, who conquers without weapons."⁷⁹⁵

⁷⁸³ For a few possible examples of Nike wearing the short *chiton*, Moustaka - Goulaki-Vourtira - Grote 1992, 852 nos. 1, 3; 863 no. 6. It is, however, difficult to differentiate Nike from other female figures with wings (e.g. Iris, Eris), Moustaka - Goulaki-Vourtira - Grote 1992, 852.

⁷⁸⁴ This is clear in the case of Iris, since she performed her messenger function in both longer and shorter robes. Moreover, if the short *chiton* had been assumed by Nike at all, then the garment completely dropped out of her wardrobe by the end of the Archaic Period.

⁷⁸⁵ For Eos in the textual/visual sources, Weiss 1986. For Psyche in the textual/visual sources, Icard-Gianolio 1994.

⁷⁸⁶ For Hermes in the textual/visual sources, Siebert 1990.

⁷⁸⁷ Note that sacrificing women (e.g. Nike slaughtering a bull) have been excluded from the discussion here.

⁷⁸⁸ For the significance of the armed Aphrodite, Flemberg 1991; Flemberg 1995.

⁷⁸⁹ Pausanias mentions the cult images of the armed Aphrodite, Paus. 3, 15, 10; 3, 23, 1; 3, 17, 5; for discussion, Flemberg 1995, 109-111.

⁷⁹⁰ Hom. Il. 5, 330-351; for the argument that Aphrodite is not a war goddess here, Flemberg 1995, 111f.

⁷⁹¹ Hom. Il. 5, 348-351.

⁷⁹² Flemberg 1995, 115f. It is not surprising that Aphrodite is depicted fighting here, since virtually any god or goddess can participate in the battle, Flemberg 1995, 112.

⁷⁹³ For the Aphrodite of Capua, Delivorrias et al. 1984, 71-73 nos. 627-642. For the Aphrodite of Epidauros, Delivorrias et al. 1984, 36 nos. 243, 244. For the Aphrodite of Arles, Delivorrias et al. 1984, 63f. no. 531. For another statuary type of the goddess putting on a sword (ca. 100 BCE), Delivorrias et al. 1984, 57 nos. 456-461. For discussion, Flemberg 1995, 112-119.

⁷⁹⁴ Flemberg 1995, 109, 112-119, 120-122.

⁷⁹⁵ Flemberg 1995, 113.

The imagery ascribes a certain degree of power to women.⁷⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the portrayal of a physically weak, but cunning love goddess bearing the arms of war produces stark contrasts, which ultimately reaffirms traditional gender roles in Greek society.⁷⁹⁷ The image of the armed love goddess therefore entails a certain degree of ambiguity. Another beautiful woman bearing arms is Omphale, the Queen of Lydia.⁷⁹⁸ Omphale is notorious for cross-dressing with Herakles, who was either her slave or lover. By the Hellenistic Period, she is portrayed nude and wielding the club and lion skin of the hero (pl. 82b), in order to signify the disarming power of her beauty. The dress of both Hercules and Omphale will be discussed in greater detail below (see: chap. 4.1 The Dress of Hercules and Omphale).

The Nereids - the sea nymphs - are occasionally shown bearing arms.⁷⁹⁹ It seems that the motif is only attested in the context of arming Achilles. The Nereids present Achilles with the weapons and shield forged by Hephaistos on two occasions: in Phthia at the beginning of the Trojan War, as well as at Troy following the death of Patrokles.⁸⁰⁰ Moreover, they transport the arms to Achilles on mythical sea creatures (pl. 83a).⁸⁰¹ These women bear arms not for their own sake, but in order to arm one of the most renowned heroes: as such, they are not a threat to the social order, but help to preserve it. Moreover, as with Aphrodite and Omphale, the portrayal of Nereids carrying weapons and armour plays with contrasts. The sea nymphs are portrayed as beautiful women, either in flowing gowns or erotically nude.⁸⁰² In contrast, the helmets, swords, shield and so on clearly belong to the world of men. Since the arm-bearing Nereids are often portrayed in an indeterminate context, without Achilles, the stunning contrast between their masculine and feminine dress was evidently appealing in its own right.

Overall, beautiful women are occasionally shown bearing arms in ancient Greek visual culture. Some are armed women, combining martial prowess with unsurpassed beauty (e.g. early cultic images of the armed Aphrodite). Others are arming women, presenting weapons and armour to powerful men (e.g. Nereids). There are even disarming women, forcing or seducing powerful men into surrendering their arms (e.g. Aphrodite, Omphale). The categories presented here are not always so clear cut, but exhibit some degree of overlap or ambiguity. The erotic appeal and the play with contrasts are recurring features. On the one hand, there is potential for the takeover of “manly” arms to challenge traditional expectations for women; on the other hand, the same theme tends to reaffirm a traditional division of roles and qualities along gendered lines.

⁷⁹⁶ Flemberg 1995, 114f.

⁷⁹⁷ Flemberg 1995, 115.

⁷⁹⁸ For the significance of the images of Hercules and Omphale, see chap. 4.1.2.

⁷⁹⁹ For the Nereids in the literary and visual sources, Icard-Gianolio - Szabados 1992.

⁸⁰⁰ For the images, Icard-Gianolio - Szabados 1992, 807-810 nos. 306-338.

⁸⁰¹ For the images, Icard-Gianolio - Szabados 1992, 810-814 nos. 339-414.

⁸⁰² For the dress of the Nereids, Icard-Gianolio - Szabados 1992, 821f. It is noted that the Nereids only wear a short *chiton* in exceptional cases, Icard-Gianolio - Szabados 1992, 821.

3.3.2.4 “Manly” Women - Female Athletes, Warrioreses and Huntresses

The most significant category of mythical women in masculine dress are “manly” women. These are goddesses and heroines who appear as female athletes, warrioreses or huntresses, roles that were normally not extended to members of the female sex.⁸⁰³ Moreover, these are mature and desirable women, who nevertheless prefer to remain virginal and outside of the household, due to their contempt for marriage and childbearing, or even men as a whole. By exhibiting only what is conceivable for women, but in no sense realistic - at least by Athenian standards - these mythical figures serve as repositories for fear or even admiration in the Greek consciousness. These “manly” women belong to the *mundus inversus*, which stands in direct contrast to the norms in the real world.

The most renowned female athlete in the mythical realm is Atalante.⁸⁰⁴ In the visual sources, she wrestles (and ultimately defeats) Peleus in a wrestling match at the funeral games for Pelias.⁸⁰⁵ She also frequents the *palaestra*, mingling with the other athletes.⁸⁰⁶ She wished to remain a virgin, but eventually agreed to marry any suitor who could outrun her in a footrace.⁸⁰⁷

The athletic dress of Atalante exhibits both masculine and feminine features.⁸⁰⁸ She is often dressed in the short *chiton*.⁸⁰⁹ Otherwise, she wears a *perizoma* (loin cloth or exercise trunks) (pl. 83b).⁸¹⁰ This is an essentially masculine garment, insofar as it was initially worn by men in ancient Greek visual culture.⁸¹¹ According to Thucydides, the Greeks originally wore loincloths in athletics competitions, with the Spartans as the first to exercise in the nude.⁸¹² In addition, Pausanias claims that the garment was first dispensed with by a competitor after the fifteenth Olympiad (720-716 BCE) in order to run faster.⁸¹³ Afterwards, it was allegedly characteristic of barbarian athletes, which is supported by the visual evidence: for instance, a series of Attic black-figure ceramics with male athletes in loincloths were seemingly produced for a “modest” Etruscan audience (pl. 84).⁸¹⁴ It is also adopted by an array of

⁸⁰³ Parisinou 2002, 55. 61. 66f. (for huntresses); Veness 2002, 97. 104-106 (for Amazons). The dress of warrioreses and huntresses is discussed in greater detail below, see chaps. 5.1.1; 6.1.1.

⁸⁰⁴ For an overview of Atalante in the literary sources, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 940.

⁸⁰⁵ For images of Atalante wrestling Peleus, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 945f. nos. 62-78. For discussion on the imagery, Kottsieper 2008, 203-207.

⁸⁰⁶ For images of Atalante in the *palaestra* and with athletes, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 945 no. 60; 947 nos. 85-89.

⁸⁰⁷ For an image of Atalante preparing for the footrace, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 946 no. 81. For discussion on the imagery, Kottsieper 2008, 213-215.

⁸⁰⁸ For the dress of Atalante in general, Ley 1990, 45f. E. Parisinou rightly notes that female athletes share a similar dress code with huntresses and warrioreses, which is patterned after male dress, Parisinou 2002, 60.

⁸⁰⁹ For examples of Atalante wearing a short *chiton*, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 945 nos. 62. 64. 65.

⁸¹⁰ For the *perizoma* in general, Lee 2015, 98. For examples of Atalante wearing a *perizoma*, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 945 nos. 63. 66. 71.

⁸¹¹ Bonfante 1975, 20; for discussion on how the *perizoma* fell out of the imagery of men in ancient Greek visual culture, Kossatz-Deißmann 1982, 74f.

⁸¹² Thuk. 1, 6, 5.

⁸¹³ Paus. 1, 44, 1

⁸¹⁴ Thuk. 1, 6, 5; Kossatz-Deißmann 1982, 75; Shapiro 2000, 318-329. The vases date to ca. 510 BCE. (Quite interestingly, contemporary Attic black-figure vases discovered in Etruria also show Herakles wrestling Antaios in a loin cloth, Olmos - Balmaseda 1981, 801 no. 1; 802f. nos. 3. 10. 14.) It is nevertheless possible for Greek men to wear loin cloths in other contexts in the visual record.

women behaving like men, such as female athletes, armed dancers and so on.⁸¹⁵ At times, Atalante wears a *strophion* (breast-band),⁸¹⁶ which is an overwhelmingly feminine garment with erotic connotations (pl. 85a).⁸¹⁷ In Aristophanes' comedies, Mnesilochus wears a breast-band to sneak into the all-female assembly, whereas Myrrhine uses the underwear to tease her sex-starved husband.⁸¹⁸ The undergarment is scarcely detectable among ordinary women, but worn as a garment in its own right by female sex workers and entertainers.⁸¹⁹ Finally, Atalante's use of athletic accessories (e.g. exercise cap, *strigil*, *aryballos*, pick-axe) is simply part and parcel of her role.⁸²⁰

The significance of Atalante's athletic outfit demands further consideration. It is striking that she is marked out by her white skin and excluded from the most characteristic dress of male athletes: that is, complete, agonal nudity.⁸²¹ It is not possible to connect this to an overall devaluation of the female body,⁸²² considering that this virtuous state - whether real or imagined - is extended to girls participating in physical training and coming-of-age rituals.⁸²³ The issue is, rather, her sexual development.⁸²⁴ Here, an athletic role is uniquely extended to woman long overdue for marriage, and so her biology and gender are carefully negotiated through her athletic outfit.⁸²⁵ First of all, she dresses like a man, but with clear differences. The short *chiton* likens her to active males in general.⁸²⁶ The loincloth clearly identifies her as an athlete, similar to male ones, but at the same time as the "other" (i.e. barbarian/female). In any case, both outfits stand in striking contrast to that of her male competitors and companions, who are invariably in a state of full undress. Secondly, her erotic body is concealed, but not entirely. The short *chiton* clothes her in general. Her adoption of the breast-band and loincloth cover her sexual areas, partially suppressing her womanhood, while paradoxically drawing

⁸¹⁵ For an overview of female figures who wear the *perizoma*, Kossatz-Deißmann 1982, 72-83.

⁸¹⁶ For an example of Atalante in the *strophion/perizoma*, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 695 no. 60.

⁸¹⁷ For the *strophion* in general (as well as the erotic connotations), Lee 2015, 98-100; Stafford 2005.

⁸¹⁸ Aristoph. Thesm. 249-256; Aristoph. Lys. 931.

⁸¹⁹ Lee 2015, 100; Stafford 2005, 97-101. It is also adopted by other female athletes.

⁸²⁰ For a few examples of Atalante wearing an exercise cap, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 945 nos. 60. 72; 946 no. 73.

For an example of Atalante standing next to a hanging *strigil* and *aryballos*, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 945 no. 60. For examples of Atalante holding a pick-axe, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 945 no. 60; 947 no. 86.

⁸²¹ It has been noted that Atalante has white skin and is never shown completely nude, Kottsieper 2008, 215.

⁸²² For discussion on the devaluation of the female body, see chap. 3.2.1.2.

⁸²³ For discussion, see chap. 3.3.1.1.

⁸²⁴ The nude participants in physical training and coming-of-age rituals are prepubescent girls, at times on the brink of menarche, rather than sexually mature women. It seems that agonal nudity is readily conveyed through the slender, flat-chested, almost "boyish" bodies of girls and acceptable on account of their wild and untamed nature, Vazaki 2003, 86. In contrast, the fully-developed female body in ancient Greek visual culture is primarily constructed as a sexually desirable object, see chap. 3.2.1.2. V.C. Kottsieper offers this as the main reason for dressing Atalante, Kottsieper 2008, 215.

⁸²⁵ There is no doubt about her physical fitness: she is often shown with a well-trained body, comparable to her male competitors. This is especially evident in the images of Atalante wrestling Peleus, where both are shown as ideal athletes, roughly the same size and of the same strength (i.e. muscular torso and legs), Ley 1990, 44. In any case, her level of sexual development as a woman - signified by her white skin - appears to have been an issue.

⁸²⁶ E. Parisinou rightly notes that female athletes share a similar dress code with huntresses and warriorresses, which is patterned after male dress, Parisinou 2002, 60.

attention to it;⁸²⁷ at the same time, the breast-band carries erotic connotations - which is reinforced by a unique example with holes for her nipples (pl. 159b) - and therefore serves to feminize her, perhaps even marking her as the impossible female athlete.⁸²⁸ Overall, the divergence from the agonal nudity of male athletes is striking, but effective. It seems that agonal nudity is not easily reconcilable with sexually developed female bodies. As such, Atalante is given an outfit that is not only conceivably male, but also partially obscures her female form, in order to diminish the erotic connotations.

This assessment of the athletic costume is strongly supported by the few images of Atalante in the nude. As soon as she undresses, her athletic role is pushed into the background.⁸²⁹ In general, the iconography of Atalante shifts from that of an active, manlike woman in the Archaic Period, to that of a more passive and sensual “lover” in the second half of the 5th century BCE.⁸³⁰ At this time, fully nude images of Atalante pop up in the visual record, which seem unrelated to the agonal nudity of male athletes and more so for erotic effect.⁸³¹ She appears nude while readying herself for the footrace against her suitor (pl. 85b).⁸³² Her admirer gazes at her nude body, as she stands next to a *louterion* adjusting her exercise cap. Images of Atalante in the *palaestra* exhibit the same erotic character. She is undressed, standing next to a *louterion*, and seductively flicking back her wet hair as a fellow athlete sits and admires her (pl. 86a).⁸³³ Overall, the athletic context - and especially the grooming of their bodies - offer a mere pretext for Atalante’s nudity, directed toward the male gaze, rather than a rare instance in which agonal nudity is actually extended to a sexually mature woman.⁸³⁴

The dress of mythical warriorresses and huntresses is to some degree patterned after their male counterparts as well.⁸³⁵ Athena is the virginal goddess of wisdom, warfare and handicraft, thus encompassing an array of traditionally masculine and feminine qualities into her nature.⁸³⁶ On the one hand, she wears garments typical of a woman (e.g. *peplos*); on the other hand, she is armed like a man, typically with a helmet, aegis (breastplate), spear and shield (pl. 86b).⁸³⁷ The Amazons frequently adopt the garments and accessories of male figures, both Greek (pl. 87a) and barbarian (e.g. Skythian,

⁸²⁷ The *strophion* usually functioned to constrict and flatten the breasts, rather than lifting and emphasizing them, Stafford 2005, 104f. It nevertheless draws attention to their existence.

⁸²⁸ For an image of Atalante wearing a *strophion* with holes for her nipples, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 946 no. 73. M.M. Lee argues that the breast-band of Atalante casts her as the impossible female athlete, Lee 2015, 100.

⁸²⁹ V.C. Kottsieper notes that Atalante is dressed to show her as a chaste companion of men, but in the nude to show her as an erotic woman, Kottsieper 2008, 215. J. Neils identifies some other images of nude women on Attic ceramics as Spartan female athletes or symposiasts, which are objects of the male gaze, Neils 2012, 157f. 161-163.

⁸³⁰ Ley 1990. For another assessment of the development of the iconography, Bergamasco 2006.

⁸³¹ Ley 1990, 59f.; Kottsieper 2008, 214f.

⁸³² For the image, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 946 no. 81. For discussion on the erotic effect, Ley 1990, 53f.; Kottsieper 2008, 214.

⁸³³ For the image, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 942 no. 87. For discussion on the erotic effect, Ley 1990, 54-56. The scene indicates a love interest between Peleus and Atalante, which is unknown from the literary sources.

⁸³⁴ However, C. Vout maintains that there is no reason to strictly separate nude women with athletic accessories from the masculine athletic world, Vout 2012, 243-247.

⁸³⁵ The dress of warriorresses and huntresses is discussed in greater detail below, see chaps. 5.1.1; 6.1.1.

⁸³⁶ For Athena in the textual and visual sources, Demargne 1984.

⁸³⁷ See Demargne 1984. As R. Veness argues, Athena is certainly a warriorress just like the Amazons, but dressed in long robes due to her status as a respectable lady, Veness 2002, 97.

Persian).⁸³⁸ Artemis and Atalante, in their roles as huntresses, likewise adopt traditionally masculine garments and accessories (pl. 87b. 88a).⁸³⁹ In general, the costumes of warrioresses and huntresses serve as instantly recognizable visual codes to evoke their manlike characteristics: indeed, their unconventional, short dress with arms bears “direct reference to the outfit and behaviour of men when performing their traditional roles of hunter, warrior or athlete,” and hence serves to evoke their “man-like nature, full of energy and aggression.”⁸⁴⁰ However, their masculine dress is also feminized, in order to maintain sexual difference. This will be discussed in greater detail below (see: chap. 5.1.1 The Dress of Warrioresses; chap. 6.1.1 The Dress of Artemis, Atalante and Other Huntresses).

3.3.2.5 Summary

Mythical female figures occasionally wear masculine dress in ancient Greek visual culture. This is especially the case for women behaving in a socially disruptive manner.⁸⁴¹ Some of them are portrayed as man-killers. Greek wives, mothers and daughters are portrayed with weapons in order to slay their male relatives. The frenzied and murderous Theban and Thracian women are armed and at times even wear a short tunic. The dress of demonesses tormenting powerful men is, as a rule, patterned after that of men themselves, both in terms of their garments and weapons. Other women completely spurn the expectations of their sex by taking on traditionally masculine roles.⁸⁴² The dress of female athletes, warrioresses and huntresses is partially inspired by the dress of their male counterparts, but exhibits notable differences as well. It is also possible for swift, winged goddesses to assume short tunics.⁸⁴³ It seems doubtful that this is exclusively connected to their active roles: indeed, the trend is only really pronounced in the case of Iris and hardly a necessary aspect of her iconography, suggesting that the motif merely serves to underline their unconventional roles. In short, the takeover of masculine dress by man-killers, “manly” women, and perhaps even swift, winged women signifies a state of inversion - these women are the antithesis of proper Greek women, but exist in another universe anyway. Finally, the images of beautiful women bearing arms evoke warlike qualities - either of themselves or their menfolk - or else the power of beauty to disarm mighty gods and heroes, which oscillates between confounding and reaffirming gender norms.⁸⁴⁴

3.4 Roman Reception

The examination above traced the development of a gender-specific dress code in ancient Greek visual culture, by focusing on the body styling, garments and accessories of male figures. Dress like agonal nudity, short tunics and weapons properly belong to the world of men. It is nevertheless possible for female figures to adopt masculine dress in exceptional cases. It is necessary to briefly demonstrate that when this dress code was transmitted to Roman visual culture, the original gendered connotations had

⁸³⁸ For discussion, see chap. 5.1.1.

⁸³⁹ For discussion, see chap. 6.1.1

⁸⁴⁰ Parisinou 2002, 55. 59.

⁸⁴¹ For discussion, see chap. 3.3.2.1.

⁸⁴² For discussion, see chap. 3.3.2.4.

⁸⁴³ For discussion, see chap. 3.3.2.2.

⁸⁴⁴ For discussion, see chap. 3.3.2.3.

not faded into oblivion. The perception of ancient Greek dress in the Roman Imperial Period demands consideration both in terms of the sartorial norms for “realistic” figures (i.e. *interpretatio romana*), as well as the use of classicizing dress for mythological figures (i.e. classical reception).

The portrayal of “realistic” figures in Roman visual culture strongly suggests that key aspects of the gendered dress code remained unchanged.⁸⁴⁵ Agonal nudity was directly adopted over from the Greeks as a visual convention for representing emperors and private men (pl. 88b).⁸⁴⁶ If women are portrayed in a state of undress, then the beautiful, soft bodies of nude goddesses were preferred (pl. 32a).⁸⁴⁷ Short tunics were still the preserve of men.⁸⁴⁸ Men in pre-Roman visual culture (e.g. from Etruria, Paestum and Campania) wore either short or especially long, unbelted tunics.⁸⁴⁹ By the late Republican Period, men were commonly portrayed in a short tunic, belted at the waist, reaching to the knee or just above it (pl. 89a).⁸⁵⁰ The girt-up tunic was generally characteristic of men fit for action, whereas unbelted tunics - potentially falling to an inappropriate length - indicated an effeminate nature.⁸⁵¹ The long but belted form (e.g. *tunica talaris*) appeared once again for men in the late Imperial Period, but not with any regularity until Late Antiquity.⁸⁵² For women, the custom of wearing a long tunic, typically belted just under the breasts, at the waist or even lower, remained unchanged over the centuries (pl. 31).⁸⁵³ It was possible for lower-class women to wear shorter tunics, but these still fell to at least around the calf (pl. 89b; cf. pl. 90a).⁸⁵⁴ Furthermore, the *exomis* was adopted in a virtually unchanged form by lower-class men especially.⁸⁵⁵ The *chlamys* and its adaptations (e.g. *sagum*, *paludamentum*) were still worn by men.⁸⁵⁶ Moreover, these new cloaks signified military service, so much so that the

⁸⁴⁵ This is hardly surprising, considering that Roman dress was influenced not only by Etruscan dress (especially in terms of status markers) but also by Greek dress (especially in terms of garment types), Pausch 2003, 38-41. Moreover, Greek and Roman garments were evidently compatible to some degree, considering the use of loan-words to describe them. For instance, the Greek *chiton* is referred to as *tunica* in Latin texts (probably since basically any foreign garment resembling a *tunica* was simply referred to as such by the Romans), Pausch 2003, 56-59. 61 (for an overview of the actual differences between the Greek *chiton* and the Roman *tunica*, Pausch 2003, 60-62). Moreover, Greek garments like the *exomis* and *chlamys* appear in Latin texts, Pausch 2003, 40.

⁸⁴⁶ For discussion on nude portraits of Roman men, Hallett 2005.

⁸⁴⁷ For discussion on nude portraits of Roman women (as Venus in particular), D’Ambra 1989, 392-400; D’Ambra 1996; D’Ambra 2000; Hallett 2005, 199. 209-212. 219-222. 331-332; Kleiner 1981; Kousser 2007; Salathé 2000; Wrede 1971, 131. 144-145. 157-161; Wrede 1981, 306-318 cat. 292-316.

⁸⁴⁸ The tunics of Roman men and women were generally similar, but differed in length (as well as colour and ornament): as a rule, men wear shorter tunics than women, with the tunics of women generally reaching to at least the ankles, Pausch 2003, 92f. 177. 181 footnote 240.

⁸⁴⁹ Pausch 2003, 66f.

⁸⁵⁰ Cleland et al. 2007, 200; Pausch 2003, 68. For discussion on appropriate forms of belting the *tunica* for men and women, to ensure the correct position and length, Pausch 2003, 89-95.

⁸⁵¹ Olson 2017, 16. 143f.

⁸⁵² Pausch 2003, 168-171. Sex-specific tunics become less common in Late Antiquity, Pausch 2003, 93.

⁸⁵³ For discussion on the tunics of Roman women, Croom 2002, 75-89; Scholz 1992, 93-100. As argued by A. Alexandridis, Greek and Roman garments are not easily distinguishable in female portraiture, Alexandridis 2004, 41-44. For upper-class women, the only break with tradition occurred with the adoption of the *dalmaticus* in the late 3rd century CE, allowing for the display of their ankles for the first time, Croom 2002, 83.

⁸⁵⁴ Cleland et al. 2007, 201; Croom 2002, 80; Olson 2008b, 46. Images of women dressed in tunics falling to the knees are perhaps attested in Roman visual culture, but would be extremely rare.

⁸⁵⁵ Cleland et al. 2007, 201f.; Pausch 2003, 158-162.

⁸⁵⁶ For an overview of the cloaks worn by Roman men, Croom 2002, 52-54; Olson 2017, 68-78.

expression “taking the cloak” was a metaphor for going to war.⁸⁵⁷ There is, however, little evidence that women wore cloaks as well.⁸⁵⁸ The *embades* were taken up by the same kinds of men as before (e.g. rulers, military commanders, hunters), but in an altered form, with an animal scalp and paws.⁸⁵⁹ The other masculine accessories under consideration (e.g. weapons, armour, athletic items) were still primarily associated with men as well. Overall, the “realistic” men and women in Roman visual culture wear various types of gender-specific dress, which generally adheres to the norms attested in ancient Greek visual culture. It is probable that the Roman viewers - by the process of *interpretatio romana* - easily grasped the gendered connotations of Greek dress in their visual culture.

Turning to the mythological imagery in Roman visual culture, it is notable that the use of Greek dress in a gender-specific manner exhibits considerable continuity from ancient times, with hardly any indication of a breakdown in the visual system.⁸⁶⁰ Features like agonal nudity, short and fastened garments (e.g. short *chiton*, *exomis* and *chlamys*) as well as weapons and armour are still adopted by men, especially active men. Moreover, warrioresses, huntresses and female athletes, as well as demonesses, remain some of the most notable exceptions to the norm.⁸⁶¹ It is not possible to conduct a comprehensive analysis here, but these trends are sufficiently demonstrated by the Roman mythological sarcophagi.⁸⁶² First of all, the majority of Greek gods and heroes (e.g. Achilles, Mars, Apollo, Adonis, Meleager (pl. 90b)) are typically portrayed in heroic costume, that is, nude but wearing a *chlamys* and armed.⁸⁶³ A few notable exceptions include the hero Ulysses, as well as craftsmen like Vulcan and Daedalus, who regularly wear an *exomis*.⁸⁶⁴ Greek warriors in Amazonomachies are frequently shown in heroic costume, but often wear a short *chiton* (with or without a cuirass) or *exomis*, typically combined

⁸⁵⁷ Spiedel 2012, 9.

⁸⁵⁸ U. Scharf rejects the idea that females adopted the *chlamys*, Scharf 1994, 44-49. The main exceptions to the rule are priestesses, who occasionally fastened their mantles with a brooch (but not in the same fashion as men), as well as empresses depicted as “honorary men” (e.g. Theodora), Croom 2002, 92.

⁸⁵⁹ Goette 1988, 401-423. 444-448.

⁸⁶⁰ A comprehensive analysis of the use of the gender-specific dress among Greek mythological figures in Roman visual culture is not possible here. A general search in the *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (LIMC) reveals that the system remained largely unchanged.

⁸⁶¹ There are, however, a few anomalies (which prove the norm). For instance, Psyche appears in a short *chiton* as she binds Eros’ hands behind his back, perhaps since she is behaving like a demoness, Icard-Gianolio 1994, 578 no. 114. Moreover, Victoria occasionally appears in a short *chiton*, Vollkommer 1997b, 242 no. 26; 254 nos. 222. 223.

⁸⁶² The focus of this examination is the Roman sarcophagi catalogued in *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs XII: Die mythologischen Sarkophage*, Grassinger 1999; Sichtermann 1992; Koch 1975. There are a few benefits of examining this imagery in particular. The majority of the female portraits examined in this dissertation were produced at Rome and in roughly the same time period. Moreover, the mythological scenes were produced not only from existing models, but also with some imagination, which allows us to rule out the possibility that the dress was mindlessly copied. Finally, the visual field is usually heavily populated with mythological figures, often of both sexes, which allows for a clear comparison of their dress.

⁸⁶³ For a few examples of Achilles in heroic costume, Grassinger 1999, pl. 110 fig. 1 (cat. 116); pl. 110 fig. 3 (cat. 122); pl. 111 fig. 1 (cat. 120). For a few examples of Mars in heroic costume, Sichtermann 1992, pl. 4 fig. 1 (cat. 6); pl. 6 fig. 10 (cat. 10); pl. 10 figs. 1-6 (cat. 7). For an example of Apollo in heroic costume, Sichtermann 1992, pl. 1 fig. 1 (cat. 3). For a few examples of Adonis in heroic costume, Grassinger 1999, pl. 38 fig. 1 (cat. 43); pl. 46 fig. 3 (cat. 62); pl. 47 fig. 1 (cat. 55). For a few examples of Meleager in heroic costume, Koch 1975, pl. 2 (cat. 1); pl. 3 (cat. 6); pl. 4 (cat. 4).

⁸⁶⁴ For a few examples of Ulysses in an *exomis*, Grassinger 1999, pl. 5 fig. 2 (cat. 8); pl. 7 fig. 1 (cat. 14); pl. 7 fig. 2 (cat. 18). For a few examples of Vulcan in an *exomis*, Sichtermann 1992, pl. 4 fig. 1 (cat. 6); pl. 4 fig. 3 (cat. 4). For examples of Daedalus in an *exomis*, Sichtermann 1992, pl. 23 fig. 1 (cat. 26); pl. 24 fig. 1 (cat. 25).

with a *chlamys* (pl. 91a).⁸⁶⁵ Moreover, the subsidiary male figures (i.e. companions, assistants, etc.) tend to wear a short *chiton* or *exomis*, with the possibility of adding a *chlamys*. Dignified or elderly men (e.g. Lykomedes, Priam, Proitos) wear long tunics instead.⁸⁶⁶ It is also common for active men especially to wear boots and bear arms. Women, on the other hand, generally have long, voluminous robes, mantles (as well as veils) and sandals, plus female accessories. Exceptions to these rules include mythological warrioresses, huntresses and demonesses (e.g. Amazons (pl. 91a), Atalante, Furies), which are dressed in short tunics, fastened cloaks and boots, and also tend to bear arms.⁸⁶⁷ All of these observations generally conform to the gendered dress code set in ancient Greek visual culture.

The differences in male and female dress are especially pronounced on Roman sarcophagi featuring the myth of Achilles on Skyros.⁸⁶⁸ According to the myth, the nymph Thetis concealed her son Achilles among the daughters of King Lykomedes of Skyros, so as to prevent a prophecy that Achilles would die fighting in the Trojan War. As such, the dress of Achilles on the Roman sarcophagi is virtually identical to the surrounding maidens: he wears lengthy, flowing robes, which usually slip off of his right shoulder and leg (pl. 91b). This dress stands in striking contrast to the other men in the scene, who are depicted in heroic costume, short tunics and cloaks. Overall, the visual evidence strongly suggests that the dress code in Roman visual culture remained the same as before.

3.5 Conclusions

It has been demonstrated that a system of sex-specific dress emerged in ancient Greek visual culture. Certain types of body styling, garments and accessories are particularly associated with male figures, but conspicuously out of place on female figures.⁸⁶⁹ The most significant examples are agonal nudity, short tunics, fastened cloaks, boots, athletic accessories and arms. Whether the system for sex-specific dress attested in the visual culture actually corresponded to contemporary practices in Greek society is a moot point. Semiotic systems are not synonymous, and so any repeating patterns of dress that developed in the imagery are meaningful and demand consideration in their own right.

The visual evidence for cross-dressed females falls into two main categories: the first is related to Greek society, whereas the second is related the mythical mirror thereof, the *mundus inversus*.⁸⁷⁰ The majority of “realistic” cross-dressers are connected to ritual and festive events, performed under the

⁸⁶⁵ For the sarcophagi featuring Amazonomachies, Grassinger 1999, 126-191; 235-259, cat. 88-146; pls. 86-128. For discussion on the dress here, see chap. 5.1.1.2.

⁸⁶⁶ For some examples of Lykomedes wearing a long tunic, Grassinger 1999, pl. 4 fig. 1 (cat. 4); pl. 4 fig.2 (cat. 10). For an example of Priam wearing a long tunic, Grassinger 1999, pl. 87 fig. 1 (cat. 88). For an example of Proitos wearing a long tunic, Sichtermann 1992, pl. 11 fig. 1 (cat. 21).

⁸⁶⁷ For a few examples of Penthesilea in masculine dress, Grassinger 1999, pl. 110 fig. 1 (cat. 116); pl. 110 fig. 3 (cat. 122); pl. 111 fig. 1 (cat. 120). For a few examples of Atalante in masculine dress, Koch 1975, pl. 2 (cat. 1); pl. 3 (cat. 6); pl. 4 (cat. 7). For some examples of the Furies in masculine dress, Sichtermann 1992, pl. 1 fig. 1 (cat. 3); pl. 1 fig. 2 (cat. 2).

⁸⁶⁸ For the sarcophagi featuring the discovery of Achilles on Skyros, Grassinger 1999, 25-43; 196-204 cat. 196-204; pls. 4-27. For discussion on the dress here, see chap. 7.3; app. C.

⁸⁶⁹ For discussion, see chap. 3.2.

⁸⁷⁰ For discussion, see chap. 3.3.

auspices of gender-bending divinities like Artemis and Dionysos. Girls cross-dress for physical education and coming-of-age ceremonies, to evoke a state of liminality preceding their assumption of proper social roles.⁸⁷¹ Women occasionally dress like men in the festive setting of the symposium and komos, where cross-dressing was ritually tolerated to evoke a state of alterity;⁸⁷² arm their male kin for war;⁸⁷³ or else handle athletic accessories as a pretext for showing off their beautiful bodies.⁸⁷⁴

It is hardly surprising that cross-dressed females are most commonly attested not in the “real world”, but in the *mundus inversus*, where the transgression against social norms – including sartorial norms – is more at home. It is possible to identify various subcategories of unreal women here, both mortal and divine, including women out of control (e.g. maenads, murderesses, demonesses),⁸⁷⁵ swift winged goddesses (e.g. Iris, Nike),⁸⁷⁶ and “manly” women (e.g. female athletes, warrioresses, huntresses).⁸⁷⁷ Most of these women were probably viewed with fascination, but also apprehension. All of these cross-dressers are wild, untamed women, outside male control, some of which are even set on the domination or extermination of Greek men.⁸⁷⁸ They conjure up the latent threat of disorder and destruction posed by women from within the *oikos*, thus necessitating and justifying their control by men.⁸⁷⁹ At the same time, these cross-dressers even threaten to call traditional patriarchal institutions into question: the idea that women share the same capacities and qualities as men raises doubts about their inferior status in society.⁸⁸⁰ It is nevertheless clear that women challenging men, killing their own family members, or abandoning their households are presented as negative examples for female behaviour, which ultimately reaffirms the *status quo* in Greek society. The arm-bearing beauties (e.g. Aphrodite, Omphale, Nereids) are a bit more complicated, considering that their takeover of arms is potentially subversive, but nevertheless reinforces traditional gender roles.⁸⁸¹

Taking both “realistic” and mythical cross-dressers into consideration, several overlapping themes can be identified. First of all, it is more likely for “realistic” females of indeterminate or non-ideal status to imitate the dress codes of men.⁸⁸² It seems, however, that factors like immaturity or belonging to the lower classes were merely prerequisites for their transgressive behaviour, not determining factors. Indeed, a system of sex-specific dress for female figures developed irrespective of age, class or ethnicity: it is true that certain dress codes existed for signifying differences between girls and women,

⁸⁷¹ For discussion, see chap. 3.3.1.1.

⁸⁷² For discussion, see chap. 3.3.1.4.

⁸⁷³ For discussion, see chap. 3.3.1.2.

⁸⁷⁴ For discussion, see chap. 3.3.1.3.

⁸⁷⁵ For discussion, see chap. 3.3.2.1.

⁸⁷⁶ For discussion, see chap. 3.3.2.2.

⁸⁷⁷ For discussion, see chap. 3.3.2.4.

⁸⁷⁸ Veness 2002, 104-106 (for Amazons); Parisinou 2002, 55. 61. 66f. (for huntresses).

⁸⁷⁹ It has been argued that images of wild, untamed women (e.g. Amazons, huntresses) were projected on Athenian women as well, Parisinou 2002, 66; Veness 2002, 105f.

⁸⁸⁰ Veness 2002, 104 (for Amazons).

⁸⁸¹ For discussion, see chap. 3.3.2.3.

⁸⁸² This observation has been made for female figures dressed in a short *chiton* or *chlamys*, Lee 2015, 111. 118.

mistresses and servants, or Greeks and barbarians, but without outweighing the need to indicate sexual difference between males and females.⁸⁸³ For mythical females, on the other hand, these prerequisites need not apply. On the contrary, it is often their very divine or heroic status that permits them to transgress the normal bounds for womanly dress and behaviour.

Secondly, it is more likely for women in active roles (e.g. dancing, flying, hunting) to adopt masculine dress.⁸⁸⁴ The practicality of the garments is not, however, the only explanation for this, considering that the same activities can also be carried out in long, flowing robes.⁸⁸⁵ Rather, girls and women wearing short tunics, fastened cloaks or bearing arms seems to mark them as out of the ordinary in some sense.⁸⁸⁶ It is a visual code - which became standard in some cases, but merely optional in others - articulating patterns of behaviour for females that are set in opposition to their established roles in Greek society.⁸⁸⁷ In other words, the cross-dressing motif ultimately points to a state of inversion.

Thirdly, it is possible to negotiate the identity of cross-dressed females through their dress. For instance, the athletic costume of Atalante is conceivably masculine, but differs from her male competitors and companions: most notably, she is excluded from agonal nudity, and instead wears garments that simultaneously obscure and highlight her physical and sexual features, perhaps to cast her as the impossible female athlete.⁸⁸⁸ This phenomenon of feminizing masculine outfits worn by girls and women is intriguing and certainly demands further consideration.

Fourthly, there are numerous cases in which women assume the dress of men, or even imitate their dress behaviour, but without engaging in the masculine roles associated with those items. It is possible for women to prepare the arms for their menfolk, play with them like trophies, or even to use them as props for showing off their erotic beauty.⁸⁸⁹ In these cases, the contrasts come into focus.

Overall, the cross-dressing is a marked sign, pointing to a state of inversion, but hardly threatening in itself. In some cases, the act is conceived of as an exceptional circumstance, which casts the female figures outside of Greek society either temporarily or by definition.⁸⁹⁰ The cross-dressing visualized here is a symbolic act of negation, through which social norms are defined and imbued with significance. In other cases, their takeover of masculine dress is highly artificial or performed for the sake of men, and even reinforces a traditional division of roles and qualities along gendered lines.

⁸⁸³ For discussion, see chap. 3.3.1.5.

⁸⁸⁴ This observation has been made for female figures dressed in a short *chiton*, Lee 2015, 111; Veness 2002, 97.

⁸⁸⁵ Veness 2002, 97 (for Amazons).

⁸⁸⁶ This conclusion has been reached for female figures dressed in a short *chiton*, Veness 2002, 97.

⁸⁸⁷ Veness 2002, 97 (for Amazons); Parisinou 2002, 61. 66f. (for huntresses).

⁸⁸⁸ For discussion, see chap. 3.3.2.4.

⁸⁸⁹ For discussion, see chaps. 3.3.1.2; 3.3.1.3; 3.3.1.4; 3.3.2.3.

⁸⁹⁰ This observation has been made for female figures dressed in a short *chiton*, Lee 2015, 111; Veness 2002, 97.

It seems highly likely that the original gendered connotations of ancient Greek dress were still easily understood in Roman visual culture.⁸⁹¹ The sex-specific dress of “realistic” figures in Roman visual culture exhibits notable commonalities, allowing for the *interpretatio romana* of Greek dress. Furthermore, the sex-specific dress of mythical figures exhibits significant continuity from ancient times, suggesting that there was no breakdown in the visual code. It is now possible to turn to the portraits of women as heroines and goddesses in cross-gendered dress from the Roman Imperial Period, by conducting a detailed analysis of their Greek (or Greek-inspired) dress as a starting point.

⁸⁹¹ For discussion, see chap. 3.4.

4 “Herculean” Women

The starting point for approaching the portraits of men and women in the guise of Hercules and Omphale is a detailed examination of their dress. By approaching the images of Hercules and Omphale in a comprehensive manner, it is possible to consider the sheer variety of ways of bringing about an exchange of gendered dress, as well as the connotations of this, before pinpointing which options were actually latched onto for self-representation and commemoration.

4.1 The Dress of Hercules and Omphale

The most well-known “herculean” woman in classical visual culture is Queen Omphale of Lydia, insofar as she assumes the attributes of Hercules himself (pl. 92a). The literary sources tend to characterize her as a luxurious easterner, as well as a dominant and emasculating woman.⁸⁹² She ruled over a race of effeminate men as a “female tyrant” - she not only executed all of her male lovers, but also forced freeborn maidens into sexual servitude with their own slaves.⁸⁹³ She is therefore characterized as a monstrous woman, and her eastern gynaecocracy as the *mundus inversus*.⁸⁹⁴

Omphale’s threat to social order is epitomized by her treatment of Hercules. The hero is either the queen’s slave, captivated lover, or both. In the earliest version - eventually appearing in mythographic accounts - Hercules is sold into Omphale’s servitude in order to atone for the murder of Iphitus, and he continues to perform heroic deeds on her behalf (e.g. Kekropes, Syleus, Itoni).⁸⁹⁵ She is so impressed by his deeds that she frees him, marries him and bears him a son.⁸⁹⁶ The sense of inversion is therefore limited to the fact that a free Greek man became enslaved to an eastern female ruler.⁸⁹⁷ It is nevertheless possible, based on the comic tradition, for the hero to enjoy a luxurious lifestyle at the Lydian court.⁸⁹⁸ The tale is romanticized by the 4th century BCE at the latest: in this version, Hercules willingly enslaves himself to Omphale due to his consuming passion for her.⁸⁹⁹ The two of them

⁸⁹² For Hercules and Omphale in the literary sources, Boardman 1994, 45f.; Stafford 2012, 132f. Hercules was an complex hero, continually subject to new interpretations in the literary sources (e.g. ultramasculine hero, tragic hero, comic hero); for a broad overview of Hercules in the textual tradition from Homer onwards, Galinsky 1972.

⁸⁹³ Athen. deipn. 12, 11.

⁸⁹⁴ For discussion on the role reversal here, Wagner-Hasel 1998, 211.

⁸⁹⁵ Aischyl. Ag. 1040-1041; Soph. Trach. 70, 252-257, 356-357; see also Apollod. 2, 6, 2-3; Diod. 4, 31, 5-8; Hyg. fab. 32; Plut. qu. Gr. 45. For discussion on the servitude of Hercules to Omphale in the literary sources (before the cross-dressing theme surely appears), Wagner-Hasel 1998, 207-212. F. Wulff Alonso instead argues that these exploits did not contradict his humiliation and subordination, but reinforced them, Wulff Alonso 1996, 108-115.

⁸⁹⁶ Diod. 4, 31, 5-8; see also Apollod. 2, 7, 8. In Apollodorus’ *Bibliotheca*, Greek men and women spend a limited amount of time in a foreign place and establish a genealogical connection with its people before moving on; in the case of Herakles and Omphale in particular, the narrative is colonizing since his marriage to the Queen of Lydia and establishment of a new lineage (reaching down to Kroisos) demonstrates the control of the Greeks over the land and its inhabitants, Fletcher 2008, 69-71.

⁸⁹⁷ Wagner-Hasel 1998, 212.

⁸⁹⁸ Wagner-Hasel 1998, 212.

⁸⁹⁹ For early references to this romanticized variant, see the fragment of Ephoros of Kyme FGrH 70 F 14b = Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1, 1289; Palaiph. 44.

exchange their dress and roles.⁹⁰⁰ He dons feminine dress and carries out wool work for Omphale, whereas she bears his arms (i.e. club, lion skin, bow/quiver) and rules over him.

The general significance of the images of Hercules and Omphale has been addressed elsewhere and merely needs to be summarized and reinforced here.⁹⁰¹ However, less attention has been dedicated to the cross-dressing motif in particular. The following analysis has two main goals. First of all, it is necessary to set clear criteria for the identification of Hercules and Omphale in the visual record. It is generally agreed that cross-dressing is integral to their iconography, but without a detailed consideration of their precise body stylings, garments and accessories, which highlights the sheer variety of possibilities for bringing about an exchanged of gendered dress. Secondly, it is worthwhile examining how this motif is treated or even outright manipulated to produce different effects, depending on the general suitability or particular requirements of the images in their respective physical and social contexts.⁹⁰² The main purpose of all this is to probe how ancient viewers understood and related to the images of Hercules and Omphale, especially in terms of their bodies and dress. The hypothesis offered here is that the exchange of gendered dress is fashioned in a variety of ways, depending on whether the protagonists are set up as comic figures or - conversely - as mythical models for happiness and particular virtues, encouraging indirect or even direct identification.

4.1.1 The Criteria for Identification

The establishment of fixed visual codes and their constant reiteration ensured their universal recognizability and intelligibility.⁹⁰³ Hercules and Omphale reached this status in Roman visual culture, due to the development of essential, identifying features, as well as the substantial increase in the popularity of their images. In other words, it is possible to locate a corpus of images of Hercules and Omphale that had sufficient coherence to be a closed, readily identifiable group, rather than an open group, where the identities of the mythical protagonists were not necessary fixed and therefore subject to interpretation. As soon as the mythological protagonists were clearly recognizable, it was possible to experiment with their imagery - including their dress - to achieve certain aims.

⁹⁰⁰ For examples of Hercules and/or Omphale cross-dressing in the textual sources (whether the hero is willing or unwilling), Lucian. dial. deor. 13; Lucian. hist. conscr. 10; Ov. Fast. 2, 305-358; Ov. epist. 9, 55-120; Prop. 3, 11, 17-20; Prop. 4, 9, 45-49; Quint. inst. 3, 7, 1, 1; Sen. Herc. O. 371-377; Sen. Phaedr. 316-330; Stat. Ach. 1, 256-265; Stat. Theb. 10, 646-649; Tert. pall. 4, 3. For discussion on the cross-dressing of Hercules and Omphale in the literary sources, Wagner-Hasel 1998, 213-216. (Note that Hercules and his cultic adherents are characterized as cross-dressers in other contexts as well, see Bonnet 1996; Loraux 1990. It is beyond the scope of the current analysis to explore the complex and varying significance of these other contexts.)

⁹⁰¹ See chap. 4.1.2.

⁹⁰² The nature and extent of their exchange of gendered dress vary from case to case. Sometimes Hercules is completely dressed like a woman; other times his feminization is barely detectable. Sometimes Omphale can hardly bear the club of Hercules; other times she wields it effortlessly, in a manner similar to the hero himself.

⁹⁰³ For discussion on the Roman "language of images", Hölscher 1987.

Hercules and Omphale are only securely identifiable in the visual culture through a role reversal, which is figuratively expressed by their exchange of gendered dress.⁹⁰⁴

Considering that the myth of Hercules and Omphale is attested by the time of Aischylos and enjoyed considerable popularity in satyr plays and comedies,⁹⁰⁵ it is conceivable that the mythical protagonists already appeared on Greek and then southern Italian vases in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE.⁹⁰⁶ Their identification is based on criteria like the queenly appearance of the female protagonist, the inclusion of spinning implements, or the possible intended exchange of roles or dress (pls. 92b. 93a).⁹⁰⁷ The issue remains, however, that the identification of the female protagonist as Omphale in particular cannot be confirmed in any of these cases.⁹⁰⁸ Other candidates are possible as well, considering that Hercules was married several times (i.e. Megara, Deianeira, Hebe) and enamored with countless women (e.g. Iole).⁹⁰⁹ It is conceivable that the iconography of Hercules and Omphale was simply not fixed enough at this point to allow for an unequivocal identification of these scenes.⁹¹⁰

The turning point came by the Hellenistic Period at the latest. It is conceivable that the cross-dressing theme had entered into the mythical narrative through the comic tradition in particular.⁹¹¹ The exchange of gendered dress between Hercules and Omphale then became an indispensable feature of their images. Omphale appears with the club and lion skin of Hercules by the late 4th century BCE, at least in the minor arts (e.g. coins, gold rings, scaraboids) (pls. 93b. 94).⁹¹² Hercules, on the other hand, does not securely appear in feminine garments or accessories until the 1st century BCE.⁹¹³ From the late Republican Period and then into the Roman Imperial Period, the popularity of Hercules and Omphale in visual culture increased substantially.⁹¹⁴ Their images appear in various media (e.g. sculpture, painting,

⁹⁰⁴ Boardman 1994, 52; Corralini 2000, 71. Hercules is shown in role reversals with other women in the visual record as well (e.g. Athena pursuing Hercules like a rape victim; Hebe leading Hercules like a bride to Mt. Olympus, by driving the chariot or even holding him by the wrist), Deacy 2005, 41-43; however, the exchange of gendered dress is seemingly limited to Hercules and Omphale.

⁹⁰⁵ For Hercules and Omphale in the textual sources, Boardman 1994, 45f.; Stafford 2012, 132f.

⁹⁰⁶ For specific examples and discussion, Boardman 1994, 46f. nos. 1-5; 52; Schauenburg 1960, 66-76; Karl 2007; Stafford, 133f. On a related note, E. Simon argues that a krater dating to ca. 400 BCE features the satyr play "Omphale" by Demetrios, Simon 1971. There is no convincing evidence that Omphale appeared earlier in the visual record. It has been suggested that a marble head from Lycia, dating to ca. 500 BCE, represents Omphale, but this is probably Herakles himself, Kaltsas 2002, 77.

⁹⁰⁷ Boardman 1994, 52. For one of the most plausible suggestions (with Hercules reaching out to accept a garment from a woman, and perhaps preparing to pass her his lion skin), Boardman 1994, 46 no. 2; 52; this has also been identified as Deianeira offering Hercules a poisoned garment, Boardman et al. 1988, 835 no. 1680.

⁹⁰⁸ Boardman 1994, 52.

⁹⁰⁹ For the images of Hercules with various women, Boardman et al. 1988, 821-824 nos. 1524-1558.

⁹¹⁰ For discussion on how the iconography of Hercules developed between the Geometric and Roman Periods, bringing about standardized image types, recognizable scenes, and so on, Boardman et al. 1990, 187-192.

⁹¹¹ It is possible that the cross-dressing theme featured in Attic satyr plays and comedies (since there are at least hints of the hero leading a luxurious lifestyle at the Lydian court), but it is first securely attested in the 1st century BCE, Boardman 1994, 46. For further discussion on the satyr plays, comedies and mimes featuring Hercules and Omphale, Easterling 2007; Jarcho 1987; Karl 2007, 166-168; Kirkpatrick 2002, 35-41.

⁹¹² Boardman 1994, 51 nos. 55. 58. 59. 71. 72; 52.

⁹¹³ Boardman 1994, 47 nos. 16. 18. 19; 48 nos. 23. 24; 49 nos. 34, 36; 52. It is, however, possible that Hellenistic works are reflected in Roman visual culture; for examples, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 23. 29.

⁹¹⁴ For Hercules and Omphale in the visual sources, Boardman 1994, 46-53.

mosaics, ceramics, gems), especially in private contexts (e.g. domestic, funerary). It does not seem fruitful to attempt a chronological development of the imagery here. Rather, the following analysis will focus on their iconography in general, especially their essential features (i.e. the exchange of gendered dress) and then their variable features (e.g. pose, interaction, setting, etc.).

4.1.1.1 The Dress

4.1.1.1.1 The Dress of Hercules (at the Lydian Court)

Hercules is renowned for performing superhuman feats, in order to rid the land of criminals and beasts.⁹¹⁵ His greatest weapon is undoubtedly his powerful, muscular body.⁹¹⁶ It therefore seems natural that the hero is portrayed in a state of undress, in order to show off his corporeal qualities and capacities in particular.⁹¹⁷ Besides that, Hercules' most characteristic arms are his club and lion skin: these attributes not only identify him as a strong and combative figure, but also testify to his former ultramasculine deeds (that is, uprooting a tree trunk and slaying the Nemean lion with his bare hands).⁹¹⁸ Supplementary weapons include the bow and quiver (e.g. for shooting the Stymphalian Birds). Hercules is also a notorious drinker. It is possible to portray the hero wearing a wreath⁹¹⁹ and his lion skin like a *himation* in festive contexts,⁹²⁰ but without completely obscuring his powerful body. His drinking vessel of choice is the *skyphos*.⁹²¹ Other attributes (e.g. cornucopia, globe) are attested as well,⁹²² but none of these are distinctive to him.

At the court of Omphale in Lydia, however, Hercules is almost invariably portrayed with garments and accessories characteristic of the opposite sex. In the most extreme cases, he is dressed from head to foot like a woman. He wears a long gown (either a *peplos* or *chiton*), which is girdled just under the chest (e.g. pl. 92a).⁹²³ If the colour of the gown is preserved, then a saffron pigment (i.e. *krokotos*) is favoured, presumably due to its feminine connotations.⁹²⁴ Another common colour is purple, which has connotations of wealth and status, potentially slipping into extravagance and hence effeminacy.⁹²⁵ His

⁹¹⁵ For Hercules in the textual sources, Boardman et al. 1988, 728-731; Galinsky 1972.

⁹¹⁶ For his body as a weapon, Stähli 2012, 233.

⁹¹⁷ For his physical appearance (i.e. usually nude in Roman visual culture), Boardman et al. 1990, 184.

⁹¹⁸ For his arms and armour, Boardman et al. 1990, 184-186. For further discussion, see chap. 3.2.3.1.1.

⁹¹⁹ Boardman et al. 1990, 184.

⁹²⁰ Herakles wears a *himation* in ancient Greek visual culture (with or without the lion skin) as attire for relaxing, Boardman et al. 1990, 184. It seems, however, that this is not a common feature of Roman visual culture. For instance, if Hercules is shown reclining (also with Bacchus), then the lion skin doubles as a mantle; for examples, Boardman et al. 1988, 778 nos. 1023. 1025; 1039; Boardman et al. 1990, 156f. nos. 3253. 3254. Hercules also wears the lion skin as a mantle around his body on hip herms; for examples, Boardman et al. 1988, 781-784 nos. 1104-1172. For a rare example of Hercules wrapped in the *himation* (in the *thiasos*), Boardman et al. 1990, 159 no. 3278 (note, however, that the identification as Hercules here is not clear here).

⁹²¹ Boardman et al. 1990, 186.

⁹²² For the other attributes of Hercules, Boardman et al. 1990, 186.

⁹²³ For examples, Boardman 1994, 47 no. 14 (although the precise length of the gown is not visible); 48 nos. 22. 23. 27. 28; 49 nos. 33. 36. 37. 39; 50 no. 42.

⁹²⁴ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 27. 28; for discussion, Boardman 1994, 53. For the connotations of saffron-coloured garments, Olson 2017, 141; see also chap. 3.3.1.1.2.

⁹²⁵ For examples, Boardman 1994, 47 no. 14; 49 no. 39. For the connotations of purple dress, Olson 2017, 109-111.

long gown is occasionally combined with a *himation*,⁹²⁶ at times worn over his head like a veil.⁹²⁷ He often wears a cloth head covering (e.g. *sakkos*, *mitra*),⁹²⁸ which is a distinctly feminine article of dress.⁹²⁹ It is possible to adorn him with jewellery (e.g. hair band, necklace).⁹³⁰ He is normally barefoot,⁹³¹ but in some cases, it is possible to detect slippers, which have effeminate connotations.⁹³² Besides that, he often holds the instruments for spinning (spindle, distaff), with the wool basket (*kantharos*) in his hands or at his feet.⁹³³ In one case, a female attendant holds a parasol over his head, which is a sign of eastern luxury and femininity.⁹³⁴ It is true that Hercules wears feminine garments and accessories, but his body styling clearly identifies him as male (e.g. facial hair, tanned skin, intimations of his muscular physique, revelation of his genitals).⁹³⁵ It is essential for the attributes of Hercules (e.g. club, lion skin, quiver, *skyphos*) to appear in these scenes - these items are either in the possession of Omphale herself or at least of the subsidiary figures in her retinue.⁹³⁶

In other cases, however, Hercules is only partially dressed up like a woman. He is portrayed more or less nude, but with a selection of feminine (or at least effeminate) accessories, such as the cloth head covering, jewellery (e.g. finger rings, earrings, armlets) and slippers (e.g. pl. 110a).⁹³⁷ He can also don gender-neutral articles of dress (e.g. wreaths, *himation*), which are nevertheless suitable for festive contexts.⁹³⁸ It is possible to show the hero with his supplementary weapons (e.g. quiver) or drinking vessels (e.g. *skyphos*) - he is, however, no longer clearly in possession of these items, due to a group of erotes playfully stealing them from him.⁹³⁹ Hercules is portrayed with masculine body styling (e.g. facial hair, tanned skin, male genitals), with the muscular physique particularly obvious due to his relative

⁹²⁶ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 22. 27. 28; 49 no. 36.

⁹²⁷ For an example, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 39.

⁹²⁸ Boardman 1994, 53. For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 22, 23; 49 nos. 33. 37. 39; 50 no. 42. Alternatively, the head is adorned with a wreath (for examples, Boardman 1994, 47 no. 14; 48 nos. 27, 28) or even left bare (for an example, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 36).

⁹²⁹ For discussion on cloth head coverings for women, Lee 2015, 158-160.

⁹³⁰ For an example, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 37.

⁹³¹ Note that the footwear is difficult to evaluate in general. For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 23. 33.

⁹³² For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 28; 49 no. 37. For the connotations of slippers (e.g. luxury, effeminacy), Olson 2017, 116f.

⁹³³ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 23; 49 nos. 23. 37. 39; 50 no. 42; for discussion, 53.

⁹³⁴ For an example, Boardman 1994, 94 no. 36. For discussion on parasols, see Lee 2015, 167-169.

⁹³⁵ Noted by M. Loar in select cases, Loar 2015, 135-137. 199-201.

⁹³⁶ For some examples of Omphale with the club and lion skin of Hercules, Boardman 1994, 47 no. 14; 48 nos. 22. 23; 49 nos. 33. 36. 39; 50, no. 42. In one case, however, the club is merely between Hercules and Omphale, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 37. Otherwise, the attributes of Hercules are in the hand of erotes or fellow bacchants, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 27. 28; 49 nos. 36. 37.

⁹³⁷ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 29; 49 no. 34. Roman men wear rings for decoration, to ward off evil and for sealing documents, but men wearing too many rings or too luxurious rings could be deemed effeminate, Olson 2017, 119-121. 140. Other forms of jewellery were perceived as effeminate as well, Olson 2017, 121. 140.

⁹³⁸ For examples, Boardman 1994, 47 no. 16; 48 no. 29. 30; see also Boardman 1994, 49 cat. 40. It is notable, however, that Hercules wears a purple *himation*, which is a luxurious and potentially effeminate colour (see Olson 2017, 109-111); for examples, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 29. 30.

⁹³⁹ For an example, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 29; see also Boardman 1994, 48. No. 30; 49 no. 40.

state of undress.⁹⁴⁰ It is essential for the club and lion skin of Hercules to be present in these scenes, with at least one of these arms in the possession of Omphale herself.

In rare cases, Hercules is portrayed in his usual dress: that is, nude but for the club and lion skin, or at least one of these two attributes (e.g. pls. 123. 124).⁹⁴¹ In such cases, Omphale is left with the remaining club or lion skin, or at least one of his supplementary weapons (i.e. bow, quiver).

4.1.1.1.2 The Dress of Omphale

Omphale is commonly portrayed nude - just like Hercules - but occasionally with a *himation* around her waist.⁹⁴² In rare cases, she wears a *strophion* (i.e. breast-band).⁹⁴³ It is nevertheless possible to dress her like a respectable woman in a long gown (e.g. *peplos*, *chiton*),⁹⁴⁴ at times combined with a *himation*.⁹⁴⁵ The garment frequently slips off her shoulder.⁹⁴⁶ If the colour of the garments is preserved, then saffron or purple is often attested.⁹⁴⁷ It is possible for her to wear jewellery (e.g. hair bands, necklaces, earrings, armlets, bracelets, finger rings),⁹⁴⁸ to hold a fan⁹⁴⁹ and to wear sandals.⁹⁵⁰

Most notably, Omphale is practically always shown with the club and lion skin of Hercules, or at least one of these two attributes (pl. 95a).⁹⁵¹ It is possible for her to wear the *chlamys* - as generally masculine dress - in lieu of the lion skin.⁹⁵² In some cases, she is portrayed with the supplementary weapon of the hero (i.e. bow, quiver), either in addition to his club and lion skin or even in lieu of these attributes.⁹⁵³ It is nevertheless possible for Omphale to appear without any of these weapons, as long as Hercules is completely dressed like a woman (i.e. in a long gown, usually with other feminine accessories).⁹⁵⁴ In such cases, the arms are typically near Omphale, or else carried by erotes on her

⁹⁴⁰ Noted by M. Loar in select cases, Loar 2015, 135-137. 199-201.

⁹⁴¹ For some examples, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 21; 50, no. 48; 51, no. 57; Hodske 2007, 173 cat. 731. Hercules is simply depicted nude in one instance, with his hands in a club-carrying position, Boardman 1994, 52 no. 74.

⁹⁴² For examples with the *himation*, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 27; 49 no. 41; 51 no. 57.

⁹⁴³ For examples, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 40; 52 no. 80.

⁹⁴⁴ For examples, Boardman 1994, 47 nos. 14. 16; 49 nos. 28. 29.; 49 nos. 37; 51 no. 58; Hodske 2007, 173 cat. 731; Seiler 1992, 117 cat. 8; 130f.; pl. 551.

⁹⁴⁵ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 28. 29; Hodske 2007, 173 cat. 731.

⁹⁴⁶ For examples, Boardman 1994, 47 no. 16; 48 nos. 28. 29; Seiler 1992, 117 cat. 8; 130-131; pl. 551.

⁹⁴⁷ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 28. 29; Hodske 2007, 173 cat. 731.

⁹⁴⁸ For examples, Boardman 1994, 47 no. 14; 48 nos. 27-29; 49 nos. 33. 37.

⁹⁴⁹ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 27. 28. For discussion on fans, Lee 2015, 167. It seems that Omphale holds items for spinning in some cases (probably to present them to Hercules), Boardman 1994, 49 no. 39.

⁹⁵⁰ Note that the footwear is difficult to evaluate in general. For some examples of Omphale wearing sandals, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 29; 49 no. 37.

⁹⁵¹ These attributes are basically standard in images of Omphale; for examples, Boardman 1994, 47 nos. 14. 16; 48 nos. 23. 29. 31; 49 nos. 33. 34. 36. 40; 50, no. 42; 51-52 nos. 71-77.

⁹⁵² For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 21; 49 no. 34 (note on the intaglio).

⁹⁵³ For examples, Boardman 1994, 50 no. 42; 51 nos. 55. 57. 60; 52 nos. 79. 80; Hodske 2007, 173 cat. 731. Omphale's possession of Hercules' bow and arrows is also attested in the textual sources; for examples, Ov. fast. 2, 325-326; Ov. epist. 9, 115.

⁹⁵⁴ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 27. 28; 49 no. 40.

behalf.⁹⁵⁵ Besides that, she occasionally appears with a *skyphos*, which is the hero's drinking vessel of choice.⁹⁵⁶ Some additional festive attributes include wreaths, garlands and ivy (on the *skythos*).⁹⁵⁷

Regardless of her precise garments and accessories, her body styling clearly identifies her as female (e.g. pale skin, soft body, feminine hairstyles).⁹⁵⁸

4.1.1.1.3 Summary

Hercules and Omphale are instantly recognizable as a man and woman respectively, despite their tendency to cross-dress, due to their body styling. The exchange of gendered garments and accessories needs to occur in at least one direction. Hercules is only portrayed at the Lydian court in the presence of Omphale. If Hercules is obviously dressed like a woman (e.g. long gown), then it is possible, but not necessary, for Omphale to assume his club and lion skin. If Hercules is cross-dressed in a limited manner (e.g. nude but feminine accessories) or not at all, then Omphale needs to assume his club or lion skin, or at least his bow or quiver, in order to make the identification clear. It is possible to portray Omphale without Hercules. She must, however, assume the club and lion skin of the hero in this case.

4.1.1.2 Other Common Features

The other features of the iconography of Hercules and Omphale are non-essential and therefore variable. The most notable observations will be outlined here.

Omphale is frequently visualized in her own right, either in head/bust format (frontal or profile) or as a full figure, standing, walking, dancing, sitting or lying down.⁹⁵⁹

There are several possibilities for representing Hercules and Omphale together, in terms of their relative positions, their poses and actions, as well as their interactions.⁹⁶⁰ It is possible to divide these images into four main themes. 1) First of all, Hercules and Omphale are simply shown as addorsed heads: he wears a cloth head covering, whereas she wears the lion skin.⁹⁶¹ 2) Secondly, Hercules is presented as a spectacle for Omphale: the queen observes the cross-dressed, drunken and lovesick hero - who is often placed in the centre or the foreground of the composition - probably with amusement.⁹⁶² Hercules tends to focus his attention elsewhere, but he occasionally gazes back at Omphale, perhaps

⁹⁵⁵ For an example with the attributes nearby, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 37. For examples with the attributes carried by erotes, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 27. 28. In some cases, Omphale already has some arms of Hercules, but erotes carry additional (or duplicate) attributes on her behalf; for some examples, Boardman 1994, 47 no. 18; 48 no. 29; 49 nos. 40. 41.

⁹⁵⁶ For examples (note that the *skyphos* is often presented to her by attendants), Boardman 1994, 49 nos. 36. 41; 52 no. 80. It is also possible for erotes to play with his *skyphos*, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 27-29. In one case, her male attendants also carry oversized drinking horns, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 36.

⁹⁵⁷ For examples, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 40; 52 no. 80; Hodske 2007, 173 cat. 731.

⁹⁵⁸ Noted by M. Loar in select cases, Loar 2015, 135-137. 201f.

⁹⁵⁹ For the images of Omphale portrayed alone, Boardman 1994, 50-52 nos. 43-81.

⁹⁶⁰ For the images of Hercules and Omphale portrayed together, Boardman 1994, 47-50 nos. 14-42.

⁹⁶¹ For examples, Boardman 1994, 46 nos. 18. 19; 48 no. 20.

⁹⁶² For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 23. 24. 27-29; 49 nos. 36. 37. 39; 50 no. 42.

with a sense of longing.⁹⁶³ The mythical protagonists often stand or sit next to each other, or else in the same procession of chariots.⁹⁶⁴ In a few cases, however, Hercules and Omphale are shown on different levels, in order to highlight the superior position of the Lydian Queen.⁹⁶⁵ The hero stands before the queen on her throne, which references his subservient status.⁹⁶⁶ Otherwise, the queen observes the hero, placed in the foreground, from above.⁹⁶⁷ 3) Thirdly, Hercules and Omphale are portrayed as lovers. They are shown in bust format or standing, gazing at each other and locked in a mutual embrace, or else reclining and making love.⁹⁶⁸ In other cases, however, Hercules assaults Omphale.⁹⁶⁹ They are depicted standing and struggling with each other.⁹⁷⁰ Alternatively, Omphale stands next to Hercules on the ground, attempting to stop him from tugging at her lion skin.⁹⁷¹ 4) Fourthly, Hercules and Omphale are portrayed standing side by side, but each in their own visual field, with no clear interaction between them.⁹⁷² Note that there are other possibilities as well.

Considering the corpus of images as a whole, Hercules and Omphale appear in the following settings (with the possibility for overlap): in isolation (i.e. in a poorly defined context);⁹⁷³ in a courtly context;⁹⁷⁴ in the women's quarters;⁹⁷⁵ in a private, intimate setting;⁹⁷⁶ in the Dionysian throng;⁹⁷⁷ in a rustic or sacral-idyllic setting;⁹⁷⁸ or even in a heroic context.⁹⁷⁹

It is significant that the majority of these images are influenced by erotic and bacchic iconography, especially in cases where Hercules and Omphale are shown together.⁹⁸⁰ Heroic themes are muted.⁹⁸¹

4.1.2 The Significance of the Imagery - Disarming Love, Dionysian Excess

It is possible to speak of an overarching interpretation of the imagery, which is relevant in most cases.⁹⁸² It has long been recognized that the imagery of Hercules and Omphale evokes the triumph of Eros and Dionysos in particular.⁹⁸³ This idea is based on a series of domestic wall-paintings from Pompeii, where Omphale observes a group of erotes stealing the weapons of a drunken, cross-dressed

⁹⁶³ For examples, Boardman 1994, 49 nos. 36. 39; 50, no. 42.

⁹⁶⁴ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 23. 24. 29; 49 nos. 36. 37; 50 no. 42.

⁹⁶⁵ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 27. 28; 49 no. 39.

⁹⁶⁶ For an example, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 39.

⁹⁶⁷ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 27. 28.

⁹⁶⁸ For examples, Boardman 1994, 47, nos. 14. 16; 48 no. 21; 49 no. 34.

⁹⁶⁹ For examples, Boardman 1994, 49 nos. 31. 33. 40.

⁹⁷⁰ For an example, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 33.

⁹⁷¹ For examples, Boardman 1994, 49 nos. 31. 40. For a possible example, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 30.

⁹⁷² For an example, Boardman 1994, 51 no. 57.

⁹⁷³ For examples, Boardman 1994, 47 no. 18; 50 no. 50; 51 nos. 59-61. 71-73; 52 nos. 74-78.

⁹⁷⁴ For examples, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 39; 50 no. 42.

⁹⁷⁵ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 23. 28; 49 no. 37; 50 no. 42.

⁹⁷⁶ For examples, Boardman 1994, 47 nos. 14. 16; 48 no. 22; 49 no. 34.

⁹⁷⁷ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 27. 29; 49 nos. 33. 36. 40; 51 no. 64.

⁹⁷⁸ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 27. 28; 49 nos. 31. 37; 52 nos. 79. 80.

⁹⁷⁹ For examples, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 39; 51 no. 57.

⁹⁸⁰ For examples, Boardman 1994, 47 nos. 14. 16; 48 nos. 27- 30; 49 nos. 31. 33-37. 40. 41; 51 no. 64; 52 nos. 79. 80.

⁹⁸¹ For examples, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 39; 51 no. 57.

⁹⁸² C. Ellinghaus makes a similar argument, Ellinghaus 2006, 180.

⁹⁸³ Lippold 1951, 128f.

Hercules (pl. 108b).⁹⁸⁴ “The modern viewer is prone to see in these kinds of images just depravity, sinking into the sensual pleasures of eroticism and alcohol; for the ancient viewer it is the gods who triumph.”⁹⁸⁵ This argument has since been slightly nuanced by downplaying the religiosity of the images, considering that Omphale is no sense divine.⁹⁸⁶ Instead, the imagery is rightly viewed in an allegorical sense, as a testament to the powerful effects of love and wine in general. This hypothesis is strongly supported by three trends in the visual record.

First of all, the images of Hercules and Omphale are situated within the broader visual tradition of disarming love - that is, of erotes disarming mighty heroes, at times on behalf of beautiful women.⁹⁸⁷ The tradition was perhaps heralded by Aetion’s “Marriage of Alexander the Great and Roxane” from the 4th century BCE: here, a group of erotes leads the Macedonian ruler to his beautiful bride and plays with his abandoned arms.⁹⁸⁸ The same motif appears in images of Ares and Aphrodite.⁹⁸⁹ By the Hellenistic Period at the latest, Hercules is portrayed as the victim of erotes stealing his weapons (pl. 95b).⁹⁹⁰ The images of Eros wearing the club and lion skin of Hercules are seemingly connected to this narrative as well (pl. 96a).⁹⁹¹ It is notable that erotes with herculean attributes are occasionally integrated into the representations of Hercules and Omphale. The series of Pompeian wall-paintings uniquely feature the

⁹⁸⁴ For the wall-paintings, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 27. 28. A. Coralini has reinterpreted these wall-paintings as “Hercules drunk and at the mercy of erotes, in the presence of Aphrodite and Dionysos and his *thiasos*”, Coralini 2000, 74-79 (translation by the author). This reinterpretation is not convincing. Hercules wears a long, feminine robe, which is sufficient to make the identification as Hercules at the Lydian court (even if Omphale does not handle the club and lion skin, since the erotes do this on her behalf); for further discussion, see chap. 4.1.3.2

⁹⁸⁵ Lippold 1951, 129 (translation by the author); K. Schefold follows this view, Schefold 1962, 76. 81. 121.

⁹⁸⁶ Schauenburg 1960, 65f. More specifically, he argues that the almightiness of Aphrodite is manifested through Omphale in an allegorical sense (but does not explicitly refer to the influence of wine). It is, however, possible that Omphale was a goddess in pre-Hellenic religion, see Suhr 1951; Suhr 1953.

⁹⁸⁷ S. Woodford notes that the images of Hercules with Eros could serve as allegories for the power of love in general; moreover, the series of frescoes with erotes stealing the arms of Hercules in the presence of Omphale certainly illustrate this, Woodford 1989, esp. 203f.; for the material and further discussion, see the analysis of S. Woodford in Boardman et al. 1990, 173-176 nos. 3419-3431. The term “disarming love” (*entwaffnende Liebe*) is used by S. Oehmke, who elaborates on S. Woodford’s work by claiming that the visual tradition of disarming love formed the foundation for the images of Hercules and Omphale as a whole, Oehmke 2000, 186-193.

⁹⁸⁸ Woodford 1989, 202f. For the painting (which is no longer extant, but known from an ekphrasis by Lucian. Herod. 4-6), Hermay et al. 1986, 906 no. 641. The overall spirit of the work is probably preserved in a Pompeian wall-painting, where the hero admires his beloved, accompanied by an *eros* hovering around the shield and helmet at her feet; for the wall-painting, PPM VI (1996) 92 nos. 104a-c figs. 104a-c s.v. VI, 17, 42 (V. Sampaolo).

⁹⁸⁹ S. Woodford suggests that that images of Eros with the attributes of Ares (Anth. Gr. 16, 214-215) stand in the tradition of disarming love as well, Woodford 1989, 203 footnote 29. Pompeian wall-paintings with Ares and Aphrodite show erotes playing with the weapons; for examples, Simon - Bauchhenss 1986, 547 nos. 376. 377.

⁹⁹⁰ S. Woodford identifies two visual antecedents for the theft of Hercules’ attributes by erotes: first of all, the images of subhuman figures (e.g. satyrs) stealing Hercules’ attributes, and secondly, the images of Eros with incongruous attributes (e.g. the thunder bolt), Woodford 1989, 201-203. According to the Anth. Gr. 16, 103-104, Lysippos already created a statue of Hercules disarmed by Eros, but it not certain that Eros was visualized here or if the statue actually existed, Woodford 1989, 202. The first extant image of Hercules being robbed of his arms by erotes dates to the Hellenistic Period (pl. 95b), Woodford 1989, 203.

⁹⁹¹ Woodford 1989, 203. S. Ritter analyses the representations of Hercules and Eros on gems, which reveals similar motifs evoking the power of love, Ritter 1995, 104f. 108.

theft itself (pls. 108b. 109).⁹⁹² Moreover, the erotes amuse themselves with the stolen weapons in the presence of Omphale (e.g. pl. 110a), or award them to her directly (e.g. pl. 106b).⁹⁹³

Secondly, Omphale is herself a beautiful, seductive woman: indeed, her images tend to emphasize her Aphrodite-like appearance and gestures, and hence captivating beauty (e.g. pl. 92a).⁹⁹⁴ As such, her mere acquisition of the club and lion skin of Hercules evokes disarming love.⁹⁹⁵ The images are comparable to those of Aphrodite with the weapons of Ares:⁹⁹⁶ “the contrast can be said to emphasize traditional gender roles, but at the same time it makes the power of the female apparent: both have triumphed over their lovers and taken their weapons, sword and club, as spoils. Thus a certain ambiguity is inherent in the motif.”⁹⁹⁷ The benefit of this approach is that the imagery of Hercules and Omphale is still viewed in light of the tradition of disarming love, but without relying on supplementary motifs (e.g. erotes with herculean attributes) in order to grasp its essential, allegorical significance.

Thirdly, the images of Hercules and Omphale frequently include Dionysian features.⁹⁹⁸ It is not uncommon to portray them as bacchantes in the *thiasos* (e.g. pl. 110a).⁹⁹⁹ They are even directly modeled after satyrs and maenads in a few instances.¹⁰⁰⁰ Hercules struggles with Omphale, much like the other bacchantes around them (e.g. satyrs/maenads, satyrs/hermaphrodites) (pl. 96b).¹⁰⁰¹ She takes on the role of a dancing maenad, with her head turned back and lion skin flying behind her like a *nebris* (pl. 97a),¹⁰⁰² as well as the role of a sleeping maenad, exhausted from the revelry (pl. 97b).¹⁰⁰³

In summary, it is convincing that the images of Hercules and Omphale evoke the triumph of love in an allegorical manner, as well as the pleasures of leisurely pursuits in general, such as reveling and drinking wine. This is not to exclude the possibility of manipulating the iconography to produce

⁹⁹² Woodford 1989, 203; for the wall-paintings, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 27. 28.

⁹⁹³ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 29; 49 nos. 40. 41; 52 nos. 79. 80.

⁹⁹⁴ Oehmke 2000, 180. 182. 191. The argument is primarily based on an iconographic analysis of the Naples-Copenhagen Statue Group of Hercules and Omphale from the 1st CE (see Boardman 1994, 48 no. 23), which is a variation on the Aphrodite Anadyomene in particular; on the other hand, the nude body exhibits an ideal of beauty and proportions closer to Hermaphroditus, and is also partially masculinized through the relatively rigid and strong pose, as well as wearing the lion skin like a *chlamys*, Oehmke 2000, 167-174.

⁹⁹⁵ Oehmke 2000, 191.

⁹⁹⁶ For discussion, see chap. 3.3.2.3.

⁹⁹⁷ Flemberg 1995, 114

⁹⁹⁸ For discussion, Boardman 1994, 53; Kampen 1996b, 242f.; Oehmke 2000, 182-186; Zanker 1999, 123f.

⁹⁹⁹ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 29; 49 no. 33.

¹⁰⁰⁰ For examples, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 33; 51 no. 64; 52 nos. 79. 80. Moreover, S. Oehmke's analysis of the Naples-Copenhagen Statue Group of Hercules and Omphale (see Boardman 1994, 48 no. 23) reveals that the hairstyle is similar to that of members of the *thiasos* or even Dionysos himself, Oehmke 2000, 173-174.

¹⁰⁰¹ For the image, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 33.

¹⁰⁰² For the image, Boardman 1994, 51 no. 64.

¹⁰⁰³ Kampen 1996b, 242; for the images, Boardman 1994, 52 nos. 79. 80.

supplementary or even entirely new evocations¹⁰⁰⁴ - this will be considered in more detail here, especially in terms of the treatment of the cross-dressing motif.

4.1.3 The Treatment of the Cross-Dressing Motif

Hercules and Omphale appear almost exclusively in domestic setting until the 2nd century CE; thereafter, their images were introduced into the funerary sphere as well.¹⁰⁰⁵ How these overarching themes of disarming love and Dionysian excess were perceived in these private contexts - as shameful, humorous, or perhaps even desirable - demands consideration on an individual basis. Furthermore, Hercules and Omphale cross-dress in a variety of ways. It is worthwhile considering the sheer diversity of options, as well as how the selection of particular outfits potentially nuances the significance of the imagery and impacts its reception by the viewer.

Of particular interest here are the issues of spectatorship and identification. The spectator is a relatively detached viewing subject adopting an ideal position anticipated by the producers of a text. According to the theory of the male gaze, women are portrayed as sexual objects for the pleasure of the male, heterosexual viewer, including the producer of the text, its internal viewer and its external viewer.¹⁰⁰⁶ In the process, men are established as the active, dominant subject and women as the passive, dominated object, which naturalizes the inequality between the sexes in patriarchal societies. The nature of the female gaze is more elusive. It has been proposed that women essentially adopt the male gaze, thus viewing women according to male pleasures of voyeurism and fetishism¹⁰⁰⁷ - in this way, women can enjoy freedom of action and control, yet “the female spectator’s phantasy of masculinisation is always to some extent at cross-purposes with itself, restless in its transvestite clothes.”¹⁰⁰⁸ This view has been criticized, by noting the possibility for women to objectify men as well: some claim that women possess their own female gaze (e.g. looking at “boy toys”);¹⁰⁰⁹ others claim that women step into the masculine position when objectifying men, thus reaffirming the gendered nature

¹⁰⁰⁴ P. Zanker argues that the images invite different interpretations, depending on which iconographic features are highlighted or suppressed, Zanker 1999, 124. Issues of reception also complicate any straightforward understanding of the imagery (depending on the viewer’s background or experiences).

¹⁰⁰⁵ Kampen 1996b, 237f.

¹⁰⁰⁶ For J. Berger’s theory of the male gaze (in image studies), Berger 1972. For L. Mulvey’s theory of the male gaze (in film studies), Mulvey 1975; she also points out the role that identification plays in this process, since the external viewer is encouraged to identify with the internal viewer in the film (for an overview of her theory of the male gaze, as well as later criticism, see Chaudhuri 2006, 31-44).

¹⁰⁰⁷ Mulvey 1981. In other words, she argues for the “... ‘masculinisation’ of the spectator position, regardless of the actual sex (or possible deviance) of any real live movie-goer,” Mulvey 1981, 12.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Mulvey 1981 (quote on p. 15). The reason for this is presumably that the female spectator’s adoption of the male gaze is not truly liberating, since it ultimately reinforces the same dichotomy of male/active/looking vs. female/passive/looked at; moreover, it is simply uncomfortable, since it does not feel so “natural”.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Moore 1988. As shown by E. Bartman, the concept of the “sexy boy” also existed in the Roman world, Bartman 2002. A series of ideal statues of youths with coiffed hair, soft bodies and languid poses (e.g. Bacchus, Paris, Ganymede) probably mirror the young, good-looking, foreign slaves in Roman households, which were primarily the object of the male gaze. She nevertheless acknowledges the possibility that these statues appealed to the women as well: “At their wedding feast, Augustus and Livia were entertained by nude young boys... whom Dio tells us were especially enjoyed by women. Just as they enjoyed the physical presence of attractive nude boys, so women must have enjoyed looking at their statues. Thus the ‘female’ gaze must not be excluded. Clearly one did not have to be a pederast in order to appreciate statues suggestive of the pederast’s love object,” Bartman 2002, 270.

of the gaze.¹⁰¹⁰ Moreover, both the concept of the male gaze and the female gaze are too limiting in general, considering that other factors - such as race, class and sexuality - play a role here as well.¹⁰¹¹ Besides this, spectators can gaze upon both men and women for other reasons entirely, such as evaluating their bodies, clothes and behaviour, especially in comparison to themselves.¹⁰¹²

“Unlike the more distanced mode of reception - that of spectatorship - *identification* is a mechanism through which audience members experience reception and interpretation of the text from the inside, as if the events were happening to them... [which] leads to the (temporary) adoption of an external point of view and to viewing the world through an alternative social reality.”¹⁰¹³ The capacity for the viewer to identify with particular characters is not necessarily contingent on perceived similarities or values, for identification is innate to human nature. It is for this reason that one can identify with both “heroes” and “villains”. Temporary identification contributes to the formation of self-identity through the psychological mechanisms of association, or conversely, distancing: indeed, outcomes of identification might include an increased affinity with certain characters, and perhaps even imitation of them, or else a host of unsettling emotions, such as dissonance, remorse or even fear.¹⁰¹⁴

Against this theoretical background, it is worthwhile exploring the potential for the viewers to not only to gaze at Hercules and Omphale, but also to identify with them, especially in terms of the implications for the cross-dressing motif. The main question here is: if cross-dressing is typically ascribed negative connotations in Roman society, how was the motif squared away with the visual function of Hercules and Omphale as positive models for identification? How is Hercules and Omphale’s exchange of gendered dress perceived and manipulated, in order to produce a spectacle, or, conversely, to provoke a satisfying identification with them in private contexts?¹⁰¹⁵

The following analysis will focus on some of the most popular categories of objects featuring Hercules and Omphale: tableware, wall-paintings, objects of personal adornment and sarcophagi. There are three benefits to focusing on these objects in particular. First of all, it is a representative sample, which takes all of the possibilities for the exchange of gendered dress into account. Secondly, it is possible to reconstruct the social context from the object itself, and occasionally its findspot, in order

¹⁰¹⁰ Kaplan 1983.

¹⁰¹¹ For discussion on this critique, see Chaudhuri 2006, 43.

¹⁰¹² There was a strong tendency for the Romans to recognize mythical, legendary and historical figures as exempla (whether positive or negative), see Bell 2008. As will be shown here, it seems highly likely that this was the case for Hercules and Omphale in visual culture as well.

¹⁰¹³ Cohen 2001, 245. 248. For a summary on the theories of viewer identification (e.g. Freud, Wollheim, Bettelheim), Cohen 2001, 247-250.

¹⁰¹⁴ Cohen 2001, 252.

¹⁰¹⁵ There are several ways of promoting identification (see Cohen 2001, 257-259), several of which are relevant here: 1) the similarity of the characters to the audience members (e.g. images of Hercules and Omphale in the Dionysian *thiasos* placed in a banqueting context; images of Omphale as a beautiful women on objects of personal adornment); 2) the duration of the audience’s familiarity with the characters (e.g. Hercules at least is ubiquitous in Roman visual culture; their mythological backgrounds were presumably well-known); 3) “realism” (e.g. Hercules appearing as though he is about to step out of a painting; Hercules and Omphale molded into an ideal couple); 4) favourable characteristics (e.g. Hercules as a strong man; Omphale as a beautiful woman).

to consider viewer reception in greater detail. Thirdly, the potential to gaze at and identify with Hercules and Omphale is conceivable in all of their contexts; moreover, on funerary monuments especially, the pair starts to serve as role models for distinct individuals.

4.1.3.1 Tableware

4.1.3.1.1 Arretine Ware

Hercules and Omphale feature on mold-made ceramics (i.e. chalices, *skyphoi*) produced in the workshop of M. Perrenius at Arretium between ca. 30 BCE-60 CE (pl. 98).¹⁰¹⁶ In Phases 1-3 (ca. 30 BCE-30 CE), Hercules and Omphale are portrayed in a procession of chariots led by either satyrs with torches and wine skins or youths with whips, and pulled by centaurs with their hands bound behind their backs (pl. 99a).¹⁰¹⁷ The iconography exaggerates the gender inversion.¹⁰¹⁸ Omphale is completely nude, but with the club in the crook of her left arm as well as the lion skin on her head and knotted at her chest. She watches the hero in front of her with amusement.¹⁰¹⁹ Hercules, on the other hand, wears a long, gauzy *chiton* and gazes back longingly at the queen. Moreover, Hercules is solely accompanied by female figures, holding items like parasols, lyres and rosette-shaped fans, whereas Omphale is solely accompanied by male figures, bearing spears and drinking vessels. This theme was taken up by the workshop of Cn. Ateius as well (pl. 99b).¹⁰²⁰ In Phase 4 (ca. 30-60 CE), the overall theme is reduced to the bust of Omphale with the lion skin (using the obsolete, perhaps broken stamp from Phases 1-3), combined with some clubs of Hercules and various other decorative features (e.g. amphorae, garlands, cupids, ram's heads) (pl. 100a).¹⁰²¹ Since it is possible to manufacture a considerable number of mold-made ceramics with the same themes, it seems likely that the vessels featuring Hercules and Omphale were fairly popular and widespread in banqueting contexts.¹⁰²²

4.1.3.1.1.1 Augustan “Counter-Propaganda”?

It has been proposed that Hercules and Omphale were implicated in a broader programme of Augustan “counter-propaganda” directed against Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra.¹⁰²³ According to this theory,

¹⁰¹⁶ For the imagery of Hercules and Omphale (or just Omphale) in the workshop of M. Perennius (attested throughout the duration of the workshop, i.e. Phases 1-4), Porten Palange 2009, 37f. 130. For the dating of the phases of the workshop of M. Perennius, Porten Palange 2009, 32f.

¹⁰¹⁷ For the Hercules/Omphale cycle in the workshop of M. Perennius (Phases 1-3), Porten Palange 2009, 37-39.

¹⁰¹⁸ Ritter 1995, 174.

¹⁰¹⁹ M. Loar argues that the gazes of the internal viewers are focused on Omphale, which prompts the external viewer to focus on her as well, Loar 2015, 139-141. It seems, however, that Hercules and Omphale look at each other; moreover, all of the attendants of Hercules are focused on him, whereas all of the attendants of Omphale are focused on her. It is certainly striking that Hercules needs to turn to look at Omphale, but this feeds into his characterization as a love-sick man, Zanker 1990, 67.

¹⁰²⁰ For the Hercules/Omphale cycle in the workshop of Cn. Ateius, Porten Palange 2009, 201f. Unfortunately, the phases of the workshop and the dating thereof are not clear, Porten Palange 2009, 171.

¹⁰²¹ For the Omphale cycle in the workshop of M. Perennius (Phase 4), Porten Palange 2009, 130.

¹⁰²² For some of the surviving examples, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 36.

¹⁰²³ P. Zanker outlines a broader programme of Augustan “counter-propaganda” against Marcus Antonius, see Zanker 1990, 65-73. The image which Marcus Antonius fostered for himself in the East fuelled critique against him at Rome. For instance, his identification with Dionysos made him susceptible to attacks of extravagance, drunkenness and an overall lack of *romanitas*, whereas Augustus intentionally aligned himself with Apollo, a symbol of moderation and rationality.

Augustus shrewdly used Marcus Antonius' self-fashioning as the descendant and successor of Hercules against him: he continued to promote the image of his political opponent as Hercules, but as the hero who was utterly emasculated and softened by an eastern queen.

The comparison of Antonius and Cleopatra to Hercules and Omphale in the literary sources has been treated as a vestige of this "counter-propaganda".¹⁰²⁴ Propertius celebrates Augustus' victory at Actium by attacking Cleopatra.¹⁰²⁵ He draws an oblique allusion between Omphale and Cleopatra due to their ability to rule over men.¹⁰²⁶ Moreover, Plutarch states that "Antony, ... like Hercules in paintings where Omphale is seen taking away his club and stripping off his lion's skin, was often disarmed by Cleopatra, subdued by her spells, and persuaded to drop from his hands great undertakings and necessary campaigns, only to roam around on the sea-shores by Canopus and Taphosiris."¹⁰²⁷ This mythological allegory was motivated by the opposition between the occident and orient, the enslavement of a man by a woman, or overall, the power of eastern queens to reduce powerful men to slaves.¹⁰²⁸

The Arretine ware featuring Hercules and Omphale has been interpreted as a slight on Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra in particular, as yet another reflection of Augustan "counter-propaganda".¹⁰²⁹ The establishment of one-man-rule instigated a standardization of imagery in the public sphere, since few historical events and mythological tales fit into the official ideology of the state.¹⁰³⁰ The result was a limited repertoire of constantly replicated and hence easily comprehensible motifs, which entered into the private sphere as well. The ceramic workshops at Arretium imitated the elite silverware commissioned by the inner circle of Augustus, allowing for a number of politically-charged motifs (e.g. tripods, candelabras) to enter into the homes of the lower orders through mass-produced, relatively inexpensive ceramics. The images of Hercules and Omphale on Arretine ware are interpreted using the

¹⁰²⁴ Zanker 1990, 66-68; Ritter 1995, 81-85.

¹⁰²⁵ Prop. 3, 11. Note, however, that Propertius 3.11 has been interpreted in a number of ways (see Nethercut 1971): e.g. 1) it is traditionally believed that this is Augustan propaganda, celebrating Augustus' victory at Actium; 2) it has been seen as Augustan propaganda for a different reason entirely, namely, due to Augustus not falling prey to a woman as Marcus Antonius/Hercules had fallen prey to Cleopatra/Omphale; 3) conversely, it has been argued that this serves as anti-Augustan propaganda, written to criticize Augustus for engaging in civil war by showing Cleopatra as an unworthy enemy.

¹⁰²⁶ Prop. 3, 11, 17-20.

¹⁰²⁷ Plut. Comparison of Demetrius and Antony 3, 3 (translation in Perrin 1920, 337-339). The overall passage in question claims that Demetrios Poliorketes and Marcus Antonius both abandon themselves to luxury and pleasure. There is, however, a notable difference between the two leaders: while Demetrios Poliorketes only indulges in sex and wine at times of leisure, Marcus Antonius completely surrenders himself to a decadent lifestyle at Cleopatra's court. As rightly observed by J. Beneker, in Plutarch's *Lives*, the statesman's response to *eros* is an overarching theme and serves to reveal his character: indeed, a man who is able to moderate his passion for women is also able to put the public welfare before their own interests; Demetrius was never overwhelmed by erotic desire, whereas Marcus Antonius suffered his downfall and even death because of it, Beneker 2012, 152-193.

¹⁰²⁸ Hekster 2004, 159.

¹⁰²⁹ A. Oxé proposed that the Arretine ware featuring Hercules/Omphale was intended to slander Marcus Antonius/Cleopatra, Oxé 1933, 94-96. His interpretation proceeds from Prop. 3, 11, 9-16 and Plut. Comparison of Demetrius and Antony 3, 3. P. Zanker set this material into his broader theory of Augustan "propaganda", Zanker 1990, 66-68. His interpretation proceeds from Plut. Comparison of Demetrius and Antony 3, 3 as well, and has sought to explain the sudden popularity of the images of Hercules/Omphale by the late 1st century BCE.

¹⁰³⁰ For discussion on the visual culture of the Augustan Period as "propaganda", Zanker 1990.

same model: the ceramics are seen to imitate a silver vessel celebrating Augustus' victory at the Battle of Actium, as the trickle-down effect of Augustan "counter-propaganda".¹⁰³¹ The Roman consumer's selection of this tableware could make a private statement about his political allegiance and devotion to Augustus. Like so much of Augustan "propaganda", the emperor and his inner circle could formulate the models, but need not be directly involved in their production and dissemination.

Various iconographic features are cited to support this connection. It has been claimed that the portrait features of Marcus Antonius are actually detectable on Hercules.¹⁰³² The oversized *skyphos* offered to Omphale by a male servant, as well as the massive *rhyta* carried by the male attendants in her wake, are viewed as a slight on Cleopatra's excessive drinking habits, considering that her bibulousness is already ridiculed in Augustan poetry.¹⁰³³ Moreover, the male figures with spears (the so-called *doryphoroi*) are identified as the queen's personal guard of effeminate men.¹⁰³⁴ Finally, the parasol above Hercules' head is seen as a reference to Antony's feminization, whose skin is now too delicate to be exposed to the sun, a motif that also features in Augustan poetry.¹⁰³⁵

4.1.3.1.2 Reassessing Augustan "Counter-Propaganda"

The hypothesis that the Arretine ware with Hercules and Omphale is implicated in Augustan "counter-propaganda" is frequently accepted,¹⁰³⁶ but has also been rightfully challenged.¹⁰³⁷ The main issues will be summarized here, as well as reinforced with additional observations. First of all, the idea that Hercules and Omphale featured in Augustan "counter-propaganda" has been called into question entirely.¹⁰³⁸ The effectiveness of using this myth in this manner presupposes a well-established connection between Marcus Antonius and Hercules, which was not necessarily the case by the time he was associated with Cleopatra.¹⁰³⁹ Moreover, it is not methodologically sound to reconstruct an entire programme of Augustan "counter-propaganda" from a few literary passages.¹⁰⁴⁰ The myth of Hercules and Omphale is but one means of denigrating Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra. In the same breath, Propertius compares these star-crossed lovers to Jason and Medea, as well as to Achilles and Penthesilea,¹⁰⁴¹ and Plutarch compares them to Paris and Helen.¹⁰⁴² "Whenever Plutarch wrote about a

¹⁰³¹ Zanker 1990, 67f.

¹⁰³² Oxé, 1933, 96.

¹⁰³³ Hor. *carm.* 1, 37; Prop. 3, 11, 56; Zanker 1990, 67f.

¹⁰³⁴ Zanker 1990, 67f.

¹⁰³⁵ Hor. *epod.* 9.15; Zanker 1990, 67f.

¹⁰³⁶ e.g. Kampen 1996b, 235; Kleiner 2005, 187f.; Lovén 1998, 92f.; Lovén 2020, 131f.; Marabini Moevs 2006, 78. 107-111; Porten Palange 2009, 39; Von Dippe, 2007, 209; Wagner-Hasel 1998, 218-221.

¹⁰³⁷ Ellinghaus 2006, 172-181; Hekster 2004; Loar 2015, 83-148; Ritter 1995, 177-179; Ritter 1996.

¹⁰³⁸ Hekster 2004.

¹⁰³⁹ Hekster 2004, 171-174.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Hekster 2004, 174f. C. Ellinghaus shares this view, Ellinghaus 2006, 174-177. For discussion on the problems of using literary sources to interpret imagery in the Roman world, Hijmans 2009, 31-33. 48-52.

¹⁰⁴¹ Prop. 3, 11, 9-16. No exact comparison is intended between Omphale-Hercules and Cleopatra-Marcus Antonius here; rather, Propertius merely introduces Omphale as but one example of a woman able to subdue powerful men, Hekster 2004, 174f.; Ellinghaus 2006, 174-177.

¹⁰⁴² Plut. *Comparison of Demetrius with Antony* 3, 3. Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra are likewise compared to Paris and Helen, as yet another convenient defamatory trope, Ellinghaus 2006, 174.

man with Herculean claims, his wife or lover was easily transformed into Omphale”.¹⁰⁴³ As such, the use of the mythical allegory turns primarily on genre considerations, whether moralizing or elegiac.¹⁰⁴⁴

Secondly, it has been convincingly demonstrated that the Arretine ware itself offers no support for the theory of Augustan “counter-propaganda”.¹⁰⁴⁵ It cannot have imitated a silver vessel from the circle of Augustus, since the mold-made vessels adopt stamped figures from other cycles in the workshops, and the subsidiary figures are often duplicated, exchanged or modified in some sense.¹⁰⁴⁶ Turning to the iconography, there is no evidence for portrait features, nor any other attribute referring specifically to Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra.¹⁰⁴⁷ It is actually influenced by Dionysian iconography, which is perfectly suitable for drinking vessels.¹⁰⁴⁸ In the earliest phase of the workshop of M. Perennius, the Hercules/Omphale cycle features a chariot procession with centaurs, satyrs, musicians, as well as drinking vessels, fans and parasols, which is reminiscent of the Triumph of Dionysos.¹⁰⁴⁹ With the development of the iconography in the workshop of M. Perennius and its entry into the workshop of Cn. Ateius, additional bacchic motifs like garlands, *tympana* and *cista mystica* were included.¹⁰⁵⁰ As such, there is no reason to identify the oversized drinking vessels or the sunshade as unusual features, introduced to slander Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra in particular.¹⁰⁵¹ The incorporation of Hercules and Omphale into the Dionysian realm was simply natural on tableware. For instance, a silver bowl portrays Omphale as a sleeping maenad, who is overcome by wine and surrounded by erotes (pl. 107a).¹⁰⁵² It is notable that the same kind of oversized *skyphos* from the Arretine ware is included in this scene.

Thirdly, the Hercules/Omphale cycle featured on Arretine ware for decades after the Battle of Actium, which casts serious doubt on a political significance.¹⁰⁵³ Indeed, it is attested in the first to third stages of the workshop of M. Perennius (that is, between ca. 30 BCE until ca. 25-30 CE), with relatively few alterations to the iconography.¹⁰⁵⁴ The popularity of the theme is moreover attested by its adoption into the workshop of Cn. Ateius.¹⁰⁵⁵ It is also necessary to point out that the entire cycle is abbreviated in the final production phase of the workshop of M. Perennius (ca. 30-60 CE), so that Omphale appears by

¹⁰⁴³ Hekster 2004, 162.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Hekster 2004, 174f.; Ellinghaus 2006, 174-177.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Ritter 1995, 177-179; Ritter 1996, 99f.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Ritter 1995, 77.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Ritter 1995, 177f.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Ritter 1995, 178.

¹⁰⁴⁹ For the Hercules/Omphale cycle in the workshop of M. Perennius (Phases 1-3), Porten Palange 2009, 37-39. G. Pucci notes that the iconography is ultimately modeled after the triumph of Dionysos, Pucci 1981, 109-112.

¹⁰⁵⁰ The *cista mystica* appeared later in the workshop of M. Perennius, Porten Palange 2009, 38. The garlands, *tympana* and *cista mystica* appeared in the workshop of Cn. Ateius, Porten Palange 2009, 201f.

¹⁰⁵¹ Ritter 1995, 178.

¹⁰⁵² For the image, Boardman 1994, 52 no. 80.

¹⁰⁵³ Ritter 1995, 177f.

¹⁰⁵⁴ For the Hercules/Omphale cycle in the workshop of M. Perennius (Phases 1-3), Porten Palange 2009, 37-39. For the dating of the phases in the workshop of M. Perennius, Porten Palange 2009, 32f.

¹⁰⁵⁵ For the Hercules/Omphale cycle in the workshop of Cn. Ateius, Porten Palange 2009, 201f.

herself, in bust format.¹⁰⁵⁶ Absent here is the extreme gender inversion, on which the Augustan “counter-propaganda” theory hinges iconographically. Instead, the focus is seemingly on the beauty of women in general, surrounded by putti and exquisite designs.

Overall, the theory that Hercules and Omphale featured in Augustan “counter-propaganda” is hardly tenable. Even if the visual interest in Hercules and Omphale had been instigated by this smear campaign, an equally politicized interpretation of the Arretine ware is by no means necessary.¹⁰⁵⁷ As a matter of principle, an image must be allowed to “speak” for itself; if it does not hint at a second layer of meaning in any way, then it is not justified to transpose a second layer of meaning, gleaned from literary sources, onto it.¹⁰⁵⁸ These drinking vessels are rightly situated in the private world of *otium*, where one is permitted to temporarily withdraw from daily business and to partake in leisurely activities.¹⁰⁵⁹ The selection of this mythological theme not only allowed the host to flaunt his culture and erudition, but also for the guests to consider legendary protagonists who likewise enjoy the benefits of *otium*. Indeed, Hercules is renowned for his ultramasculine feats, but here “... the hero represents for the Romans a model for the pleasures of living, mostly oblivious to ideal values and traditional virtues, to every ideology or every programmatic declaration.”¹⁰⁶⁰ Omphale enjoys a life of luxury at the Lydian court, which she graciously shares with Hercules as well.

It is worthwhile probing the capacity for Hercules and Omphale to serve as a mythical exemplum for personal happiness on the Arretine ware in greater detail. This is seemingly confirmed by a closer examination of Hercules in the workshop of M. Perennius at Arretium, where the Hercules/Omphale cycle originated. Here, the characterization of Hercules in non-heroic roles, enjoying the pleasures of *otium*, is the norm rather than the exception.¹⁰⁶¹ The workshop produced images of Hercules seated and meditating (pl. 100b);¹⁰⁶² in theatre costume amongst the Muses (pl. 101);¹⁰⁶³ and even as a portly

¹⁰⁵⁶ For the Omphale cycle in the workshop of M. Perennius (Phase 4), Porten Palange 2009, 130. For the dating of the phases in the workshop of M. Perennius, Porten Palange 2009, 32f.

¹⁰⁵⁷ S. Ritter claims that Hercules and Omphale were included in Augustan “propaganda”, but argues that the Arretine ware is not a reflection of this, Ritter 1995, 81-85.

¹⁰⁵⁸ It is only methodologically sound to use literary sources to interpret visual culture if there is strong evidence for a direct connection between a certain text and image. If there is no clear connection between a particular passage and image (as is the case here as well), then this should not be done. This is not to claim that it is possible for the producers of an image to completely control its reception by the viewers. The viewer can certainly bring their personal experience and background to the image, depending on factors like age, gender, social standing, ethnicity, etc. As such, the viewer might very well bring a second layer of meaning to the imagery.

¹⁰⁵⁹ K. Schefold refers to the scene as a symbol of happy love in passing, Schefold 1988, 170. S. Ritter demonstrates, in a detailed examination, that the vessels belong to the world of *otium*, Ritter 1995, 177-179; Ritter 1996; O. Hekster follows this view, Hekster 2005, 175-177. M. Loar convincingly argues that the representation of the *skyphos* on the drinking vessel solidifies this connection, Loar 2015, 137-140. 142f.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Ritter 1996, 102 (translation by the author). M. Loar also addresses the potential for the male viewers to identify with Hercules here, but as a model for uncompromised masculinity, Loar 2015, 141f.

¹⁰⁶¹ S. Ritter observes that Hercules is primarily placed in the world of *otium* on Arretine ware as a whole, but that it is possible to portray him in a heroic setting as well (e.g. fighting a centaur), Ritter 1995, 171-179. 181-189.

¹⁰⁶² For the motif, Porten Palange 2004, 160 cat. mMG/Herakles re 2.

¹⁰⁶³ For the motif, Porten Palange 2004, 160 cat. mMG/Herakles fr 1; for the Hercules Musarum/Muses cycle in the workshop of M. Perennius, Porten Palange 2009, 39-41. M.T. Marabini Moevs claims that the imagery commemorates the Battle of Actium, Marabini Moevs 2006, 78. 116-119. S. Ritter argues that the imagery reflects

caricature in the wedding procession of Dionysos and Ariadne (pl. 102).¹⁰⁶⁴ Furthermore, Hercules is included in symposium and symplegma scenes (pls. 103. 104): he is portrayed an ideal, nude man, reclining on a couch bedecked with his lion skin, with his club hanging in the background; he enjoys the company of his female companion, who is either completely nude or dressed in feminine robes slipping off her shoulder, in order to highlight her beauty.¹⁰⁶⁵ In order to formulate these scenes, the artists started with the standard convivial and erotic iconography attested in the workshop (pl. 105), and then simply transposed the attributes of Hercules onto it.

It is significant that Hercules is visualized through the same stamps used for generic banqueters and lovers in the workshop of M. Perrenius. These symposium and symplegma scenes offer a reflection of contemporary social values: indeed, “artists in the Roman world rarely invented new representations without stimulus from the patrons who paid them. It follows that the varying, but always tender, physical and emotional relations in the Arretine vessels must be an artistic response to new social attitudes towards [love and] sex on the part of some Romans,”¹⁰⁶⁶ presumably also towards their wives, who were permitted to attend the banquets.¹⁰⁶⁷ By blurring the boundaries between the earthly and mythical realms, the actions of banqueters drinking from the Arretine ware is raised to a cosmological level, where both mortals and semi-divine heroes are seen to enjoy the benefits of *otium*. It seems that the inclusion of the club and lion skin was intended to draw a flattering comparison between contemporary male banqueters and the hero Hercules in a straightforward and unequivocal manner.

the appreciation of theatre in the Augustan Period, Ritter 1995, 181-186. In general, the imagery expresses that Hercules, despite his strength, is overcome by the power of the arts.

¹⁰⁶⁴ For the motif, Porten Palange 2004, 162-163 cat. mMG/Herakles li 7; for the wedding procession of Dionysos and Ariadne scenes in the workshop of M. Perennius, Porten Palange 2009, 99f.

¹⁰⁶⁵ For the symposium and symplegma scenes in the workshop of M. Perennius in general, Porten Palange 2009, 62-68. Note that the club and lion skin appear in Phase 1, Porten Palange 2009, 64. 66 (it has been suggested that the club continues to appear in later phases without the lion skin as well, which would merely constitute a breakdown of the original intention, but no concrete is cited for this). For some examples of symposium and symplegma scenes with herculean attributes, Viviani et al. 1921, 70 fig. 5; Alexander 1943, pl. 43 fig. 7; Dragendorff - Watzinger 1948, pl. 10 fig. 103; Hoffmann 1983, pls. 82, 5; 84, 1; Marabini Moevs 2006, 121 fig. 42; Porten Palange 1966, pl. 4 fig. 26; pl. 5 fig. 29. The male figures in symposium and symplegma scenes with clubs and lion skins have been rightly identified as Hercules, Pucci 1981, 112. The generic appearance of the symposium and symplegma scenes with the club and lion skin has raised doubts that Hercules is actually featured here, Dragendorff - Watzinger 1948, 88; Porten Palange 2009, 66 footnote 384; Ritter 1995, 187. In fact, S. Ritter excludes the club and lion skin as identifying attributes of Hercules here, due to the possibility to show clubs without lion skins (among other sympotic items), as well as the repetition of clubs above the couches; instead, he sees the club and lion skin as decorative features, suited to the world of love and wine (the significance of the attributes is nevertheless seen to proceed from Hercules unencumbered enjoyment of life), Ritter 1995, 187-187. This conclusion is, however, based on objects that have been identified as forgeries (see Porten Palange et al. 1990, 525 cat. P 7; 534 cat. F 55. F 58. F 59; see also 530 cat. F 19; 536 cat. F. 77) as well as isolated decorative clubs that are not necessarily part of a symposium or symplegmata scene (see Stenico 1956, 436 cat. 55). As such, there is no reason to dismiss the identification of Hercules here: the club and lion skin surely point to the hero himself.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Clarke 1998, 118. For further discussion on the propensity for the Roman viewers to see himself/herself in erotic imagery from the domestic context, Myerowitz 1992.

¹⁰⁶⁷ In the Greek household, the sexes were separated not by clear divisions in space, but by the organization of time; in any case, the *andron* was generally reserved for men, whereas the female members of the household were excluded from the *symposium*. In the Roman household, the sexes appear to have moved freely in the same spaces and female members of the household were even permitted to attend the *convivium*, Wallace-Hadrill 1996, 104-110. For this reason, J.R. Clarke argues that it was possible for Roman men and women to view the lovers on symposium and symplegma scenes as their own husbands and wives, Clarke 1998, 115.

Even the most ultramasculine of heroes might enjoy the pleasures of wine and sex, perhaps as a reward for his labours - as such, mere mortals should not be faulted for the same.¹⁰⁶⁸ It is conceivable that contemporary women related to his female companion as well.¹⁰⁶⁹

Overall, in the workshop of M. Perennius at Arretium, Hercules is conceived of as a mythical exemplum for personal happiness, with whom the banqueters could relate to in a general way. The symposium and symplegma scenes with Hercules appear to render the programmatic role of the hero explicit.

It is important to emphasize, however, that Hercules remained an ambiguous model for male viewers. In the Hercules/Omphale cycle, it seems that the hero's adoption of feminine dress was neither perceived as a serious threat to his masculinity, nor as particularly relatable for the viewer.

First of all, the hero is not transformed into a *semivir*, or "half-man",¹⁰⁷⁰ since the cross-dressing actually stresses the uncompromised masculinity of the hero.¹⁰⁷¹ It is true that Hercules wears tight-fitting, diaphanous gown and mantle, but the physical markers of masculinity - i.e. hairy beard, chiseled chest, and bulging muscles - are still visible.¹⁰⁷² Omphale wears the club and lion skin of Hercules in a manner similar to hero, giving the impression of strength and capacity. Nevertheless, the attributes leave her bare-breasted and thus draw attention to her feminine form.¹⁰⁷³ The more she imitates his dress behaviour, the more her erotic body is put on display.

Secondly, it is important to note that the notion of decor - that is, selecting visual themes appropriate to its setting - is not the same as *aemulatio*, providing visual themes for the viewers to follow.¹⁰⁷⁴ The characterization of Hercules on Arretine ware as a sluggard, an actor, a glutton or a cross-dresser fits well into his tendency for extremes, as an exaggerated means of integrating him into the world of *otium*. The image of Hercules completely dressed up like a woman and led by Omphale in a bacchic procession - producing striking but light-hearted contrasts - seemingly aimed at a comic reversal, which

¹⁰⁶⁸ S. Ritter argues that Hercules' enjoyment is a reward for his labours on gems, Ritter 1995, 120. A. Coralini reaches a similar conclusion for the Pompeian wall-paintings featuring Hercules and Omphale, Coralini 2000, 70. 82f. Whether or not Hercules earns an indulgence in *otium* as a reward for his labours is not rendered explicit on the Arretine ware, but perhaps implied.

¹⁰⁶⁹ This assumes that the potential for identification was contingent on gender, with the men more strongly identifying with Hercules, and women with Omphale or his other female lovers.

¹⁰⁷⁰ M.T. Marabini Moevs argues that Hercules is transformed into an androgynous figure, Marabini Moevs 2006, 107f. In particular, she claims that his bearded face, broad shoulders and muscular arms stand in stark contrast to his (allegedly) feminine chest and slender waist, and that this was underlined by his feminine dress.

¹⁰⁷¹ Loar 2015, 135-137.

¹⁰⁷² Loar 2015, 135-137.

¹⁰⁷³ Loar 2015, 135-137.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Clarke 2003a, 230. J.R. Clarke makes this observation in an examination of frescoes with banqueting scenes at Pompeii: he concludes that the Roman viewers were intended to view the excessive Greek symposium as removed from their own behaviour, and therefore humorous; the frescoes of the Roman *convivium*, on the other hand, more closely reflected their own experiences and served as models for behaviour.

was both humorous and generally suitable for the context of *otium*.¹⁰⁷⁵ The cross-dressed hero is firmly anchored in the mythological realm and considered from a safe distance; indeed, the expectations for mortals enjoying their leisure time in Roman society were obviously much different. It is also possible that Omphale served as a model for the female viewers, as a beautiful, perhaps even empowered woman with success in love,¹⁰⁷⁶ but this belongs to the world of fantasy as well.

In the symposium and symplegma scenes, on the other hand, Hercules is portrayed in a far more relatable manner, perhaps in order to partially bridge the divide between the earthly and mythical spheres. As in the Hercules/Omphale cycle, the hero sets aside the club and lion skin for the sake of a woman, but without completely transgressing against traditional gender roles. The perfect nude body of Hercules is put on display here, in lieu of feminine dress. Moreover, his female companion does not wield his manly arms or exert control over him. As such, these scenes valorize the themes of disarming love and bacchic pleasure in a manner similar to the Hercules/Omphale cycle, but also in a manner that was considered neither excessive nor indecent in the “real world”.

4.1.3.1.2 Other Tableware

Two other drinking vessels with images of Hercules and Omphale are preserved. The first item is a fragment of a terracotta relief vessel (pl. 106a).¹⁰⁷⁷ It was presumably discovered on site at Augusta Raurica, which was founded around 15 BCE.¹⁰⁷⁸ Omphale is portrayed standing, completely nude and shielding her pudenda with her right hand. The club and lion skin are located in the crook of her left arm. She is accompanied by Victoria, who swoops in to crown her with a wreath. There is a similar theme on a campana plaque dating to the 1st century BCE/CE (pl. 106b).¹⁰⁷⁹ Here, Omphale is portrayed semi-nude and holding the club, while erotes carry the lion skin and *skyphos* to her; the bow and quiver hang in the background as well. The imagery on the terracotta relief vessel is entirely fixated on the power of love to disarm even the mightiest of heroes, who is nevertheless absent here.¹⁰⁸⁰ At the same time, Omphale is portrayed as beautiful, modest and triumphant - perhaps she even served as a positive role model for women in their own love lives.¹⁰⁸¹

¹⁰⁷⁵ S. Ritter notes the strong contrasts produced here, Ritter 1995, 174. J.R Clarke sees the images of Hercules and Omphale as a form of dark humour, set against the background of Augustan “counter-propaganda” and general social anxieties about the increasing power of women, Clarke 2007, 173-175.

¹⁰⁷⁶ K. Schauenburg makes this argument for the intaglios depicting Omphale alone, Schauenburg 1960, 66. D. Kleiner also notes the potential to view Omphale as an empowered woman here, Kleiner 2005, 188.

¹⁰⁷⁷ It was not possible to find a publication of this object; any bibliographic information would be much appreciated. For information on the object, <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/1382>> (12.05.2021).

¹⁰⁷⁸ For a general overview of Augusta Raurica, Laur-Belart 2012.

¹⁰⁷⁹ For the campana plaque, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 41. Campana plaques are common decorations of Roman villas from the middle of the 1st century BCE until the beginning of the 2nd century CE, Johannsen 2008, 15-38. It is also possible that this particular campana plaque came from a funerary context, Ritter 1995, 180.

¹⁰⁸⁰ S. Ritter makes this argument for the campana plaque, Ritter 1995, 180f.

¹⁰⁸¹ K. Schauenburg makes this argument for the intaglios depicting Omphale alone, Schauenburg 1960, 66.

The second item is a silver phiale (libation bowl) portraying Omphale as a sleeping maenad, which is dated to the first half of the 1st century CE (pl. 107a).¹⁰⁸² It was discovered with the temple treasure in the sanctuary of Mercury Canetonensis at Berthouville (France). The punched inscription indicates that it was dedicated to Mercurius Augustus by Q. Domitius Tutus.¹⁰⁸³ Here, Omphale is portrayed nude and lying on the attributes of Hercules. Her exquisite beauty is emphasized by her sensual pose, including the exaggerated turn in her hips and the upraised arms, as well as by her feminine dress, with the *strophion* drawn over her breasts and the *himation* tracing her buttocks. This is an adaption on the sleeping hermaphrodite (pl. 107b), which introduces a voyeuristic aspect to the imagery.¹⁰⁸⁴ Hercules is entirely absent from the scene here. Instead, the viewer's attention is entirely directed toward the pleasing figure of Omphale. The motif of disarming love is specifically evoked by the erotes sleeping next to Omphale, which presumably stole the club, lion skin and bow on her behalf. Quite interestingly, she repurposes the knotty club of Hercules as a pillow and his rough lion skin as a bed, thus subverting their original significance as heroic arms. Moreover, the motif of Dionysian excess is evoked by the toppled over *skythos* with ivy, which casts Omphale as a drunken and exhausted maenad. Other images of Hercules and Omphale focus on the inebriation of the hero, but here the situation is reversed: she herself succumbs to the soporific effects of wine.¹⁰⁸⁵

The phiale was probably used by Q. Domitius Tutus at the banquet.¹⁰⁸⁶ The Dionysian imagery is perfectly suited to the world of *otium*. Moreover, "the spectator of this phiale becomes a voyeur to the partial nudity of the Lydian queen while she sleeps. ... thus the individual male viewer, holding the bowl in his hands and bending closer to appreciate its details, finds himself in the position of... [a man] seeking Omphale's bed..."¹⁰⁸⁷ There is, however, no reason to think that the imagery was not viewed by women in the household as well, since wives were permitted to attend banquets in Roman times. It is conceivable that Omphale served as a model of happiness for women as well, which is nevertheless strongly anchored in the mythical realm. Moreover, she was probably considered a positive role model

¹⁰⁸² For the bowl, Babelon 1916, 102f. cat. 11; pl. 15; Boardman 1994, 52 no. 80; Gautier 2014, 64-67. In H. Beames' analysis of a Roman lamp from the 1st century CE (which exhibits the same motif), he argues that Hercules is so shamefully emasculated by Omphale that the hero is physically transformed into a woman, Beames 2004. There is, however, nothing in the iconography to specifically support this identification; the portrayal of a woman with the club and lion skin of Hercules, with the usual references to love and wine, should be identified as Omphale. Moreover, another lamp with the same theme includes an inscription identifying her as Omphale; for the lamp, Boardman 1994, 52 no. 79.

¹⁰⁸³ Babelon 1916, 103.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Gautier 2014, 65f. For the images of the sleeping Hermaphroditus, Ajootian 1990, 276f. nos. 56-56j. For further discussion (including the voyeuristic aspect), Clarke 2003b, 107.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Gautier 2014, 65. For examples of images featuring a drunken Hercules, Boardman 1994: 48, nos. 27-31.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Gautier 2014, 65.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Gautier 2014, 66. Here, G. Gautier compares the voyeurism of the male viewer to the mythical episode where Faunus attempts to assault Omphale in particular, as recounted in Ov. fast. 2, 305-358.

for beauty and triumphing in love.¹⁰⁸⁸ A series of contemporary clay lamps with the same imagery ought to be understood in a similar manner (pl. 97b).¹⁰⁸⁹

4.1.3.2 Wall-Paintings

In the wall-paintings at Pompeii, Hercules is portrayed either performing heroic deeds or at rest in the world of *otium*, but the latter was increasingly favoured over time.¹⁰⁹⁰ Hercules is occasionally accompanied by Omphale in these scenes as well.¹⁰⁹¹

A lost wall-painting from the *tablinum* of Pompeii VIII 4, 34 features Hercules spinning among Omphale and the Lydian maidens in a rustic setting (pl. 108a).¹⁰⁹² It is preserved in a description as well as some sketches from the 19th century.¹⁰⁹³ The cross-dressing motif is extremely exaggerated for Hercules. He wears a voluminous, green *chiton*, as well as a long veil. He also wears saffron-coloured slippers and is adorned with golden jewellery (i.e. a hair band, a necklace, armlets and anklets). He works with a spindle and distaff, with wool baskets scattered on the ground. Hercules is practically disguised as a woman here, but the facial hair and tanned skin instantly gives his “true” masculine identity away.¹⁰⁹⁴ His club and lion skin are still beside him.¹⁰⁹⁵ Omphale probably sits nude in the foreground.¹⁰⁹⁶ It is true that Dionysian motifs are included here, but only subtly: the Lydian maidens in the background wear wreaths like maenads, with one of them even wrapped in a *nebris* and holding a thyrsus and tympanum. Overall, the standard themes in the imagery of Hercules and Omphale - namely, disarming love and Dionysian excess - are significantly downplayed here. It is not even clear which of these beautiful women is Omphale, and the feeling of being in the “women’s quarters” predominates. As such, the focus has shifted to the Lydian women’s (still unsuccessful) feminization of the hero.¹⁰⁹⁷

¹⁰⁸⁸ K. Schauenburg makes this argument for the intaglios depicting Omphale alone, Schauenburg 1960, 66.

¹⁰⁸⁹ For the lamps, Boardman 1994, 52 no. 79.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Coralini 2000, 70. For a broader examination of the images of Hercules at Pompeii, see Coralini 2001.

¹⁰⁹¹ For the wall-paintings with Hercules and Omphale at Pompeii, Hodske 2007, 172f. cat. 320. 413. 558. 613. 690. 731; Boardman 1994, 47 no. 14. A. Coralini correctly notes that Hercules and Omphale are only securely identified through the exchange of roles, figuratively expressed by the exchange of clothing and attributes; she claims that of the numerous wall-paintings featuring Hercules with women at Pompeii, only three actually meet the criteria, Coralini 2000, 71f. However, the more precise criteria for cross-dressing provided here allows for the secure identification of seven cases (some of which are variations on the same theme).

¹⁰⁹² For the wall-painting, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 37; Coralini 2001, 213f. cat. P. 100; Hodske 2007, 173 cat. 613.

¹⁰⁹³ For the description by W. Helbig, Helbig 1868, 229f. no. 1136. For the sketch by A. Ala, PPM VIII (1998) 534 no. 4 fig. 4 s.v. VIII, 4, 34 (V. Sampaolo). For the sketch by N. la Volpa, PPM VIII (1998) 536 no. 6 fig. 6 s.v. VIII, 4, 34 (V. Sampaolo).

¹⁰⁹⁴ The tanned skin is detectable in the painting of the image by Antonio Ala, PPM VIII (1998) 534 no. 4 fig. 4 s.v. VIII, 4, 34 (V. Sampaolo).

¹⁰⁹⁵ K. Lorenz notes that Hercules has not really given up his own dress in this sense, Lorenz 2008a, 500.

¹⁰⁹⁶ For this identification as Omphale, PPM VIII (1998) 536 no. 6 fig. 6 s.v. VIII, 4, 34 (V. Sampaolo); Helbig 1868, 229f. no. 1136; Clarke 2007, 178. Alternatively, she might sit next to Hercules, in a saffron-coloured *chiton*, red *himation* and feminine adornments, with the club and lion skin nestled between them.

¹⁰⁹⁷ For discussion on Hercules as a “failed woman” here, Clarke 2007, 177-179. Based on the mythological background, it is safe to assume that Omphale (in this case with the help of her maidservants) has forced Hercules to dress up like a woman and perform wool work. Perhaps the image was read in alternate ways though.

The wall-painting forms the centerpiece of the *tablinum*: it is located at the middle of the back wall of the room, and is therefore the first theme to come into view.¹⁰⁹⁸ This room is traditionally where the *dominus* receives his clients and conducts other business;¹⁰⁹⁹ as such, the wall-painting is not intended as a backdrop for the world of *otium* in particular, but rather situated in precisely the opposite setting, the world of *negotium* (i.e. *nec*, “not” + *otium*, “leisure”). The imagery plays with contrasts on several levels. Hercules is presented as a man in feminine dress, performing women’s work, but in a room that is traditionally dedicated to men’s work. The women gazing at the hero with obvious amusement function as internal viewers, setting the tone for the reaction of the external viewers. In short, this is “the most transparently comic painting of Hercules in Omphale’s thrall,”¹¹⁰⁰ with the humour lying in the astonishing reversal of dress and roles. The presentation of Hercules cross-dressed and spinning is merely a spectacle, presumably serving as comic relief in the world of *negotium* – as such, he is probably not intended to invite viewer identification. The beautiful women offer a charming spectacle for the viewers as well, but with no obvious erotic influence on the hero himself.¹¹⁰¹

Three wall-paintings – from the Scavo del Principe di Montenegro, Casa di Sirico and the Casa del Forno di Ferro – show Omphale observing a group of erotes stealing the arms of Hercules, who lies intoxicated and cross-dressed before her (pls. 108b. 109).¹¹⁰² The setting is a sarco-idyllic landscape. The queen sits on a rock in the upper section, slightly in the background. She is portrayed with pale skin and is either dressed in a *chiton* and *himation*,¹¹⁰³ or else nude but for a *himation* around her waist.¹¹⁰⁴ She also wears jewellery (e.g. hairband, necklace, bracelets) and holds a small fan.¹¹⁰⁵ She is accompanied by two maidservants. In the foreground is Hercules, reclining drunken on the ground and raising one arm in a gesture of relaxation.¹¹⁰⁶ He is youthful and hence beardless, with tanned skin, but wears a white *chiton* with a saffron-coloured border, as well as a crimson *himation*.¹¹⁰⁷ It has been argued elsewhere

¹⁰⁹⁸ For an overview of the house (as well as a plan), PPM VIII (1998) 531f. s.v. VIII, 4, 34 (V. Sampaolo). The side walls feature paintings of a contest between the gods of light and the punishment of Dirce.

¹⁰⁹⁹ For discussion on the *tablinum* in general, Höcker 2008, 238. Note, however, that the *tablinum* need not have been used in this traditional manner: in general, it is a well-decorated room for self-representation and the reception of outsiders.

¹¹⁰⁰ Clarke 2007, 177-179. J.R. Clarke sees the images of Hercules and Omphale as a form of dark humour, set against the background of Augustan “counter-propaganda” and general social anxieties about the increasing power of women, Clarke 2007, 173-175.

¹¹⁰¹ K. Lorenz suggests that Hercules is presented as an ideal voyeur, who has found his way into the women’s quarters, Lorenz 2008a, 500 footnote 62. It seems, however, that Hercules is actually the main focus of interest.

¹¹⁰² For the wall-paintings, Boardman 1994, 47 nos. 27. 28; Coralini 2001, 190f. cat. P.067; 197f. cat. P.076; 206f. cat. P.090; Hodske 2007, 172 cat. 320. 413. 558.

¹¹⁰³ For examples, Hodske 2007, 172 cat. 320. 558. Note that the colour of the garments vary.

¹¹⁰⁴ For an example, Hodske 2007, 172 cat. 413. Note that the colour of the garments vary.

¹¹⁰⁵ Note that the footwear is unclear (but not so important to determine here). W. Helbig suggests that she wears golden shoes (if dressed) but sandals (if nude), Helbig 1868, 230f. cat. 1137-1139

¹¹⁰⁶ P. Zanker rightly notes Hercules’ physical proximity and iconographic similarity to Bacchus, Zanker 1999, 124; see also Lorenz 2007, 673f. The gesture of relaxation, comparable to the symposiast, is often noted, Coralini 2001, 198; Lorenz 2007, 672; Zanker 1999, 124. N. Kampen suggests that Hercules is modelled after a sleeping maenad or awakened hermaphrodite, but this is not convincing, Kampen 1996b, 242f.

¹¹⁰⁷ The saffron-coloured border is clear in one case, Hodske 2007, 172 cat. 558. K. Lorenz notes the cross-dressing is carried out for Hercules in this scene, but not for Omphale, Lorenz 2007, 672; Lorenz 2008a, 219; this is more or less the case, but Hercules still has his lion skin in some instances at least.

that this *chiton* is not feminine dress in particular: it is actually short and therefore perfectly suitable for the male symposiast.¹¹⁰⁸ The issue with this reassessment is that Hercules is as a rule presented nude and employing his own lion skin as a mantle, even in the setting of the banquet.¹¹⁰⁹ The mere fact that he is clothed is sufficient to raise eyebrows and point to a state of inversion. It seems, rather, that the garments simply do not fit him. The *chiton* is pulled down the front of his torso so forcefully that the shoulder straps are on the brink of snapping and one of his legs sticks out.¹¹¹⁰ He also wears white slippers, which he has flung off in one case.¹¹¹¹ In addition to his feminine outfit, he wears a wreath on his head and feebly grasps a toppled-over *skyphos* with his left hand. In some cases, he has festive attributes on his left wrist (e.g. wreath, wool band).¹¹¹² It seems that, in addition to the *himation*, he lies on his lion skin.¹¹¹³ Hercules is being harassed by tiny erotes. One of them flies behind his head and tugs at his wreath. Another one wrests the empty *skyphos* out of his left hand.¹¹¹⁴ In the middle, a group of erotes summon all of their strength and engineering skills to drag the club and quiver of the hero onto an altar. In one wall-painting, Dionysos appears with his *thiasos* in the background, taking delight in the drunken, cross-dressed hero as well.¹¹¹⁵

The wall-paintings of Hercules and Omphale are characterized by strong contrasts. Hercules is portrayed as a swarthy and physically powerful man in feminine dress, but none of the garments fit him properly. The bacchic accessories - which actually reflect his current state of mind and behaviour - are layered on top of his outfit in a rather superficial way. He completely lacks the dignified bearing and self-control exhibited by Omphale.¹¹¹⁶ He is even fighting a losing battle against the erotes, despite the fact that these tiny creatures can barely lift his club.¹¹¹⁷ It has been convincingly argued that these images of Hercules and Omphale ultimately serve to demonstrate how love and wine can overpower

¹¹⁰⁸ Coralini 2000, 78. A. Coralini offers yet another interpretation elsewhere: this is a light tunic, perhaps a *tarantinidion*, which is a precious feminine garment apparently worn by initiates into the cult of Dionysos, Coralini 2001, 100. There are, however, issues with this interpretation. First of all, the structure of this garment remains unclear, perhaps because it is defined by its fabric (a semi-transparent cloth, possibly woven from the golden beard of a *pinna mobilis* shellfish), Cleland et al. 2007, 187. Secondly, the images of male banqueters (whether real or imaginary) in Roman visual culture are either semi-nude with a mantle or dressed in tunics, see Dunbabin 2003. For similar interpretations of the cross-dressing here, see Hughes 2020, 150; Lorenz 2007, 674.

¹¹⁰⁹ For discussion on the dress of Hercules, see chap. 4.1.1.1.1. The markedness of Hercules' dress becomes clear by comparing it to another wall-painting from Pompeii: here, he is portrayed reclining and also harassed by erotes, but the hero is completely nude and lying on his lion skin; for the wall-painting, Coralini 2001, 229-231 cat. P.133.

¹¹¹⁰ For another ill-fitting *chiton* (falling just below the knee on the right side), Boardman 1994, 48 no. 23.

¹¹¹¹ Note that the footwear is unclear in most cases. For these observations, Helbig 1868, 230f. cat. 1137-1139; Coralini 2001, 190f. cat. P.067; 197f. cat. P.076; 206f. cat. P.090.

¹¹¹² For these observations, Helbig 1868, 230f. cat. 1137-1139

¹¹¹³ W. Helbig suggests that he lies on the lion skin in two of the three cases, Helbig 1868, 230f. cat. 1137-1139. In one of these cases, at least, the presence of an animal skin is certain, Coralini 2001, 190f. cat. P.067.

¹¹¹⁴ In one case he has a *kantharos* instead, Coralini 2001, 190f. cat. P.067.

¹¹¹⁵ For the wall-painting, Hodske 2007, 172 cat. 413.

¹¹¹⁶ For discussion on the contrasts between Hercules and Omphale, Lippold 1951, 128f.; Lorenz 2007, 672-674; Woodford 1989, 128. K. Lorenz agrees that Hercules has lost control here, but maintains that his drunkenness at least constitutes a loss of control typical of men, Lorenz 2007, 674; Lorenz 2008a, 219.

¹¹¹⁷ For discussion on the contrasts between Hercules (or his attributes) and the erotes, Lippold 1951, 128f.; Lorenz 2007, 672f.; Woodford 1989, 203.

even the mightiest of heroes.¹¹¹⁸ Just as the women enjoy watching the mighty hero lose his senses, the external viewer was surely intended to appreciate this as a comic reversal as well. He is, in a sense, presented as a victim - enslaved by his mistress and forced to dress like a woman - but the “humiliation” actually turns out to be pleasurable for him, due to being integrated into the world of *otium*. He is in the company of a woman comparable to the goddess of love and beauty, and presented as an adherent to a “soft”, bacchic lifestyle. He is not a female slave, but a man exhibiting a kind of loss of self-control that is at least characteristic of his sex¹¹¹⁹ - the fact that he is practically bursting out of his feminine garments underscores this fact all the more.¹¹²⁰

The precise reception of this humorous, but somehow enticing imagery probably depends on its context.¹¹²¹ The three wall-paintings were clearly placed in representative rooms,¹¹²² but aside from that, it is difficult to find a common denominator: one is located in the *tablinum*, which is especially appropriate for business, but the others are located in multifunctional rooms (e.g. reception of guests, dining). It is rarely possible to identify specific visual programs in Pompeii.¹¹²³ In one case, however, the image of Hercules indulging in pleasures is juxtaposed with themes related to hard labour (i.e. constructing the walls of Troy, producing the arms of Achilles),¹¹²⁴ suggesting that Hercules “served as a paradigmatic image of the *otium* reserved for those who have completed their *negotium*.”¹¹²⁵ As on the

¹¹¹⁸ Lippold 1951, 128f. K. Schauenburg argues that the almightiness of Aphrodite is manifested through Omphale in an allegorical sense, Schauenburg 1960, 65f.

¹¹¹⁹ Lorenz 2007, 673f.; Lorenz 2008a, 219.

¹¹²⁰ The exchange of gendered attributes is a necessary identifying feature for Hercules and Omphale in visual culture: since Omphale is presented as a normative woman, it is necessary for Hercules to assume feminine garments in order to be recognizable. It has been suggested that the cross-dressing is re-located in the context of Dionysian revelry here, Hughes 2020, 150; Lorenz 2007, 674. However, it seems unlikely that the viewer took this extra step in the interpretation of the imagery, for two reasons: first of all, male bacchants dressed up like women are not really attested in Roman visual culture (it is possible for them to wear colourful, luxurious or foreign garments, but not specifically feminine ones; the main exception to the rule is the rustic fertility god Priapus, who can reappear in the Dionysian *thiasos* from time to time, see Megow 1997); secondly, the feminine garments clearly do not fit Hercules in his role as a bacchant, which was surely intended to produce a feeling of incongruity.

¹¹²¹ The painting in the Casa del Forno di Ferro (VI 16, 3) is located on one of the side walls of the *tablinum*, where the *dominus* received clients and conducted other business; for the wall-painting and its context, PPM V (1994) 158f. 167 no. 15 fig. 15 s.v. VI, 13, 6 (V. Sampaolo). It was paired with the discovery of Ariadne by Dionysos (now lost) on the opposite wall, PPM V (1994) 158f. 167 no. 15 fig. 15 s.v. VI, 13, 6 (V. Sampaolo). The painting in the Scavo del Principe di Montenegro (VII 16, 10) is in the *oecus*, which generally serves as the principal hall in the Roman household (and occasionally as a *triclinium* for dining); for the wall-painting and its context, PPM VII (1997) 840. 841 no. 1 fig. 1 842 no. 2 fig. 2 s.v. VII, 16 (Ins. Occ.), 10 (I. Bragantini). It was associated with a painting depicting the rescue of Andromeda by Perseus, but the exact arrangement is unclear, PPM VII (1997) 842f. no. 3 fig. 3 s.v. VII, 16 (Ins. Occ.), 10 (I. Bragantini). Finally, the painting in the Casa di Sirico (VII 1, 25.47) is located on the back wall of the exceptionally spacious *exedra* opening directly onto the *atrium*, and therefore forms the centerpiece of one of the most significant rooms for the reception of guests and self-representation in this household; for the wall-painting, PPM VI (1996) 228f. 266 no. 71 fig. 71 s.v. VII, 1, 25, 47 (I. Bragantini). It is associated with two wall-paintings featuring episodes from the Trojan cycle: namely, Poseidon and Apollo observing the construction of the walls of Troy, as well as Thetis retrieving the arms for her son Achilles at the workshop of Hephaestus, PPM VI (1996) 279 no. 95 fig. 95; 294 no. 117 fig. 117 s.v. VII, 1, 25, 47 (I. Bragantini).

¹¹²² Coralini 2000, 79f.

¹¹²³ It is rarely possible to identify distinct decorative programs, especially in these sorts of multifunctional rooms. It was most important to have the wall-paintings that evoke status and erudition.

¹¹²⁴ Coralini 2000, 80.

¹¹²⁵ Coralini 2000, 80 (translation by the author).

Arretine ware, the status of Hercules as a mythical exemplum for the pleasures of living was not taken literally, since this level of transgression and indulgence was not really permissible in real life.

The wall-painting from the *triclinium* of the Casa di Marcus Lucretius (IX 3, 5.24) features Hercules and Omphale in the midst of the Dionysian *thiasos* (pl. 110a).¹¹²⁶ The hero is presented as the main protagonist, being the largest, most prominent figure, located directly at the middle of the scene.¹¹²⁷ He is shown with tanned skin and a beard, as well as a hard, muscular physique (and penis), the essential markers of masculinity.¹¹²⁸ He places his right arm around the shoulders of a haggard and balding male companion, carrying fruit in his colourful, foreign-looking robes, probably identifiable as Silenus.¹¹²⁹ The general theme is ultimately traced back to the images of Dionysos leaning on a member of the *thiasos* (pl. 110b),¹¹³⁰ but fairly popular for Hercules in Roman visual culture.¹¹³¹ It is clear that Hercules is intoxicated. He stares blankly into the reveling crowd with his head turned to the side, slightly lowered, and receives the support of his companion. He is nevertheless portrayed upright, with a relatively firm stance and pose (i.e. no exaggerated curves in the body, capable of holding up his left arm). His full loss of self-control is therefore not attested here.¹¹³² In more extreme cases, Hercules is completely wasted and out of control: he begins to stumble, even falling forward as his knees give way despite receiving assistance, requires the full support from multiple companions, and so on (pl. 111a).¹¹³³ It is true that the hero trades in his club for a thyrsus with ribbons and the lion skin for a wreath,¹¹³⁴ but these sorts of attributes merely integrate the hero into the Dionysian *thiasos*. He is not dressed in the usual feminine gown, but in a purple and blue *himation*, which is a more unisex garment¹¹³⁵ – at most, the extravagancy could have been perceived as a marker of a “soft” lifestyle.¹¹³⁶ It is common for bacchantes to wear a luxurious, colourful mantle, and the hero is presented no

¹¹²⁶ For the wall-painting, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 29; Coralini 2001, 221f. cat. P.115; Hodske 2007, 172f. cat. 690; PPM IX (1999) 268-271 nos. 191a-d figs. 191a-d s.v. IX, 2, 5.24 (l. Bragantini); Helbig 1868, 231f. cat. 1140; Lippold 1955, 248-254.

¹¹²⁷ It has been rightly noted that Hercules’ iconography is similar to Bacchus, who is often feminized, Kampen 1996b, 242; Lorenz 2008a, 220. This suggestion will be explored here, with a detailed look at the dress especially.

¹¹²⁸ Loar 2015, 199-201.

¹¹²⁹ J. Boardman identifies the figure as Priapus, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 29. The generally grotesque appearance, as well as the robes with the fruit, closely approximates some images of Priapus; for examples, Megow 1997, 1034-1036 nos. 68-95. Nevertheless, the oversized phallus of Priapus is not revealed or indicated through the clothing. The facial features and the balding head closely approximate Silenus (and makes the most sense in this bacchic context); for the iconography of Silenus in general, Simon 1997b.

¹¹³⁰ For examples of Dionysos leaning on Hephaistos, Hermans - Jacquemin 1988, 644 no. 170. For examples of Dionysos leaning on a satyr or Silenus, Gasparri - Veneri 1986, 448-450 nos. 264-280. For examples of Bacchus leaning on a satyr or Silenus, Gasparri 1986, 547 nos. 70-82.

¹¹³¹ For examples of Hercules supported by members of the *thiasos*, Boardman et al. 1990, 158 nos. 3257-4368; 159 nos. 3271. 3276-3287.

¹¹³² M. Loar notes that Hercules is upright and interprets this as uncompromised masculinity, Loar 2015, 200.

¹¹³³ For examples, Boardman et al. 1990, 158, nos. 3260, 3262, 3265, 3267; 159 no. 3285.

¹¹³⁴ Loar 2015, 198.

¹¹³⁵ K. Lorenz rightly identifies this as a mantle, Lorenz 2008a, 220. For the *himation* in general, see chap. 3.2.2.4. The mantle is nevertheless striking here, considering that Hercules tends to repurpose his lion skin as a mantle.

¹¹³⁶ Purple was a colour of status with connotations of power and masculinity in Roman society, unless worn exclusively; nevertheless, it could be perceived as extravagant (and hence effeminate), Olson 2017, 109-111.

differently here (pl. 111b).¹¹³⁷ Moreover, the fact that the mantle is only draped over the arms and parts of the lower body of the hero showcases his most defining aspect, his powerful body.¹¹³⁸ His adoption of feminine dress is far less obvious here: he merely wears a necklace, a finger ring, anklets and slippers.¹¹³⁹ Besides that, a group of erotes harass the hero. One of them plays a *diaulos* next to his left ear. Two of them stand at his feet, amusing themselves with his quiver and *skyphos*. In the background are other bacchants, playing a *tympanum* and focusing on the hero.

Omphale stands to the left of Hercules and observes him with obvious amusement. She is presented as the erotic, disarming influence on the hero. Her feminine allure is emphasized by both her demeanor and her dress. She is portrayed with pale skin, as well as a soft, fleshy physique, the essential markers of femininity.¹¹⁴⁰ The queen casually leans on a pillar, creating a pronounced curve in her body, in order to highlight her sexual attractiveness.¹¹⁴¹ She wears a light, nearly diaphanous saffron-coloured *chiton*, which slips sensually off the left shoulder to reveal her breast.¹¹⁴² A saffron-coloured *himation* (with a light blue border) is wrapped around her lower body as well. Her overall stance and dress is similar to the Aphrodite Urania (pl. 112a).¹¹⁴³ She also wears feminine ornaments, including earrings, a finger ring (and sandals). Besides this, Omphale imitates the dress behaviour of Hercules to some extent. She wears the lion skin over her head and knotted at the chest, and places the club on the ground next to her. This transfers some of the herculean qualities of strength and capacity to the woman, albeit in the context of her erotic triumph over the hero. The inclusion of a (stone) globe under her club is seemingly unique here, but highly significant to her characterization. The attribute is typically placed under the rudder of the goddess Fortuna, in order to signify her supreme control over the fate of mortals (pl. 112b).¹¹⁴⁴ As such, the globe seems to reinforce the almightiness of this beautiful woman, in this case over the ultramasculine hero in particular.

Like the other wall-paintings discussed so far, Hercules is probably viewed in a lighthearted and humorous manner, but the sense of inversion is toned down. The hero's hard, muscular physique is put on display, whereas his cross-dressing is significantly downplayed here.¹¹⁴⁵ Instead, the hero is primarily characterized as a bacchant,¹¹⁴⁶ which is perfectly suited to his extreme character. He is not shown as a victim of his own drunkenness, but as a natural member of the *thiasos*.¹¹⁴⁷ It is true that the tiny erotes

¹¹³⁷ For examples of Bacchus dressed like this, Gasparri 1986, 544 no. 28; 547 nos. 70. 71; 548 no. 84; 445 no. 181.

¹¹³⁸ For similar observations, Clarke 2007, 176; Loar 2015, 199f.

¹¹³⁹ For the connotations of slippers (e.g. luxury, effeminacy), Olson 2017, 116f.

¹¹⁴⁰ Loar 2015, 200f.

¹¹⁴¹ Loar 2015, 200.

¹¹⁴² Loar 2015, 200.

¹¹⁴³ For the Aphrodite Urania, Delivourias et al. 1984, 27-29 nos. 174-184.

¹¹⁴⁴ For a few examples of Fortuna placing her rudder on a globe, Rausa 1997, 128, nos. 33. 34; 129 no. 51a.

¹¹⁴⁵ M. Loar discusses the masculine body of Hercules in considerable detail, but without acknowledging that the cross-dressing is actually downplayed here, Loar 2015, 198-201. K. Lorenz notes the cross-dressing is carried out for Omphale in this scene, but not Hercules, Lorenz 2008a, 220; this is more or less true, but it is important to note that the hero still assumes some feminine accessories.

¹¹⁴⁶ Kampen 1996b, 254; Lorenz 2008a, 220.

¹¹⁴⁷ Lorenz 2008a, 220. In contrast, N. Kampen says that he is treated with mockery/pathos, Kampen 1996b, 236.

try to torment him by playing loud music and playing with his possessions, but he seems fairly unperturbed by their actions.¹¹⁴⁸ In fact, the most striking juxtaposition is actually between Hercules and Silenus: the hero is portrayed as an ideal, nude man, standing basically upright and towering over the others, whereas his companion is portrayed as a grotesque and shrunken old man, dressed in colourful, foreign garb. The contrast is certainly humorous, but the object of ridicule is not necessarily the hero himself. Omphale, on the other hand, exhibits a striking combination of feminine and virile characteristics. Her body and dress are directly modeled after Venus, but the club and lion skin of Hercules are conspicuously layered over top. As such, the cross-dressing of both Hercules and Omphale is mitigated to some degree in this context. Hercules is presented as a powerful man, but able to enjoy the pleasures of life - at most, he is presented in a “softer” way. Omphale is presented as a beautiful woman, but with the same aura of strength as a hero.

The wall-painting is located on the back wall of the *triclinium*, forming the centerpiece of a broader visual program evoking the triumph of Dionysos.¹¹⁴⁹ This is the most important site for conviviality and merrymaking in the Roman domestic context, for men and women alike. The evocation of Dionysian excess surely resonated positively with the viewer here. Hercules serves as a mythical exemplum of personal happiness, which allows the viewers to identify with a hero who enjoys - presumably as a reward for his labours - the world of *otium*.¹¹⁵⁰ He submits to the power of love and wine, represented by Omphale and her *thiasos*.¹¹⁵¹ There is, furthermore, potential to identify with Omphale as an erotic, disarming woman, who likewise enjoys the world of *otium*.

It seems that viewer identification is more strongly provoked here than in the aforementioned cases. First of all, the unequivocally Dionysian context of the imagery enables the viewers to liken themselves to the reveling bacchants. Secondly, the aesthetic experience blurs the boundaries between the mythical and real world: Hercules especially appears as though he is about to step out of the frame and into the *triclinium* itself, to mingle with the viewers.¹¹⁵² Thirdly, the usual comic reversals are toned down here. Rather, Hercules is presented as a manly, but fun-loving bacchant, in the company of a beautiful woman.¹¹⁵³ It has been convincingly argued that Hercules’ masculinity remains uncompromised in this potentially enervating scenario,¹¹⁵⁴ which is - in any case - but a temporary, liminal state for the hero, ultimately reinforcing his “normal” state. Perhaps men were even intended to “... emulate that

¹¹⁴⁸ It is possible, however, that Hercules turns his head in response to the *eros* playing music in his ears.

¹¹⁴⁹ For the wall-painting and its context, PPM IX (1999) 141f. 268-271 nos. 191a-d figs. 191a-d s.v. IX, 2, 5.24 (I. Bragantini). For discussion on the visual program of the *triclinium*, Clarke 2007, 177; Loar 2015, 195-197.

¹¹⁵⁰ Coralini 2000, 72. M. Loar also argues that the viewer is intended to identify with him, Loar 2015, 202-205.

¹¹⁵¹ Clarke 2007, 177; Zanker 1999, 123.

¹¹⁵² Loar 2015, 191. 197.

¹¹⁵³ M. Loar stresses the masculine presentation of the hero, Loar 2015, 198-205.

¹¹⁵⁴ M. Loar argues that Hercules’ masculinity is not actually compromised here, despite the indications that his masculinity could be at risk; nevertheless, the discussion of Hercules’ potentially faltering masculinity is basically limited to his state of undress (in the sense that the disordered dress indicates a lack of self-control) as well as his intoxication (including grasping at bacchic attributes instead of his club and lion skin), Loar 2015, 198-205. The relative lack of cross-dressing is not addressed here.

body's performance of masculinity, ever mindful of the watchful gaze of the other banqueters".¹¹⁵⁵ It ought to be noted, however, that the hero is hardly cross-dressed here, since this is limited to a few feminine accessories. This is significant in itself: it seems that by increasingly shifting the poles from spectatorship to identification, the cross-dressing is increasingly problematized. In other words, the portrayal of Hercules in feminine dress is by no means harmful to the hero or offensive in itself, but evidently not a broadly desirable model for viewer identification, perhaps due to the effeminate connotations of cross-dressing in Roman society. For Omphale, on the other hand, the peculiar combination of feminine and masculine dress codes, of beauty and strength, was seemingly desirable here.¹¹⁵⁶ Of course, neither Hercules nor Omphale is presented in a realistic way: the point is that the mythical figures create a Dionysian atmosphere in a non-discursive way, as well as embody qualities with which the viewer could relate in the temporary and liminal context of the banquet.

Another wall-painting from Pompeii portrays Hercules and Omphale embracing within a tondo (pl. 113a).¹¹⁵⁷ The provenience is unknown.¹¹⁵⁸ Omphale is pushed into the foreground, overlapping Hercules, and therefore as the most prominent figure. On the other hand, the lovers are portrayed gazing into each other's eyes and locked in a mutual embrace, signifying a relatively symmetrical relationship. As usual, Hercules is tanned and bearded. He also wears a wreath on his head, to accentuate his bacchic character. His feminine garments are indicated, but not in a conspicuous manner due to the bust format.¹¹⁵⁹ The fair-skinned Omphale holds the club over one shoulder and wears the lion skin over her head in a manner emulating Hercules himself. This is, however, slightly balanced by other feminine dress, including the long-sleeved, burgundy *chiton* and gold earrings especially. Overall, the focus is on the love between Hercules and Omphale, but especially on the queen as the beautiful, disarming influence on the hero.

This type of wall-painting ultimately emerged from the tradition of *imagines clipeatae* - that is, shield portraits - which were common in the Roman domestic context by the Imperial Period.¹¹⁶⁰ A number of

¹¹⁵⁵ Loar 2015, 188.

¹¹⁵⁶ Moreover, the cross-dressing is significantly nuanced through the addition of feminine attire, perhaps to maintain some semblance of sex-specific dress codes.

¹¹⁵⁷ For the wall-painting, Boardman 1994, 47 no. 14. A similar wall-painting of Hercules and Omphale is now lost, Boardman 1994, 47 no. 14 (note about the wall-painting in Casa di M. Spurius Mesor). It is known through a description by W. Helbig and a drawing by N. la Volpe from the 19th century, Helbig 1868, 228 no. 1133; PPM Doc. (1995) 724f no. 191 fig. 191 s.v. La Volpe (V. Sampaolo). It will not be discussed here, however, since the description and drawing are not reliable sources for further analysis (it is clear that W. Helbig does not fully describe the dress of Hercules in the medallions featuring Hercules and Omphale; moreover, N. la Volpe does not necessarily offer an accurate reproduction of his dress either).

¹¹⁵⁸ D.L. Thompson claims that this type of wall-painting - which belongs to the third and fourth style - was basically placed in any kind of room, but typically at the middle of the side panels in a tripartite scheme, Thompson 1979, 80. Roger Ling, on the other hand, argues that the wall-paintings were usually found in the *atrium* and adjoining rooms; he adds that these appear at the center of walls as well, Ling 1991, 158f.

¹¹⁵⁹ Hercules is shown nude as a rule, and so the tunic is striking and surely refers to his cross-dressing at Omphale's court; for discussion of the dress of Hercules, see chap. 4.1.1.1.1.

¹¹⁶⁰ Ling 1991, 158; Thompson 1979, 80-81. The origins of the *imagines clipeatae* are obscure. It seems that the *imagines clipeatae* were initially reserved for deities, but then adopted for certain distinguished mortals (e.g. generals, rulers, poets, philosophers) and then finally by just about anyone, Thompson 1979, 81. They originally

painted tondi with busts function as portraiture, presumably of the family.¹¹⁶¹ The most well-known case is a young woman with a stylus and tablet: she exhibits a classicizing beauty, but is identifiable as a contemporary woman by the golden hair-net and tight curls, fashionable in the Neronian and early Flavian Period (pl. 113b).¹¹⁶² A complementary tondo contains the bust of a young man holding a scroll. It is also possible to commemorate individuals in the guise of mythical figures, such as the boy portrayed as Hermes with a *petasos* and *caduceus* in the Casa di Marcus Lucretius.¹¹⁶³ Although dozens of similar cases exist (pl. 114a), their status as portraiture is often uncertain.¹¹⁶⁴ Looking at a series of maenads, it is possible to ask: “Are the busts meant to be maenads who look like individuals because the painter has given them modish jewels and varying facial expressions? Or are they contemporary women mythically elevated through costume and attribute?”¹¹⁶⁵ Despite their portrait-like quality, the imagery is probably best defined as “faceless portraits”¹¹⁶⁶ or “decorative busts in the guise of portraits”.¹¹⁶⁷ To add to the confusion, the majority of the tondi with busts feature what are certainly gods and mythical beings, especially from the bacchic thiasos.¹¹⁶⁸ As such, the genre is characterized by a distinct blurring of the contemporary and mythical realms:¹¹⁶⁹ there are clear instances of individualized portraits, at times in the guise of mythical figures, or juxtaposed with mythical figures. Overall, the *imagines clipeatae* were coopted into domestic wall-painting not only for the

functioned as an *exemplum virtutis*: “to see, represented on a shield, the face of the man who once used it, inspires great courage in the beholder,” Plin. nat. 35, 3 (translation in Carey 2003, 152). Pliny the Elder claims that the custom of privately dedicating *imagines clipeatae* in public settings was first established by Appius Claudius (consul in 495 BCE), who displayed likenesses of his ancestors in the Temple of Bellona, Plin. nat. 35, 3. Marcus Aemilius (consul in 78 BCE) allegedly displayed shield-portraits not only in the Basilica Aemilia, but also in his home, Plin. nat. 35, 4. Thereafter, placing *imagines clipeatae* high on the walls of private homes became standard practice, Thompson 1979, 81. As Pliny the Elder claims, the bronze shield-portraits with silver likenesses had come to eclipse other domestic forms of ancestral commemoration by his time, such as the wax masks and genealogical trees in the *atrium*, Plin. nat. 35, 2. This is reflected in several painted displays of shield-portraits from Campania, which tend to decorate the *atrium* as well, Ling 1991, 157f. (e.g. in the *atrium* of the Villa of Poppaea at Oplontis, see Carey 2003, 149; in the *atrium* of the Casa del Atrio a Mosaico at Herculaneum, see Sotira 2013, 31; in the *tablinum* of the Casa del Bell'Impluvio, see Fejfer 2008, 156f.). There are several extant *imagines clipeatae*, see Thompson 1979, 81. Moreover, a sarcophagus from Pantikapaion (Kerch), dating to the 1st century CE, shows a painter's workshop containing some shield-portraits (perhaps painted, wooden imitations), see Ma 2013, 255f.

¹¹⁶¹ Thompson 1979, 80. The original militaristic and honorific character was generally lost, as indicated by the transformation of the elaborate border into a simple frame, as well as their extension to women and children, Thompson 1979, 81. Note that there are also portraits of historical figures, Ling 1991, 159.

¹¹⁶² Thompson 1979, 81; Ling 1991, 158; Nowicka 1993, 131f.

¹¹⁶³ Nowicka 1993, 129-131.

¹¹⁶⁴ They could also be generic figures, Ling 1991, 159; Nowicka 1993, 131f.; Thompson 1979, 80. “In some cases all distinctive attributes are lacking; in others unexpected attributes are present, such as a spear and a sword for the man in what appears to be a married couple; and in still others there are companion tondi which show obviously mythical figures, such as satyrs and bacchantes,” Ling 1991, 159.

¹¹⁶⁵ Bergmann 2018, 155.

¹¹⁶⁶ Thompson 1979, 80.

¹¹⁶⁷ Ling 1991, 159.

¹¹⁶⁸ Ling 1991, 158.

¹¹⁶⁹ B. Bergmann recognizes this in her exploration of painted ladies at Pompeii: they are either sophisticated and literate, or else “a female inhabiting a liminal zone between ‘here’ and ‘there’”, Bergmann 2018, 160.

commemoration of particular family members, but also to frame imaginary figures in same terms. This perhaps had the effect of making them more “human” and hence more relatable.¹¹⁷⁰

This brings us back to the tondo with busts of Hercules and Omphale. The imagery stresses the mutual love and concord between Hercules and Omphale, with bacchic hints.¹¹⁷¹ Moreover, by framing them in terms also used for the commemoration of Roman individuals on the walls of their houses, it seems that the images strongly provoked identification with the viewer, as a mythical exemplum of personal happiness. In fact, whether Hercules and Omphale are intended as portraits of family members in mythological guise, or purely generic figures, is not entirely clear.¹¹⁷² Omphale at least exhibits characteristics suggestive of painted portraiture, such as the curly hairstyle, the heavy eyelids and small mouth.¹¹⁷³ Perhaps the ambiguity was even deliberate here. This might explain the need to downplay the cross-dressing. Hercules is cast more as a lover and bacchant than a cross-dresser. Moreover, Omphale clearly emulates Hercules’ dress behaviour, which lends her an aura of strength and capacity, but her beauty and femininity is reinforced through other features.

A wall-painting located in a *cubiculum* at Pompeii IX, 5, 14-16 portrays Hercules and Omphale in a moment of loving togetherness: the scene is set in a rustic context, but with a *parapetasma* hanging in the background (pl. 114b).¹¹⁷⁴ Hercules sits calmly and gazes at Omphale, standing in front of him. Quite notably, the hero is portrayed in his standard dress: with tanned skin, facial hair and a muscular physique, as well as his club and lion skin. The cudgel is propped between his legs, whereas the hide is laid out on the block like a cushion. Moreover, his quiver full of arrows is placed on the ground next to him. In his hair is a wreath. Omphale, on the other hand, is portrayed with pale skin and feminine dress, including a saffron-coloured *chiton* and *himation*. Like Hercules, she wears a wreath in her hair. She also holds out a bow in her hand. As such, the exchange of gendered dress is limited to the bow in the hand of Omphale, which is a supplementary weapon of Hercules.

The imagery emphasizes the loving relationship between Hercules and Omphale, with subtle allusions to their bacchic inclinations. Hercules is primarily cast as a hero here, but capable of relaxing at the Lydian court. Moreover, Omphale is presented as a beautiful and respectable woman. As such, the image presents a completely normative view of the love between the mythical couple. The fact that Omphale adopts the bow points to disarming love, but the strength of the visual metaphor is diminished. Hercules surrenders but one attribute to her as a token of his love, while maintaining the

¹¹⁷⁰ In the case of “faceless portraits” of Dionysian figures, at least, the original function of the shield-portraiture as an *exemplum virtutis* was transformed into a mythical exemplum of personal happiness.

¹¹⁷¹ For the expression of *concordia* in Roman visual culture in general, see chap. 7.5.2.5.1.

¹¹⁷² Nowicka 1993, 132. O. Elia, for instance, identifies Hercules and Omphale as portrait figures, Elia 1932, 110 cat. 301. This is perhaps not the only case in which a Dionysian theme is selected for painted portraiture: as O. Elia maintains, another roundel with a male and female bacchant holding the baby Dionysos actually represents a Roman family, Elia 1932, 111 cat. 305.

¹¹⁷³ This is comparable to the painted portrait of the wife of Terentius Neo; for the portrait, Nowicka 1993, 130f.

¹¹⁷⁴ For the wall-painting, Coralini 2001, 224f. cat. P.122; Hodske 2007, 173 cat. 731; PPM IX (1999) 636f. no. 61 fig. 61 s.v. IX, 5, 14-16 (I. Bragantini).

most combative appearance possible in an otherwise serene context. The wall-painting was located in a *cubiculum*, which is a private room in the Roman household used for various purposes (e.g. bedroom, intimate setting, etc.).¹¹⁷⁵ It was accompanied by paintings of two other mythical couples (i.e. Dionysos/Ariadne, Zeus/Europa).¹¹⁷⁶ It seems that Hercules and Omphale serve as a mythical exemplum for personal happiness, as well as models for virtues, especially for the residents of the house. Perhaps the cross-dressing and hence the inversion of gender roles is notably reduced in this intimate setting, in order to produce a more socially acceptable vision of love and companionship.

To summarize, the domestic wall-paintings of Hercules and Omphale from Pompeii deal with the cross-dressing motif in a diverse manner, depending on whether the viewers were intended to distance themselves from or even to relate to this mythical pair. These categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive and ought to be considered on a sliding scale. In the first case, Hercules is characterized as a cross-dresser in the woman's quarters, whom Omphale and her maidservants observe with obvious amusement.¹¹⁷⁷ It seems that the image was primarily appreciated as a comic reversal, which was primarily intended to invite spectatorship rather than identification. In the second case, Hercules is portrayed in an ambiguous way: he is a cross-dresser, but nevertheless breaks out of his role as a female slave and behaves like a male bacchant in a sacral-idyllic, bacchic setting.¹¹⁷⁸ It is a humorous but strangely pleasurable scenario. The third and fourth cases shift the attention more clearly away from Hercules' role as a cross-dresser and instead highlight his role as a bacchant¹¹⁷⁹ and lover respectively.¹¹⁸⁰ The cross-dressing of Omphale is, however, obvious here: she imitates Hercules to a certain extent, but in a manner that continues to highlight her beauty and femininity. In the fifth case, the cross-dressing motif is virtually effaced: Hercules is portrayed in his usual heroic guise, with Omphale merely holding his bow.¹¹⁸¹ Overall, it seems that the exchange of gendered dress - however essential to the iconography of Hercules and Omphale - is tailored in many of these instances, probably due to serving as a mythical exemplum for private happiness or even personal virtues for different audiences in different settings. It seems that shifting the focus away from the cross-dressing is relevant for men relating to Hercules, but less so for women relating to Omphale.

¹¹⁷⁵ For the wall-painting and its context, PPM IX (1999) 600-602 636f. no. 61 fig. 61 s.v. IX, 5, 14-16 (I. Bragantini). For discussion on the *cubiculum* in general, Höcker 2008, 67.

¹¹⁷⁶ For the wall-painting depicting Dionysos and Ariadne, PPM IX (1999) 640 no. 63 fig. 63 s.v. IX, 5, 14-16 (I. Bragantini). For the wall-painting depicted Zeus (as a bull) and Europa, PPM IX (1999) 641 no. 68 fig. 68 s.v. IX, 5, 14-16 (I. Bragantini).

¹¹⁷⁷ For the wall-painting, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 37; Hodske 2007, 173 cat. 613. The precise identity of Omphale is not clear or even relevant in this matter, just the fact that she is present.

¹¹⁷⁸ For the wall-paintings, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 27, 28; Hodske 2007, 172 cat. 320, 413, 558. L. Hughes suggests that when Hercules and Omphale appear alongside Dionysos and his retinue in "Dionysian Theatre Gardens", they serve as props for staging gender reversal in the backdrops of theatrical performances during the Roman banquet, in order to break down perceived social and cultural barriers, and thus to promote community and inclusivity, Hughes 2020.

¹¹⁷⁹ For the wall-painting, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 29; Hodske 2007, 172f. cat. 690.

¹¹⁸⁰ For the wall-paintings, Boardman 1994, 47 no. 14; 48 no. 29.

¹¹⁸¹ For the wall-painting, Hodske 2007, 173 cat. 731.

4.1.3.3 Objects of Personal Adornment

Hercules and Omphale frequently appear on objects of personal adornment. This category of items is complex and seemingly contradictory. On the one hand, *ornamenta muliebra* (i.e. jewellery, e.g. necklaces, earrings, bracelets) and *mundus muliebris* (i.e. instruments for adornment, e.g. combs, mirrors, jewellery cases) offer women a means to flaunt their beauty, status and wealth; on the other hand, these items are seen to mirror their innate feminine vices, insofar as ornamentation is linked to immodesty, frivolity and deception, perhaps leading to adultery, and their indulgence in *luxuria* reflects an overall lack of self-control.¹¹⁸² The socialization of women to beautify and adorn themselves is often seen as a means objectifying them, by making them pleasing to the male gaze; nevertheless, women are not merely male-controlled actors in this process, but also manufacturers of desire and seduction for their own benefit.¹¹⁸³ It is worthwhile considering Hercules and Omphale on objects of personal adornment, especially in term of the treatment of the cross-dressing motif, as well as the possible significance of these diverse formulations for their users.¹¹⁸⁴

Hercules and Omphale are especially common on gold rings, intaglios and cameos, all of which are classifiable as finger ornaments.¹¹⁸⁵ In the majority of cases, Omphale is portrayed alone, usually as a standing figure - the type is attested in the visual record by the late 4th century BCE at the latest, but the majority of the examples date to the 1st century BCE.¹¹⁸⁶ Omphale is typically depicted in profile view, as a beautiful, nude woman (pl. 115).¹¹⁸⁷ She gracefully bends her left leg to accentuate the curve in her body, yet shyly inclines her head and presses her thighs together.¹¹⁸⁸ She holds the massive club over her shoulder with both hands, and wears the lion skin draped loosely around her body like a mantle.¹¹⁸⁹ Her overall demeanor and especially her handling of the club and lion skin give an impression of delicacy and modesty. In another case, Omphale stands in frontal view: she wears the lion skin over her head like Hercules, but left unknotted, and draws out the material to the side with one

¹¹⁸² For discussion on female adornment in the Roman world, including the contradictory views, Berg 2002; Olson 2008b, 58-112.

¹¹⁸³ For discussion on these views, Elsner 2007; Olson 2008b, 96-112. Furthermore, M. Harlow argues that the standard garments of women (e.g. *tunica*, *stola*, *palla*) established generalized identities for them, such as wife, mother and widow; nevertheless, a woman could personalize her identity by making choices in her own adornment (or lack thereof) to please herself, Harlow 2012.

¹¹⁸⁴ J. Moldenhauer proposes that a tunic dating to Late Antiquity features an image of Hercules and Omphale cross-dressed. It was discovered in a grave ascribed to a man (based on the finds especially). She argues that the tunic was worn by the man during his lifetime to show off his *paideia* (probably in a banqueting context), at a time when the myth of Hercules and Omphale was not so well known, Moldenhauer 2019. The possibilities that the tunic offered for self-representation will not be explored further here.

¹¹⁸⁵ The exact use of the intaglios and cameos is difficult to determine. These were likely used as ornaments for rings, but might have featured in other jewellery, or were simply collected and exchanged as gifts. In any case, the objects were certainly of a personal nature and not widely circulated.

¹¹⁸⁶ For examples, Boardman, 1994, 51 nos. 59-61. 71-73; 52 nos. 74-77. Omphale is also portrayed as a head or bust with the lion skin, for examples Boardman 1994, 50, nos. 43. 45; for discussion, see chap. 4.1.4.2.

¹¹⁸⁷ S. Ritter notes qualities like beauty and gracefulness here, Ritter 1995, 102. 107.

¹¹⁸⁸ S. Ritter notes that she inclines her head pensively, elegantly or modestly, Ritter 1995, 102. 107. 180; see also Zanker 1999, 128. Note, however, that the head is not always distinctly inclined on these gems; for examples, Boardman 1994, 51, nos. 59. 60; 52 no. 76.

¹¹⁸⁹ The lion skin is, however, also worn over the head in one case, Boardman 1994, 52 no. 76.

hand, while using the club as a support for the other (pl. 116a).¹¹⁹⁰ She is vaguely modeled after Aphrodite unfurling and spreading out the mantle behind her.¹¹⁹¹

In contrast, Hercules and Omphale are rarely portrayed together on finger ornaments.¹¹⁹² This is first attested in the 1st century BCE. On one intaglio, the lovers are portrayed gazing at and embracing each other in bust format (pl. 116b).¹¹⁹³ The queen wears the lion skin over her head and knotted at the chest like Hercules, and holds the club behind the back of the hero; in addition, she wears a *chiton* revealing one breast. The dress of the hero is hardly indicated at all. It seems that he merely wears a mantle around the body, which leaves the muscular chest fully exposed.¹¹⁹⁴ On another intaglio, Hercules and Omphale are portrayed standing next to each other, looking into each other's eyes and putting their arms around each other's shoulders (pl. 117a).¹¹⁹⁵ The queen rests one hand on the club and wears not the lion skin, but a *chlamys*, secured at the neck and falling down her back. The hero retains his lion skin, which is likewise knotted at his neck and falls down his back.¹¹⁹⁶ Finally, a couple of intaglios feature Hercules and Omphale in a lovemaking scene.¹¹⁹⁷ In the first one, the queen is nude but for the lion skin, which she wears over her head; nevertheless, the rough hide is left unknotted and primarily serves as a bed. Hercules is likewise nude, but adorned with feminine accessories, including a cloth head covering, an armlet and earrings (pl. 117b). In the second one, the exchange of gendered dress is barely detectable: Hercules is entirely nude and Omphale is dressed in a *chlamys* rather than the lion skin, with the club behind her (pl. 118a).¹¹⁹⁸

The cross-dressing motif is carefully negotiated on finger ornaments. Quite notably, Omphale is usually alone and removed from the mythological narrative, so that the viewer's entire attention is directed towards her elegant, lovely figure.¹¹⁹⁹ The queen is indeed cross-dressed to evoke the theme of disarming love, but in a manner that accentuates her beauty and gracefulness: the rough lion skin traces her soft curves and the club perfectly aligns with her inclined head.¹²⁰⁰ It also highlights other qualities, like her delicacy and modesty. It is even possible to transform her into a virtual Aphrodite through her interaction with the herculean attributes. Hercules, on the other hand, is completely

¹¹⁹⁰ For the cameo, Boardman 1994, 51 no. 61. Another intaglio shows a different scheme in three-quarter view: Omphale is shown as a sensual, nude woman, holding the lion skin, bow and arrow in one hand, and supporting herself on the club with the other; for the intaglio, Boardman 1994, 51 no. 60.

¹¹⁹¹ For examples, Delivrias et al. 1984, 86f. nos. 774-784.

¹¹⁹² For examples, Boardman 1994, 47 no. 16; 48 no. 21; 49 no. 34; Ritter 1995, 101.

¹¹⁹³ For the intaglio, Boardman 1994, 47 no. 16; Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, 101f. no. 269; pl. 46.

¹¹⁹⁴ S. Ritter, however, thinks that a fine garment has slipped from the arm of Hercules, Ritter 1995, 102.

¹¹⁹⁵ For the intaglio, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 21; Zazoff 1970, 27f. no. 69; pl. 9. S. Ritter notes that the cross-dressing is only partly carried out here, Ritter 1995, 101.

¹¹⁹⁶ It is unusual, but possible for Hercules to wear the lion skin like a *chlamys* (i.e. attached at the neck and falling loosely down his back) in a manner that leaves his head bare, Boardman et al. 1990, 185; for examples, Boardman et al. 1988, 768 no. 834; 812 no. 1458; 813 no. 1468.

¹¹⁹⁷ For the intaglio, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 34; Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, 102 no. 270; pl. 47.

¹¹⁹⁸ For the intaglio, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 34 (noted); Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, 102 no. 271, pl. 47. It is possible that the cloak is actually a lion skin, since intaglios are extremely small, fine engravings.

¹¹⁹⁹ Ritter 1995, 107.

¹²⁰⁰ Ritter 1995, 107.

absent in these cases: as such, the potential for the hero to cross-dress is of no concern here.¹²⁰¹ In the few instances where Hercules is in fact portrayed alongside Omphale, their amorous relationship is foregrounded through eye contact and body language.¹²⁰² The cross-dressing motif is carried out for Omphale, in a manner that either partially imitates Hercules or completely subverts the original combative function of his attributes. For Hercules, however, the cross-dressing is suppressed:¹²⁰³ indeed, he is generally nude, whereas the addition of feminine accessories is uncommon.

It has been convincingly argued that the finger ornaments portraying Omphale were directed towards female consumers in particular, who considered this beautiful, disarming woman a model for success in their own love lives.¹²⁰⁴ The selection of this theme for objects of personal adornment seems natural. Indeed, the hero is ultimately captivated by the queen's extraordinary beauty, and these are the very items for cultivating this quality in women. Moreover, the literary evidence indicates that finger rings were used by Roman women as signets, and hence as a significant form of self-representation.¹²⁰⁵ Omphale therefore offers a role model for women, with Hercules is only indirectly identified with their husbands. Besides that, the images of Hercules and Omphale as passionate lovers offer a mythical exemplum for personal happiness in general, potentially relevant to both men and women. Regardless of their precise usage, these small, intricate objects were certainly of a personal nature, and perhaps exchanged as gifts, or as tokens of love between husbands and wives.

It seems that the cross-dressing motif was carefully negotiated due to this strong potential for viewer identification. In the case of Omphale, the cross-dressing is hardly problematized. Her takeover of Hercules' club and lion skin allowed her to serve as a beautiful and desirable role model for women. At the same time, the cross-dressing is typically balanced by traditional feminine characteristics like delicacy and modesty. In unique cases, the strength of the woman in matters of love is emphasized instead, due to her imitation of herculean dress behaviour. The cross-dressed Hercules is, however, apparently not as desirable here. He is usually not present in the imagery at all, and if so, then the exchange of gendered dress is significantly downplayed. It is even possible for Omphale to trade in the lion skin for a *chlamys* - a cloak for active, heroic men - just so that Hercules can retain his own masculine dress. Perhaps the image of the cross-dressed Hercules was avoided due to the indirect connections drawn between the hero and the female user's husband. The potentially effeminate connotations of male-to-female cross-dressing were presumably recognized by both sexes.

¹²⁰¹ Ritter 1995, 107.

¹²⁰² Ritter 1995, 107.

¹²⁰³ Ritter 1995, 107.

¹²⁰⁴ Schauenburg 1960, 66. S. Ritter follows this view, Ritter 1995, 208. S. Toso even maintains that engraved gems with the Amazons, Omphale and Medea - so-called "bad girls", seizing masculine prerogatives - offered an attractive model for Roman women excluded from *virilia officia*, Toso 2002, 303f.

¹²⁰⁵ Toso 2002, 303f.

The items discussed so far show Hercules and Omphale themselves, but there are also objects of personal adornment that merely feature the attributes of the hero. This raises an interesting question: by handling the club and lion skin of Hercules during their beauty regimen, did Roman women self-fashion as Omphale? This seems probable in the case of a series of silver mirrors from Campania, dated to the 1st century CE, whose handles consist of the knotted club and terminate in the lion skin (pl. 118b).¹²⁰⁶ This is, in fact, the most typical decorative handle type from the area.¹²⁰⁷ As rightly noted, “...it is not only a question of using an object (the club) whose form is ready to be grasped by the hand; the evocation of Hercules, on an object of toilette, is an allusion to Omphale especially, ... to the woman who, as an eternal seductress, subdues the hero to the point of making him abandon his arms.”¹²⁰⁸ Overall, the intention is extremely refined: by grasping the club-handle and gazing at herself in the mirror, with the lion-skin around her neck, the woman was able to fashion herself as Omphale and seemingly aspired to cultivate the same beauty as her.¹²⁰⁹

It is possible that jewellery with the attributes of Hercules played with the idea of disarming love as well, but the connection is difficult to prove. The reef knot was once referred to as the *Herakleotikon hamma* - i.e. Hercules-knot - probably because the hero tied his lion skin in this fashion.¹²¹⁰ The Hellenistic Period witnessed the sudden emergence and widespread popularity of the Hercules-knot as a central motif for various jewellery types (pl. 119).¹²¹¹ The new fashion was probably connected to the rise of Macedonian hegemony, since the kings traced their ancestry back to Hercules.¹²¹² Indeed, the jewellery was first attested shortly after the death of Alexander, in Macedonia and Thessaly, but then rapidly dwindled in popularity with the march of Rome in the 2nd century BCE.¹²¹³ Afterwards, the elaborate Hercules-knots were replaced by simplified, wire knots.¹²¹⁴ The Hercules-knot need not, however, have retained its ideological significance among the broader population.¹²¹⁵ It seems that royal women wore the Hercules-knot to advertise their illustrious ancestry,¹²¹⁶ but the motif likely appealed to other women for different reasons. Perhaps it was valued for its longstanding apotropaic

¹²⁰⁶ For a list of examples, Baratte 1986, 46. Moreover, an Asiatic sarcophagus shows a woman with a similar mirror (i.e. lion club handle) hanging in the background, Helbig 1966, 559f. cat. 1790

¹²⁰⁷ D'Ambrosio 2001, 19f.

¹²⁰⁸ Baratte 1986, 46 (translation by the author).

¹²⁰⁹ The textual and visual sources indicate that mirrors were properly held by slaves, Berg 2008, 66f. This is, however, probably a reflection of elite ideals rather than everyday reality.

¹²¹⁰ Nicogorski 2013, 178. The term in Greek is *Herakleotikon hamma* and in Latin *nodus Herculeus*. In ancient Greek visual culture, it was primarily an apotropaic symbol, whose semantic range broadened over time; the attribute might, for instance, evoke herculean virtues or guarantee fertility, Nicogorski 2005, 101f.

¹²¹¹ e.g. diadems, necklaces, breast ornaments, finger rings, bracelets, Nicogorski 2005, 102; Pfrommer 1990, 4f.

¹²¹² Pfrommer 1990, 4-6. Perhaps Alexander the Great, as the “New Herakles”, used the symbol for propagandistic purposes, Nicogorski 2005.

¹²¹³ Pfrommer 1990, 4-6. The Hercules-knot jewellery was probably still common in the Seleucid and Ptolemaic Kingdoms, but the find situation is insufficient to evaluate this, Pfrommer 1990, 80.

¹²¹⁴ Pfrommer 1990, 75f.

¹²¹⁵ Pfrommer 1990, 6.

¹²¹⁶ For instance, a diadem with a Hercules-knot from Tomb II at Vergina must have belonged to a member of the royal family; A.M. Nicogorski argues that it belonged to Queen Adea, the granddaughter of Philip II and half-niece of Alexander the Great, in order to legitimize her right to power after Alexander's death, Nicogorski 2005, 114.

significance, which was particularly relevant to the female lifecycle (e.g. marriage, childbirth).¹²¹⁷ Perhaps it allowed elite women to show their families' affiliation with the Macedonian court, due to being pushed into public roles: "as Alexander robed himself like Herakles, women could wear jewelry embellished with the same motifs to harness both the hero's strength and the qualities of their late king."¹²¹⁸ It is even worthwhile entertaining the possibility that the Hercules-knot was worn by some women with Omphale in mind in particular, in hopes of being equally desirable. The finger rings depicting Omphale were introduced by the late 4th century BCE, precisely the same time as the jewellery with Hercules-knots. Furthermore, Eros is the most commonly selected figural decoration for the Hercules-knot (pl. 119b),¹²¹⁹ which fits well into the theme of disarming love. Its semantic range of is undoubtedly broad, but whether this extends to the erotic power of Omphale is uncertain.

Club-shaped ornaments were used for Roman jewellery, such as earrings or pendants.¹²²⁰ The majority come from tombs scattered throughout the Roman Empire - from Britain to the Black Sea - dated to between the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE.¹²²¹ It has been suggested that the club associates the female wearer with Omphale,¹²²² but once again, the exact relevance of the club to women is difficult to determine. Perhaps the motif was merely decorative or apotropaic, which is relevant to members of both sexes, to adults and children alike.¹²²³ As such, it does not seem advisable to insist on this connection too much here, but merely to note the possibility.

Overall, a few objects of personal adornment used by women during the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial Periods include herculean attributes (i.e. Hercules-knot, club, lion skin). For the mirrors, the connection with Omphale is highly plausible, whereas for the jewellery, the connection remains uncertain. The use of these herculean attributes as independent motifs on objects of personal adornment shifts the focus to Omphale as the erotic, disarming agent, while effectively glossing over the potential for Hercules to cross-dress as well. It seems that these items allowed women to fashion themselves after Omphale during their beauty regimen, in hopes of achieving to same desirability. Their husbands, on the other hand, are only indirectly associated with Hercules.

¹²¹⁷ In ancient Greek visual culture, the Hercules-knot served an apotropaic function; it was often associated with virgin goddesses and legendary mortal maidens, as well as brides, Nicgorski 2013, 178f. Moreover, the Hercules-knot was significant to female rites of passage, such as marriage and childbirth, Pfrommer 2001, 21. The Hercules-knot remained an apotropaic symbol in the Roman Imperial Period in general, Nicogorski 2013, 178. Festus recommends that the bride tie a Hercules-knot on her *zone*, so that her husband can untie it on their wedding night and produce as many children as Hercules, Nicgorski 1995, 98.

¹²¹⁸ Castor 2017, 244.

¹²¹⁹ Pfrommer 1990, 53. Eros is attested on eight examples (and a wingless Eros is attested once); the other preserved figures (which are only attested once each), include a Siren, Harpokrates and Ganymede.

¹²²⁰ For a catalogue of the club-shaped ornaments, Werner 1964, 183-188.

¹²²¹ Uhlenbrock 1986, 111.

¹²²² Uhlenbrock, 1986, 111. V. Dasen follows this idea, but argues that symbol had a prophylactic value, like the magical gems featuring Omphale from Egypt, Dasen 2015, 107.

¹²²³ J. Werner argues that the motif is primarily apotropaic, or a sign of fertility, Werner 1964, 182f.

4.1.3.4 Sarcophagi

The images of Hercules and Omphale were introduced into the funerary context during the 2nd century CE. The mythical couple is attested on mythological sarcophagi, whose imagery is a valuable site for self-representation, evoking the private feelings and personal virtues of the deceased and their families.¹²²⁴ The metaphor is, however, never intensified by furnishing them with portrait heads.¹²²⁵ Three categories of sarcophagi are identifiable here. The first is exemplified by a tub-shaped sarcophagus in the Musei Vaticani, which shows Hercules and Omphale in the Dionysian *thiasos* (pl. 120a). The monument was produced in a Roman workshop during the 3rd century CE and used for a burial in the Catacombe di San Callisto.¹²²⁶ The extremely fragmentary front side is reconstructed as the “Wedding of Dionysos and Ariadne”.¹²²⁷ To the far left, Hercules lies intoxicated on the ground and attempts to grasp Omphale, standing confidently in front of him.

Omphale is fairly well preserved, but her lower arms are missing. She is shown in frontal view and looks down at the hero. She is nude but for the lion skin over her head and knotted at her chest. She also wears a *strophion* just under her breasts and a garland around her neck. The latter accessory points to a festive context.¹²²⁸ As indicated by the sculptural supports, she once raised Hercules’ club in the air with her right hand,¹²²⁹ as though playfully threatening the hero. The action of the left hand remains uncertain, but perhaps she reaches towards him. There are also three erotes next to her, clinging to the lion skin and playing with the quiver of Hercules.

Only the hands of Hercules are preserved, making reconstruction difficult. He certainly lies on the ground, supporting himself with his left hand and tugging at the lion skin of Omphale with his right hand (causing it to incidentally cover her pudenda). The dress of the hero is hardly preserved. Traces of fabric on the ground indicate drapery on or beneath the hero. It is perhaps possible to reconstruct the dress based on a mosaic from Thaenae (Tunisia), dated to the 3rd century CE (pl. 120b).¹²³⁰ Here, Hercules reclines in the presence of Omphale and Bacchus.¹²³¹ Omphale stands before him, with the lion skin over her head. Hercules is poorly preserved, but he is probably pulling on Omphale’s lion skin.¹²³² He also wears a wreath.¹²³³ It appears that he is nude (due to the traces of tanned skin on his side),

¹²²⁴ For discussion, see chap. 1.3.

¹²²⁵ This sort of direct identification is seemingly reserved for freestanding statuary and reliefs in the tomb context, which are discussed in detail below, see chap. 4.2.

¹²²⁶ For the sarcophagus, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 40; Matz 1968b, 142-145 no. 41.

¹²²⁷ Matz 1968b, 143 no. 41. For the so-called Pyramid Group, Matz 1968b, 128-145.

¹²²⁸ Zanker 1999, 123f.

¹²²⁹ Matz 1968b, 143 no. 41.

¹²³⁰ For the mosaic, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 30; Muth 1998, 226f. 386 cat. A 29; Yacoub 1970, 86 inv. 2788. There is another image of Hercules reclining in the midst of Omphale and tugging at her lion skin, but he is too poorly preserved here to assess his dress, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 31.

¹²³¹ P. Zanker notes Hercules’ physical proximity and iconographic similarity to Bacchus, Zanker 1999, 124.

¹²³² For a parallel, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 31.

¹²³³ Poinssot 1936-1937, 120.

with a purple *himation* under or on his body.¹²³⁴ Next to him are his club, bow and quiver. It is therefore probable that Hercules is nude but for the *himation* on the casket as well. There is also a toppled-over *skyphos* next to him, which confirms his drunken state.

Dionysian themes dominate the visual repertoire of mythological sarcophagi.¹²³⁵ The imagery is traditionally interpreted in light of the Dionysian Mysteries, promising initiates the chance for a blissful afterlife.¹²³⁶ Hercules and Omphale have likewise been ascribed a cultic significance here.¹²³⁷ The starting point for this interpretation is Ovid's aetiological explanation for the ritual nudity at the Luperalia.¹²³⁸ Hercules and Omphale prepare to celebrate a festival of Dionysos by sleeping apart, cross-dressed.¹²³⁹ The hero is perceived as the ideal banqueter, set to reunite the followers of Dionysos in the bacchic paradise.¹²⁴⁰ The queen is perceived as the typical initiate into the Dionysian Mysteries, who ritually cross-dresses to enter into the joyous throngs of believers.¹²⁴¹

There are, however, glaring issues with a cultic reading of the imagery. The reliance on particular literary passages as an interpretive key for visual culture is not methodologically sound. Moreover, the Dionysian imagery on Roman sarcophagi is not strictly eschatological, but rather a celebration of earthly pleasures: it presents a vague expression of hope for a blissful afterlife on the one hand, but an encouragement to enjoy life to the fullest on the other.¹²⁴² This is evoked by a few basic themes: music and dance, drunkenness, and love, especially between Dionysos and Ariadne.¹²⁴³ Hercules - as the hero renowned for living in extremes - is incorporated into the Dionysian *thiasos*, usually trying to embrace a maenad (pl. 121a).¹²⁴⁴ Whereas Hercules drunkenly staggers, the maenad is portrayed as upright, in control, and obviously amused by the hero, as she calmly accepts his embrace.¹²⁴⁵ The other revelers seize the hero's arms. It seems that the image of Hercules and Omphale on the sarcophagus under consideration is but a variation on this motif. The imagery evokes themes already common in the domestic context, namely, disarming love and Dionysian excess.

¹²³⁴ Hercules is reconstructed in this manner. Unfortunately, it was not possible to examine the mosaic in person or to acquire high-resolution photos to confirm this.

¹²³⁵ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 135f.

¹²³⁶ For discussion on the eschatological significance of the Dionysian imagery, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 147f.

¹²³⁷ Turcan 1962, 601-604; for a similar view, Kampen 1996b, 243.

¹²³⁸ Ov. fast. 2, 303-358.

¹²³⁹ Ov. fast. 2, 325-330. Le Bonniec rejects this reading, arguing that cross-dressing is actually characteristic of the mysteries of Hercules Victor, Le Bonniec 1962.

¹²⁴⁰ Turcan 1962, 602.

¹²⁴¹ Turcan 1962, 601f.

¹²⁴² Zanker - Ewald 2004, 173f. Furthermore, religious objects evoke ideas of cult, sanctity and sacrifice to create a religious aura, but bear no relationship to actual cult activity, Geyer 1977; see also Zanker - Ewald 2004, 139-146.

¹²⁴³ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 139-146.

¹²⁴⁴ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 142.

¹²⁴⁵ For examples of the motif on other Roman sarcophagi, Matz 1968c, 241-243 cat. 101; 258f. cat. 118; 284-286 cat. 148. There are, however, variations on the motif. There is also a peaceful, composed encounter, with the maenad offering some fruit to the child between them, see Matz 1968c, 236f. cat. 97. There is also a violent encounter, with the maenad modeled after Auge, see Matz 1968c, 277f. no. 140.

Overall, the portrayal of Hercules and Omphale on this sarcophagus primarily offers a mythical exemplum for personal happiness, which is relevant to both the viewers and the interred. The family members, visiting the tomb and feasting, are encouraged to enjoy life.¹²⁴⁶ At the same time, the imagery might express vague hopes of eternal bliss for the deceased.¹²⁴⁷ Whether or not the cross-dressing motif is negotiated with viewer identification in mind is difficult to determine here. It is significant that Omphale strongly imitates the dress behaviour of Hercules: she not only wears the lion skin over the head and knotted at the chest, but also actively wields the club, which is directed against Hercules himself. At the same time, the femininity of the queen is clear: she is depicted as a beautiful nude woman, with a *strophion* uniquely positioned under her breasts, in order to lift and enhance them.¹²⁴⁸ This combination of beauty, coyness and playful aggression is reminiscent of the Slipper-Slapper Group featuring Aphrodite fending off the advances of Pan (pl. 121b), although here her strength and dynamism are more pronounced.¹²⁴⁹ She is also integrated into the bacchic *thiasos* by the festive garland around her neck. Hercules' dress is not clear, but it seems likely that he is cast more so as a bacchant than a cross-dresser. Overall, perhaps Omphale offered a model for a firm, but fun and beautiful woman, whereas Hercules offered a model for enjoying life's pleasures.

In any case, a direct identification with Hercules and Omphale is not carried out here. Despite the opportunity to furnish mythological figures on Roman sarcophagi with portraits of the deceased and their kin, the producers and patrons decided against this here.¹²⁵⁰ This is, in fact, normally the case with Dionysian sarcophagi. The members of the *thiasos* - as intoxicated, reveling figures - are ambiguous models for commemoration: indeed, "the images of drunkenness and a demonstrative hedonism were hardly reconcilable with the commonly promoted Roman values," especially the virtue of moderation.¹²⁵¹ If direct identifications are drawn at all on Dionysian sarcophagi, then the iconography is carefully manipulated to allow for a decorous commemoration. For instance, men portrayed in the guise of Bacchus or Hercules, or women in the guise of Ariadne (pl. 122a), are generally removed from the *thiasos* and exhibit a detached state of happiness.¹²⁵² Particularly notable is the portrait of a man as Hercules holding a *kantharos* in the Triumph of Dionysos (pl. 122b): the hero stands fully upright in a chariot with the club and lion skin, with no trace of the debilitating effects of alcohol, and completely unaffected by his surroundings.¹²⁵³ In the case of Hercules and Omphale, then,

¹²⁴⁶ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 159-167.

¹²⁴⁷ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 159-167.

¹²⁴⁸ For the *strophion* in general (as well as the erotic connotations), Lee 2015, 98-100; Stafford 2005. The *strophion* usually functioned to constrict and flatten the breasts, rather than lifting and emphasizing them, Stafford 2005, 104f. Here, however, it is used like a push-up bra.

¹²⁴⁹ For the statue group, Kaltsas 2002, 294f. cat. 617.

¹²⁵⁰ Of course, Bacchus/Ariadne are the main protagonists anyway; Hercules/Omphale are subsidiary figures.

¹²⁵¹ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 160 (translation by the author).

¹²⁵² Zanker - Ewald 2004, 159-167.

¹²⁵³ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 162. For the sarcophagus, Matz 1968c, 239-241 cat. 100. This forms a stark contrast with the other sarcophagi featuring Hercules in the Triumph of Dionysos: the hero either tries to drunkenly embrace a maenad, or actively strides forward in the procession; moreover, his possessions are at times scattered, taken over

their role as a mythical exemplum for personal happiness ought to be understood in the most general sense. The mythical pair is humorous, but set into a pleasurable, temporary scenario.

The second category is exemplified by three columnar sarcophagi featuring the Twelve Labours of Hercules, as well as Omphale. This sarcophagus type was manufactured at a workshop in Dokimeion between 150-170 CE, for export to Rome and various regions of Asia Minor, particularly Pamphylia (pls. 123. 124).¹²⁵⁴ The caskets in the Collezione Torlonia (from Rome) and the Antalya Museum (A) (from Perge) (pl. 123) are similar in format, but exhibit minor variations. The surface of each casket is divided into sixteen sections by Corinthian columns. One of the short sides features a false door to the afterlife, flanked by two figures.¹²⁵⁵ The other three sides feature the Twelve Labours of Hercules, but not in the standard order.¹²⁵⁶ The narrative starts on one of the longer sides with the first to fifth labours: the Nemean Lion, the Lernean Hydra, the Erymanthian Boar, the Ceryneian Hind and the Stymphalian Birds. On the following short side is the sixth labour of Hercules, the Augean Stables. The seventh to eleventh labours continue on the other long side of the casket: the Cretan Bull, the Horses of Diomedes, the Belt of Hippolyta, the Cattle of Geryon and Cerberus in Hades. The final labour, the Apples of the Hesperides, is located back on the preceding short side, to the left. Rather interestingly, Omphale is inserted into the middle of the field here, next to the victorious hero. It is certainly uncommon for Omphale to appear in conjunction with the Twelve Labours of Hercules, but the theme is attested elsewhere in the visual record as well.¹²⁵⁷

The other casket located in the Antalya Museum (B) (from Perge) (pl. 124) exhibits the same overall theme, but a few iconographic variations are worthy of note. First of all, the columns are omitted (some pillars nevertheless appear at the corners of the casket). Secondly, the short side with the false door to the afterlife is replaced by yet another Omphale flanked by two extra Herculesees. As such, the Twelve Labours are essentially in the same order, but with a few “fillers”. The narrative commences with the first to fifth labour on one of the long sides. Then comes the sixth labour on the following

by other members of the *thiasos*; for some examples, Matz 1968c, 236f. cat. 97; 237f. cat. 98; 238f. cat. 99; 241-243 cat. 101; 258f. cat. 118; 277f. cat. 140.

¹²⁵⁴ For the sarcophagus in the Collezione Torlonia (first attested in the Palazzo Savelli, Rome, in the early 16th century), Robert 1897, 143-146 cat. 126; Waelkens et al. 2019, 225f.; Wiesgartz 1965, 169 cat. ROM K. For the first sarcophagus from Perge, in the Antalya Museum (A - inv. 928), Boardman 1994, 57 no. 57; Waelkens et al. 2019, 223f.; Wiesgartz 1965, 147 cat. ANTALYA M. For the second sarcophagus from Perge, in the Antalya Museum (B - inv. 2017/400), Waelkens et al. 2019. (Note that another casket of this type was discovered at Antioch on the Maeander, but will not receive consideration here due to its extremely fragmentary state; for the sarcophagus, Wiesgartz 1965, 152 cat. AYDIN). For a detailed analysis of the workshop, dating, provenance and iconography of this sarcophagus type, see Waelkens et al. 2019.

¹²⁵⁵ The identity of the figures flanking the false door on the sarcophagus from the Collezione Torlonia is not clear: to the left is a woman wearing a veil, whom C. Robert identifies as a female portrait figure; to the right is a man wearing a *chlamys* and holding a staff and a ram's head, whom C. Robert identifies as a male portrait figure; moreover, these are identified as the same man and woman reclining on the lid of the sarcophagus, Robert 1897, 146 cat. 126. On the sarcophagus in the Antalya Museum (inv. 928), the false door is flanked by two mourning figures with Phrygian bonnets, both identified by H. Wiesgartz as Attis, Wiesgartz 1965, 147 cat. ANTALYA M.

¹²⁵⁶ For the canonical composition and order of the Twelve Labours, Boardman et al. 1990, 5.

¹²⁵⁷ For examples, Boardman 1994, 47 no. 10; 49 no. 39.

short side, to the right. Omphale is placed in the middle, but the Hercules to the left is portrayed as a *kithara* player. The seventh to eleventh labours resume on the following long side. Omphale is seemingly placed once again at the center of the final short side, between two different versions of Hercules holding the Apples of the Hesperides.¹²⁵⁸ One of these is the New York Hercules, still upright and alert (pl. 125a); the other is the weary Farnese Hercules (pl. 125b).¹²⁵⁹

To turn to the dress, the identity of Hercules is perfectly clear: the hero is nude but for the club and lion skin, and carries out his usual heroic deeds. He is only portrayed once in a “softer” role, as a *kithara* player. His dress is a bit unconventional here. If Hercules is portrayed as musician, then he tends to retain his standard dress and simply receives an instrument (pl. 126a).¹²⁶⁰ Here, however, he takes on gender-bending dress. He is still nude but lacks his club and lion skin. He wears a cloth head covering and *chlamys* (bunched on the shoulder) and holds a *kithara* in the left hand. The identity of Omphale quickly becomes clear as well. She wears a diadem to indicate her royal identity.¹²⁶¹ In one case, she is semi-nude and wears a mantle around the waist, most closely patterned after the Aphrodite of Arles (pl. 126b).¹²⁶² The other two cases show her in a high-girdled *chiton*, draped with a *himation*, which is possible for this goddess as well.¹²⁶³ There is no trace of the club or lion skin. She nevertheless wields other herculean attributes - namely, the bow in the left and the quiver in the right - which must refer to Omphale in this context.¹²⁶⁴ The fact that Hercules appears as a “soft” musician, with feminine

¹²⁵⁸ L.E. Baumer does not identify this female figure as Omphale, but as Hebe, since she is placed next to the deified Hercules at the end of the Twelve Labours (holding the Apples of the Hesperides), and since she is modeled after Aphrodite (due to supposedly grasping her hair with both hands), Waelkens et al. 2019, 244. There are, however, reasons to doubt this interpretation. First of all, her arms and their attributes are poorly preserved and it is therefore difficult to reconstruct her precise actions, but it is implausible that she once held her hair with both hands (for discussion, see footnote 1264); even if she is modeled after Aphrodite, this is typical for Omphale as well and need not point to Hebe in particular. Secondly, she has the precise same physical appearance, hairstyle and garments as Omphale on the other short side of the casket. Thirdly, there are parallels for Omphale accompanying Hercules at the end of the Twelve Labours, also within this series of caskets; for examples, Boardman 1995, 47 no. 10; 51 no. 57. Due to the poor state of preservation, it is not possible to definitively identify her as Omphale, but there is no reason to exclude this possibility either.

¹²⁵⁹ For this particular adaption on the New York Hercules, Boardman et al. 1988, 754-755 nos. 508-537. For this particular adaption on the Farnese Hercules, Boardman et al. 1988, 765 nos. 733-737.

¹²⁶⁰ For the visual depictions of Hercules as a musician, Boardman et al. 1988, 811-817 nos. 1438-1482. For an exception to the rule on Arretine ware, where Hercules is dressed like an actor (in a long-sleeved *chiton* and cloak), Boardman et al. 1988, 814 no. 1481.

¹²⁶¹ This is preserved on the casket in the Collezione Torlonia, as well as a sarcophagus in the Antalya Museum (inv. 2017/400). The Omphale on the other casket in the Antalya Museum (inv. 928) is headless.

¹²⁶² This is the case with the sarcophagus in the Antalya Museum (inv. 928). For the Aphrodite Arles type (and adaptations), Delivourias et al. 1984, 63-65 nos. 526-553.

¹²⁶³ This is the case with the sarcophagi in the Collezione Torlonia and in the Antalya Museum (inv. 2017/400). For examples of Aphrodite clothed in a high-girdled *chiton* and mantle, Delivourias et al. 1984, 40 nos. 264-279.

¹²⁶⁴ The female figure on the sarcophagus in the Collezione Torlonia has been restored with a cornucopia, but the earliest sketch shows her with an object in the left hand that can be understood as a bow, see Robert 1897, 146 cat. 126. On the sarcophagus in the Antalya Museum (inv. 928), the female figure holds a quiver in the right hand. The attribute in the left hand is poorly preserved, but the traces allow for a bow. On the sarcophagus in the Antalya Museum (inv. 2017/400), the female figure on one side holds a quiver in the right hand. The attribute in the left hand is poorly preserved, but the traces allow for a bow. The actions and attributes of the female figure on the other side are unclear. The right arm (preserved to the mid lower arm) is raised above her shoulder. There is a small support on the surface of the casket just above the right shoulder, probably for the right hand. Moreover, there is a small support, now broken off, at the right side of the head, probably associated with the raised right

features, reinforces this identification as well. It is significant that unlike the hero, Omphale refrains from actively using these arms or even wielding them like him. Instead, she merely carries them like trophies. The sarcophagus where the queen features twice might form an exception: her exact stance and attributes on one short side is not clear. Perhaps she is vaguely modeled after Diana, holding up an arrow in the right hand and the bow in the left hand, which would cast her in a more active role than usual.¹²⁶⁵ This ought to remain an open question here.

In summary, the cross-dressing motif is practically effaced in the case of Hercules. He is typically portrayed with the club and lion skin, performing the Twelve Labours. He is only portrayed in an alternate outfit once, in his role as a “soft” musician. The image of Hercules playing the *kithara* probably expresses that the hero, in spite of his strength, has been overcome by the power of the arts, which fits well into the world of *otium*, presumably as an alternative to the usual bacchic themes.¹²⁶⁶ Furthermore, Omphale merely adopts the supplementary arms of Hercules, so that the hero can retain his club and lion skin. In most cases, she carries the attributes like trophies, which highlights the incompatibility between the woman and her arms. In one case, however, it is possible that she reveals her desire to behave like a huntress as well.

It seems likely that the images of Hercules and Omphale were specially selected by the patrons of the sarcophagus, in order to refer to the private feelings and especially the personal virtues of the deceased and their kin.¹²⁶⁷ Since the lid of one casket features a male and female portrait figure reclining together, the imagery was evidently considered suitable for spouses.¹²⁶⁸ The ubiquity of Hercules suggests that the sarcophagus type was primarily intended for the commemoration of men,

hand or its attribute. The left arm is broken off just below the shoulder. There is a small support next to the left shoulder, on the surface of the casket, more likely for an attribute she held than the left hand itself. According to L.E. Baumer, the female figure once grasped her hair with both hands, Waelkens et al. 2019, 244. This is implausible. The right hand is raised above her shoulder, but the small support (a common feature on this casket) on the head has been misinterpreted as hair. She rests her upper left arm against her body, making it basically impossible to reach up and grab her hair; in any case, the hair on the left side clearly falls down her back.

¹²⁶⁵ The right hand and the left arm of the female figure, as well as the attributes, are not preserved here. She is, however, certainly reaching above the shoulder with the right hand, and resting her left arm at her side. The general composition is reminiscent of representations of Diana as a huntress holding a bow in the left hand and reaching for her quiver over the right shoulder (for a few examples, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 802 no. 18; 804 no. 24; 805 no. 27). Here, however, there is no obvious trace of a quiver on the right shoulder or a baldric across her chest. Perhaps she holds an arrow in the right hand instead, as is possible for Diana in general; for examples, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 824 nos. 195, 197; 828 no. 259. Since it was not possible to examine the sarcophagus in more detail due to barriers around the monument, this proposed reconstruction ought to remain a mere hypothesis. It is not absolutely necessary to resolve this issue here.

¹²⁶⁶ The theme is comparable to the image of Hercules Musarum on the Arretine ware from the workshop of M. Perennius; for discussion, see chap. 4.1.3.1.1. It is also comparable to other themes expressed by the images of Hercules and Omphale, especially the power of love and wine.

¹²⁶⁷ L.E. Baumer demonstrates that a limited number of models were used by the sculptors, but that the relief decor was presumably selected and arranged according to the wishes of the customers, Waelkens et al. 2019, 246f. It is true that there is no direct identification between Hercules and Omphale and the deceased and their kin here. Nevertheless, mythological figures on sarcophagi produced outside of Roman workshops are seldom furnished with portrait heads. As such, the imagery ought to be approached with slightly different expectations as a form of self-representation and commemoration.

¹²⁶⁸ This is the case with the sarcophagus in the Collezione Torlonia, Robert 1897, 144f. cat. 126. Further information about the patrons of the sarcophagi and the interred individuals is lacking.

who wished to incorporate their wives into their monuments.¹²⁶⁹ Hercules' participation in the Twelve Labours serves as an allegory for the strength and courage of the husband.¹²⁷⁰ Omphale is presented as a beautiful and modest woman, which reflected well on his wife. The fact that she wields the bow and quiver of Hercules signifies the overwhelming love that her husband feels for her. Moreover, if Omphale is in fact transformed into a long-robed huntress in one case, then the association probably alludes to the general strength and capacity of his wife.¹²⁷¹

It is notable that the imagery is formulated in a manner that prevents the emasculation of the husband. Indeed, the focus on the Twelve Labours ensures that his manliness is never doubted. The possible image of Omphale as a huntress casts her as a fitting partner for her husband, but without entirely matching him. Moreover, Hercules is portrayed next to Omphale at the end of the narrative, with the Apples of the Hesperides - that is, in the merited world of *otium*. He retains his club and lion skin here. He is only portrayed once in a "softer" role, as a musician in gender-bending dress, which is probably an expression of the learnedness of the husband.¹²⁷² Overall, Hercules strikes a fine balance between being a mythical exemplum of manliness in the Twelve Labours, and of personal happiness at the court of Omphale. He is strong and courageous, but also capable of loving his wife and appreciating the arts. The cross-dressing motif is present here, to ensure their identification, but manipulated to suppress any potentially defamatory connotations for the husband especially.

Unfortunately, the third category of sarcophagi is hardly possible to examine due to the lack of extant material. It is exemplified by a fragment from the upper edge of a sarcophagus dated to ca. 200 CE, which portrays Omphale with another, unidentified woman (pl. 127a).¹²⁷³ It is made of dolomitic marble from Cape Vathy on Thasos, but the imagery was probably carved in a Roman workshop.¹²⁷⁴ Both of the extant figures are poorly preserved. All that remains of Omphale is her head, which is shown frontally and with the lion skin over her scalp, but the pupils indicate that she is looking to her left. The woman

¹²⁶⁹ It is possible that the sarcophagus type was also destined for the commemoration of women alone. The casket is decorated on all sides, allowing the shorter sides with Omphale in the middle to form the visual focus.

¹²⁷⁰ The portraits of men as Hercules serve as a model for *virtus*, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 230; for further discussion, Grassinger 2007. If any of these monuments commemorates a woman in particular, then another interpretation of the imagery is possible as well. Women in the Roman Imperial Period are occasionally ascribed *virtus* (for discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.1.2), and so the theme is not necessarily inappropriate for women. Perhaps the Labours of Hercules were even resemanticized as the triumph of a beautiful woman in matters of love.

¹²⁷¹ For discussion on the portraits of women as huntresses as an evocation of *virtus*, see chaps. 6.2.3.4; 6.3.3.2.3; 6.3.4.3. Alternatively, perhaps Omphale is shown in two different guises with the bow and quiver for the sake of variety (note that Hercules is also shown with the Apples of the Hesperides in two different guises).

¹²⁷² In the portrait groups of married couples on Roman sarcophagi as a learned men and women, the man typically holds a scroll and makes a gesture of speech; his wife, on the other hand, is often shown without a scroll, instead playing a lyre or merely listening to her husband, e.g. Ewald 1999, 173 cat. E 6; 196 cat. F 32; 203f. cat. G 16. For discussion on learned men and women on Roman sarcophagi, especially the gendered representation, Birk 2013, 73-94; Hansen 2008; Huskinson 1999. There are unique exceptions to the rule, in which the learnedness of the male deceased is expressed by portraying him with a musical instrument (e.g. Ewald 1999, 140-142 cat. A 13; Wegner 1966, 83f. cat. 219); it seems, however, that this form of commemoration is restricted to boys and occasionally youths, see chap. 7.3; app. C.

¹²⁷³ For the sarcophagus, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 40 (noted here); Ridgway 1972, 103 cat. 40; Van Keuren et al. 2009, 167-170; Vermeule 1986, 111 cat. 54.

¹²⁷⁴ Van Keuren et al. 2009, 167f.

to the queen's right is preserved from the shoulders upwards. She is shown in profile, staring in the same direction as Omphale, with her tunic slipping off one shoulder. She places her hands on the side her head as though fearful or sorrowful. The nature of the scene is unclear. It has been suggested that the other woman is a female companion "dismayed at the sight of the humiliated Hercules".¹²⁷⁵ There is, however, no parallel for this in the visual culture. The associates of Omphale are typically either attendants or maenads, who are never shown in a state of fear or sorrow, but actually amused by the cross-dressed Hercules.¹²⁷⁶ As such, the identity of the woman and the source of her shock are not clear. Due to the lacunose state of the evidence, it is probably better to refrain from ascribing the imagery a more precise significance here.¹²⁷⁷

4.1.3.5 Summary

This examination of the dress of Hercules and Omphale has revealed the sheer variety of possibilities for producing an exchange of gendered dress. It has also touched on the possible appeal of the images in their physical and social settings. It is time to summarize these results, as well as to consider how the precise formulation of the cross-dressing and the intended purpose of the imagery might have intersected in meaningful ways. In particular, it is worthwhile asking how the cross-dressing was reconciled with Hercules and Omphale's status as a mythical exemplum for personal happiness or praiseworthy qualities. This is not to claim that the model built up and presented here was universally applicable. On the one hand, the visual culture was characterized by a strict and durable set of signs, which ensured the identification of the mythical protagonists as well as other messages; factors like the precise iconography, target audiences and physical setting could also be adjusted to help encourage a certain understanding of the imagery. On the other hand, there is no reason to assume that a particular image was viewed by everyone in the same way. It is possible for the viewer to bring their personal experience and background to the images, depending on factors like age, gender, social standing, ethnicity and so on. In short, visual culture functions as a semantic system, where the signs are understood by basically everyone in that cultural context, but it is not possible to completely control reception. As such, the aim here is to offer a predictive model - aligning particular outfits with particular evocations and functions - that would have probably been understood by many of their intended viewers, without suggesting that alternate interpretations were not possible.¹²⁷⁸

¹²⁷⁵ Ridgway 1973, 103 no. 40.

¹²⁷⁶ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 27-29; 49 no. 37.

¹²⁷⁷ F. Van Keuren, L.P. Gromet and N. Herz connect the image of Omphale on the sarcophagus to Severan propaganda, which fostered connections between Iulia Domna and Omphale, Van Keuren et al. 2009, 169f. Moreover, C.C. Vermeule suggests that "the symbolism of the powerful strongman enslaved by a woman of renown must have something to do with Stoic and Neo-Platonic notions current in the early third century CE, about the quirks of fate and death, visual themes appropriate to a marble coffin," Vermeule 1986, 111 cat. 54.

¹²⁷⁸ As we will see, the images of Hercules in women's dress have been understood in a variety of ways (e.g. shameful emasculation, elegiac fantasy, uncompromised masculinity), see chaps. 4.1.3.5.1.1; 4.1.3.5.1.2; 4.1.3.5.1.3. These are all within the realm of cultural possibility, but it will be argued here that these were probably not the most straightforward interpretations of the imagery for most of the intended viewers. Moreover,

4.1.3.5.1 Hercules

4.1.3.5.1.1 Shameful Emasculation?

The literary sources about Hercules and Omphale typically dwell on the hero's shameful emasculation,¹²⁷⁹ allowing the myth to function as a repository for the fears of men losing their social role and status.¹²⁸⁰ The same is true of literary sources describing images of the pair. Lucian interprets the cross-dressing of Hercules and Omphale as particularly shameful: "You have probably seen pictures of him [Heracles] as slave to Omphale, dressed in a most outlandish way: Omphale is wearing his lion's skin and carrying his club in her hand, as if she were Heracles for certain, while he has on a saffron and purple gown and is carding wool and getting rapped with Omphale's sandal. It's a shocking spectacle: the clothing hangs off his body and is ill-fitting, and his divine masculinity is disgracefully feminized."¹²⁸¹ Tertullian takes the same route.¹²⁸² Plutarch even offers various paintings of Hercules and Omphale as cautionary examples for the emasculation for Roman men.¹²⁸³

The images of Hercules and Omphale are traditionally interpreted in light of these kinds of literary sources: that is, as a sign of shameful emasculation in general, or even of particular men (e.g. Marcus Antonius).¹²⁸⁴ Already in the 18th century, it was assumed that the artists wanted to show "... that unregulated passion makes the best qualities useless; and the bravest men, when seized by passion, become effeminate, and the wisest turn fools. It quite debases the mind, robs the man of his natural genius, and in a word, is one of the chief sources of evils that fill the earth."¹²⁸⁵ This thoroughly negative evaluation of the imagery has endured for centuries.¹²⁸⁶ It is believed that the tale of Hercules and Omphale, insofar as it thematizes the subjugation of men to women, can only retain the most shameful connotations in Roman patriarchal society.¹²⁸⁷ The popular theory that the images of Hercules and Omphale on Arretine ware were a product of Augustan "counter-propaganda" fits well into this

the images of Omphale have been primarily understood as an allegory for disarming love, which is absolutely valid, but the capacity for other aspects of her dress to invite positive readings demands more attention.

¹²⁷⁹ e.g. Lucian. dial. deor. 13; Ov. epist. 9, 55-120; Sen. Herc. O. 371-377. The shameful emasculation of Hercules culminated in the Christian condemnation of the hero, Eppinger 2017.

¹²⁸⁰ Wulff Alonso 1996, 120.

¹²⁸¹ Lucian. hist. conscr. 10 (translation in Kilburn 1959, 17). Lucian views the cross-dressing as shameful, but at the same time he highlights the incongruity between the body and dress.

¹²⁸² Tert. pall. 4, 3.

¹²⁸³ Plut. mor. 785C-786; Plut. Comparison of Demetrius with Antony 3, 3.

¹²⁸⁴ For instance, A. Oxé and P. Zanker proceed from literary sources comparing Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra to Hercules and Omphale in their interpretation of the Arretine Ware, Oxé 1933, 94-96; Zanker 1990, 66.

¹²⁸⁵ This commentary on the images of Hercules in Omphale is found in B. de Montfaucon's *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, De Montfaucon 1724, 141 (translation by the author). Note that this applies not just to images of Hercules and Omphale, but to images of Hercules in love in general. Perhaps there is evidence for other views on the imagery in early scholarship, but it is outside the scope of the current analysis to explore the reception of Omphale and Hercules at this time.

¹²⁸⁶ R. Herbig maintains that the cross-dressing illustrates the shameful submission of Hercules to Omphale, and that the motif even entered into their iconography during the Hellenistic Period due to the corruption of Hellenic culture by eastern values and luxuries at this time, Herbig 1937, 208-211.

¹²⁸⁷ Ghedini 1984, 156f. As such, she claims that Hercules and Omphale are treated with irony and controversy in both literature and the arts.

perspective.¹²⁸⁸ Moreover, the images as a whole are seen to offer a mixture of mockery and pathos, with their romantic and derisive tone,¹²⁸⁹ or even a form of dark humour reflecting a “deeper social anxiety: the increasing power and liberation of Roman women.”¹²⁹⁰

It is certainly within the realm of cultural possibility that the images of Hercules and Omphale were viewed in this way.¹²⁹¹ It is, however, not methodologically sound to rely so heavily on the literary sources focusing on the emasculation of the hero for the interpretation of the imagery, as if this were the only way to understand it.¹²⁹² This is even the case with literary sources that apparently refer to “images” of Hercules and Omphale directly - such as in Lucian, Plutarch and Tertullian - since the authors summon them to mind for a clearly specified purpose, which decontextualizes them and, in the process, potentially resemanticizes them.¹²⁹³ Lucian’s disparagement of their cross-dressing is set within his broader critique of historians who write fiction, since the content is simply ill-fitting to the genre: “The majority will possibly applaud you for this, but those whom you despise will laugh

¹²⁸⁸ For discussion on Augustan “counter-propaganda”, see chap. 4.1.3.1.1.1. In fact, the theory of Augustan “counter-propaganda” is even cited to support the notion that other images of the mythical pair conjure up ideas of shameful emasculation. N. Kampen maintains that because Hercules and Omphale had been used as Augustan “counter-propaganda” against Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra, the mythical pair was treated with mockery, romance and trivialization in the visual arts until the 2nd century CE, Kampen 1996b, 235-239. Likewise, E. Stafford notes that “such negative views of Antony’s affair may have coloured the way Hercules and Omphale were depicted in contemporary art” until the 2nd century CE, Stafford 2012, 134. 152. J.R. Clarke cites the theory of Augustan “counter-propaganda” in connection with his view that the images of Hercules and Omphale primarily evoke the shameful emasculation of the hero (whether viewed as humorous, disturbing or both), Clarke 2007, 173-175. In addition, H. Beames cites this theory to support his argument that a Roman lamp from the 1st century CE show a Hercules who is so emasculated that he is physically transformed into a woman, Beames 2004, 23.

¹²⁸⁹ N. Kampen argues that this is the case at least until the 2nd century CE, Kampen 1996b, 235-239. E. Stafford agrees with this chronology, Stafford 2012, 134.

¹²⁹⁰ Clarke 2007, 172-179. J.R. Clarke contrasts images of Hercules in Lydia with the cross-dressed Achilles on Skyros: “But if both Hercules and Achilles wear women’s clothes, we see Achilles coming to his senses - not losing them like Hercules. If the viewer found any comic (or erotic) element in Achilles’ cross-dressing, the hero’s response cancels it out: his heroic masculinity is the subject of the picture,” Clarke 2007, 179. The idea that these images reflect the power and liberation of women is anachronistic, considering their actual rights at the time.

¹²⁹¹ It must have been possible to view the images in this way, since Lucian, Plutarch and Tertullian - who actually lived in the same culture in which these images were produced and viewed - understand them in this way (or at least claim to understand them in this way for their purposes, but they would not have offered this reading if they had not believed that it would be comprehensible to their readership).

¹²⁹² In general, it is not methodologically sound to use literary sources as interpretive keys for images. Textual and visual semiotic systems are fundamentally different: language signs can be repeatedly varied to create “new” messages, whereas visual signs require widespread comprehensibility and repetition to be understood, and therefore tend to reproduce the same messages over and over again. Literary sources should only be used to interpret images if it can be demonstrated that a particular passage is directly related to a particular image (but even here it needs to be recognized that this is only one interpretation of that image; moreover, the image has been “translated” into a different medium and therefore might carry connotations that were not originally there, to fit into the discursive preoccupations of the writer). For further discussion on the problems of using literary sources to interpret imagery in the Roman world, Hijmans 2009, 31-33. 48-52. Literary sources are, however, useful for giving us insight into the social contexts in which images are produced. Indeed, we cannot interpret images in a cultural vacuum.

¹²⁹³ There is no reason to assume that the “images” summoned up by these authors refer to real works (e.g. the painting of Hercules being groomed at the Lydian court is perhaps imaginary, see footnote 1302). At the very least, the “images” that these authors describe do not obviously refer to any particular extant image. It is nevertheless clear that these authors pick up on certain features observable in the visual culture (e.g. the full exchange of gendered dress), which suggests that the images could be open to negative readings, especially by those with conservative or moralistic attitudes (it seems, however, that this was not the intended message of those commissioning these images or for those appreciating them in their proper context, see chap. 4.3.5.1.4).

delightedly when they see the incongruity, lack of proportion, and loose structure of the work...”¹²⁹⁴ Plutarch wishes to shame Marcus Antonius and elderly statesmen living in luxury,¹²⁹⁵ whereas Tertullian wishes to satirize traditionalist self-presentation through dress, while at the same time forwarding his anti-pagan agenda.¹²⁹⁶ In none of these cases is the textual sign directly translatable into a visual one: indeed, the critical intention of the texts adds an additional layer of signification to the visual culture that was not originally intended to be there, or at least not necessarily.¹²⁹⁷

4.1.3.5.1.2 Dominant Women and Happily Suffering Men?

The perspective that the images of Hercules and Omphale express shameful emasculation has not remained unchallenged. It has been proposed that the hero in women’s dress certainly had a “softening” effect, but that this was not necessarily viewed unfavourably.¹²⁹⁸ Poets like Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid endorse a life dedicated to *amor* (love), in which men happily suffer under dominant women. In this context, Hercules is upheld as a model lover, whereas Omphale is a sort of dream girl. The imagery therefore embodies the wishful thinking of men privately ascribing to elegiac fantasies.¹²⁹⁹ This reassessment turns the traditional interpretation of the cross-dressing on its head. On the one hand, Hercules’ adoption of women’s dress is feminizing; on the other hand, the markers of “softness” and subordination, however shameful, are actually viewed as desirable by certain men.

It is true that mythological imagery has the potential to open up a space for the consideration of private desires and values, which need not be measured against social norms – in fact, it even has the potential to negotiate social norms to some degree. The issue with this reassessment is its overreliance on elegiac texts, where the *servitium amoris* (slavery of love) of Hercules is idealized.¹³⁰⁰ By taking this route, the capacity for the viewer to positively identify with Hercules is unnecessarily restricted to a certain niche.¹³⁰¹ Moreover, this reassessment assumes that images of Hercules cross-dressing were produced in their own right, precisely to highlight the hero’s “softness” as a point of identification, but there is no compelling evidence for this in the visual record.¹³⁰² For instance, the

¹²⁹⁴ Lucian. hist. conscr. 10 (translation in Kilburn 1959, 17).

¹²⁹⁵ Plut. mor. 785C-786; Plut. Comparison of Demetrius with Antony 3, 3.

¹²⁹⁶ Tert. pall. 4, 3.

¹²⁹⁷ Both the textual and visual sources related to Hercules and Omphale have the potential to evoke disarming love, but the value attached to them is different (e.g. defamatory in the case of Marcus Antonius compared to Hercules at the Lydian court, but generally viewed positively in the private imagery). It seems that the visual culture is wilfully misunderstood in order to fulfill a certain purpose in the textual sources.

¹²⁹⁸ Oehmke 2000, 149f. 193-197. She tries to support this argument by arguing that the theme of Hercules enjoying a life of “softness” was thematized in the visual culture in its own right.

¹²⁹⁹ In other words, it is possible that certain men in Roman society wished to thrive in a life of “softness”, even if it contradicted traditional Roman virtues.

¹³⁰⁰ For discussion, see chap. 4.2.1.

¹³⁰¹ In other words, it is possible that some of the images of Hercules at the court of Omphale were perceived in this way by some viewers, but the proposal that these images could have only been viewed positively by men who privately delighted in elegiac fantasies is too limiting. This line of reasoning excludes the possibility that these images could have been more widely appreciated.

¹³⁰² Oehmke 2000, 149f. 196f. The proposed examples of Hercules cross-dressing without Omphale are problematic. 1) First of all, the literary sources cannot be used as evidence for this. Plutarch’s description of a painting with Hercules in a saffron-coloured dress, allowing himself to be fanned and groomed by Lydian maids, does not

alleged images of Hercules as a cross-dresser without Omphale are surely Priapus (pl. 128b; cf. pl. 127a).¹³⁰³ Overall, the claim that Hercules' cross-dressing was desirable in itself, specifically for men delighting in elegiac fantasies, is thought-provoking, but not entirely convincing.¹³⁰⁴

4.1.3.5.1.3 Uncompromised Masculinity?

The perspective that the images of Hercules and Omphale express shameful emasculation has been reassessed in an entirely different manner.¹³⁰⁵ The literary sources about Hercules and Omphale are occasionally preoccupied with the theme of uncompromised masculinity.¹³⁰⁶ In Statius' *Achilleid*, Thetis tries to cajole Achilles into wearing women's dress by listing a series of men who have cross-dressed without suffering any debilitating effects (e.g. Hercules, Bacchus, Jupiter).¹³⁰⁷ Ovid's *Fasti* emphasizes that the garments and accessories are completely incongruous: "she [Omphale] arrayed Alcides [Hercules] in her own garb. She gave him gauzy tunics in Gaetulian purple dipped; she gave him the

necessarily refer to any specific work, Plut. mor. 785C-786.; Boardman 1994, 49 no. 38. It is probably a combination of motifs - partly imaginary, partly observable in the visual culture - which is summoned up in a hyperbolic manner to reproach elderly statesmen who succumb to a life of luxury (see other images of Hercules in saffron-coloured dress or with the Lydian maids, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 27, 28; 49 no. 37). There is, at least, no clear parallel for this subject matter in the extant images (note that a cameo shows Hercules being groomed by a woman, but this is not certainly Omphale, see Boardman 1994, 47 cat. 9). 2) Secondly, the visual record offers no support for this claim. S. Oehmke has identified several images as Hercules as a cross-dresser, but these actually represent Priapus, see footnote 1303. The wall-painting of Hercules cross-dressed and spinning among a group of women must include Omphale as well, Boardman 1994, 49 cat. 37; the focus is on the feminization of Hercules, but this was probably seen as humorous by many people, see chap. 4.1.3.2. Another statue is a "torso restored as Heracles with Omphale" (the actual identification is not clear), Poulsen, 198 cat. 266. Even if the theme did exist in visual culture, it is not nearly as common as Hercules with Omphale, or even Omphale alone, which shifts the emphasis away from the feminization of the hero and back to the disarming beauty of his lover.

¹³⁰³ Two marble statues are identified by S. Oehmke as Hercules cross-dressed (i.e. high-girdled *chiton*, but oversized phallus), shown without Omphale, Oehmke 2000, 149f. There are several issues with the identification. It is not clear from the heads: one is missing (restored as a satyr), and the other does not have distinctly herculean features. Moreover, the oversized phallus is more so characteristic of Priapus, who is likewise shown in a high-girdled *chiton*; for a few examples, Megow 1997, 1034 no. 69; 1035 no. 76; 1038 no. 120. Finally, the support of one statue is not a *kalathos*, but a small round altar, Megow 1997, 1037 no. 115. (Note that an image of Priapus in the bacchic *thiasos* has been misidentified as Hercules at the Lydian court, see Boardman 1994, 49 no. 35.)

¹³⁰⁴ It is, however, possible that the cross-dressed Hercules and the elegiac lover belong to the same universe of responses to normative masculinity, which could use further consideration elsewhere.

¹³⁰⁵ Loar 2015, 83-207 (note that this examination likewise takes viewer identification into consideration).

¹³⁰⁶ J.B. DeBrohun demonstrates that in Propertius' account of Hercules trying to enter the sanctuary of the Bona Dea (Prop. 4, 9), the hero is characterized by a series of incongruities (e.g. hard/soft, male/female, soldier/lover, etc.); this points up the problems in fitting epic material (*Roma*) into elegiac verse (*amor*), and in the end, the masculine principle reigns supreme, DeBrohun 1994. S.H. Lindheim builds on these observations by exploring the competing discourses about gender identity: on the one hand, Hercules presents himself as a powerful, masculine hero and then as the cross-dressed servant of Omphale, which suggests that gender identity is a fluid construction based on social performance (e.g. the clothing one puts on, the props one carries, and how one behaves); on the other hand, Hercules is ultimately categorized as a man based on fixed and unchanging biological criteria, both by the priestess (who denies him access into the all-female sanctuary) and by the hero himself (who establishes a cult for himself exclusive to men at the Ara Maxima), Lindheim 1998. M.S. Cyrino argues that the cross-dressing of super-virile heroes like Hercules and Achilles ultimately reasserts the reality of their maleness in a variety of literary sources (e.g. Ov. epist. 9, 55-120; Ov. fast. 2, 305-358; Stat. Ach. 1, 260-261): "Thus the narrative pattern seeks to portray heroes of canonical, conspicuous masculinity... , who are perceived as strong enough to survive the dangers of sex-role manipulation... When the hero returns to the world of men, having moved across the dangerous boundaries of male and female, he embodies the masculine concept of civic and cultural renewal through the process of inversion," Cyrino 1998 (quote on p. 239). M. Loar returns to this recurring theme in the literary sources, before turning to select visual sources, Loar 2015, 104-133, 143-148, 153-184.

¹³⁰⁷ Stat. Ach. 1, 256-265; for a similar case, Stat. Theb. 10, 646-649.

dainty girdle, which but now had girt her waist. For his belly the girdle was too small; he undid the claps of the tunics to thrust out his big hands. The bracelets he had broken, not made to fit those arms; his big feet split the little shoes.”¹³⁰⁸ Based on this, the attention has been shifted to the body of Hercules, to demonstrate that the striking incongruity between his virile physique and womanly dress evokes uncompromised masculinity as well:¹³⁰⁹ “by virtue of always already being the apex of masculinity, Hercules works as an ideal masculine paradigm precisely because he can test gender boundaries only to ultimately reinforce them.”¹³¹⁰ This interpretation is then taken a step further, by arguing that the imagery is “...not so much about the dangers of the feminizing woman, but rather about the resilience of the Roman man.”¹³¹¹ Overall, the myth of Hercules and Omphale was not a cause for fear, but primarily served to assuage anxieties about the status of Roman masculinity in an era witnessing the rise of powerful women: “the whole point of the myth, it seems, is to entertain the possibility of emasculation at the hands of a woman only to rebut it.”¹³¹²

It is perfectly reasonable that Hercules’ cross-dressing was not viewed negatively in itself by those living in Roman society: even if his masculinity initially seems threatened, the fact that he maintains a hard, virile physique speaks strongly against this. There is, however, more to consider. The use of literary sources as a starting point for assessing the imagery is questionable, since there is no reason to assume that the theme of uncompromised masculinity is universally prioritized in the same manner.¹³¹³ In fact, if the images of Hercules in women’s dress proliferated expressly to reassure Roman men of their own masculinity, then it is necessary to ask why - as demonstrated in this broader examination of the visual culture - the exchange of gendered dress is at times reduced or even eliminated.¹³¹⁴

¹³⁰⁸ Ov. fast. 2, 317-324 (translation in Frazer - Goold 1931, 81).

¹³⁰⁹ M. Loar brings forth two images to support this case. First of all, Hercules wears a feminine robe on the Arretine ware, but the physical markers of masculinity (e.g. hairy beard, bulging muscles) are still visible; Omphale wears the lion skin of Hercules, but the attribute leaves her nude and bare-breasted, Loar 2015, 135-137. Secondly, in the wall-painting from the Casa di Marcus Lucretius at Pompeii, Hercules is tanned, bearded and muscular, while Omphale is fair-skinned, smooth and soft, Loar 2015, 198-201.

¹³¹⁰ Loar 2015, 85.

¹³¹¹ Loar 2015, 135f.

¹³¹² Loar 2015, 148.

¹³¹³ In other words, Hercules’ uncompromised masculinity is a recurrent feature in the images and it is possible that some viewers appreciated them primarily in these terms, but the proposal that the imagery proliferated specifically to assuage anxieties about the status of Roman masculinity is too limiting.

¹³¹⁴ The wall-painting in the Casa di Marcus Lucretius (see Boardman 1994, 48 no. 29) is actually an excellent case in point: the hero is shown as a bacchant, with the cross-dressing limited to a few accessories, see chp. 4.1.3.2. M. Loar rightly argues that despite the enervating scenario, Hercules’ masculinity is not actually compromised; nevertheless, the discussion on his potentially faltering masculinity is basically limited to his limited to his state of undress (in the sense that the disordered dress indicates a lack of self-control) as well as his intoxication (including grasping at bacchic attributes instead of his club and lion skin), Loar 2015, 198-205. As such, he glosses over the fact that the cross-dressing motif is actually downplayed here, which is significant in itself. If the cross-dressing is hardly seen to threaten his masculinity, but even to reinforce it, this begs the question why his feminine garments are actually dispensed of here. As will be argued here, it seems that the exchange of gendered dress for Hercules is reduced in imagery strongly provoking identification between the hero and mortal men, probably due to the negative connotations of male-to-female cross-dressing in this society.

4.1.3.5.1.4 The Cross-Dressing Motif Reconsidered

It is certainly possible that the images of Hercules and Omphale were perceived as a sign of shameful emasculation, of elegiac fantasies, or even of uncompromised masculinity. There remains the question, however, if any of these interpretations actually represents the most straightforward reaction to the imagery, at least by their intended audiences, in their intended contexts. On the one hand, Hercules' masculinity ultimately remains uninjured. As such, the cross-dressing was probably not viewed in a negative manner, and even less likely as an allegory for the emasculation of certain men (e.g. Marcus Antonius). On the other hand, it would seem a stretch to claim that the hero provided a mythical model specifically for Roman men fantasizing about an elegiac lifestyle or, conversely, seeking reassurance about their own masculinity. As a semi-divine hero, Hercules transgresses the normal bounds for human behaviour and tends towards extremes.¹³¹⁵ The same possibilities were hardly open to Roman men, for whom cross-dressing was feminizing and hence treated as an indication of their inability to rule over themselves and others.¹³¹⁶ For Hercules to function as a role model, there was certainly no need to entirely bridge the gap between myth and reality, but this transgressive aspect presumably left the hero in an ambiguous position. It seems that the images of Hercules and Omphale were more readily appreciated by their intended viewers in Roman society in other ways, depending on the precise formulation of the iconography, as well as the physical setting and atmosphere.

4.1.3.5.1.4.1 Comic Reversals - Hercules as a "Failed Woman"

The presentation of Hercules in long, flowing robes was primarily a spectacle, in which he played the role of the "failed woman".¹³¹⁷ It seems that the striking inversions in the imagery were, at the most basic level, viewed in a humorous manner.¹³¹⁸ The ultramasculine hero wears feminine garments and accessories, which are completely ill-fitting to his body. The more the hero tries to dress up like a woman, the more ridiculous the scenario is, since he fails to persuade the viewers of his femininity. He is not only captivated by a woman and pestered by her little love minions, but also frequently exhibits a lack of self-control. The imagery completely overturns all social norms and hierarchies, but the invulnerability of the hero, the transient nature of the situation, as well as the light-hearted mood, ensured its comic reception. It seems that Roman men are not - in the first instance at least - intended to identify with Hercules in these cases, but rather to recognize their own distance from the hero.¹³¹⁹

¹³¹⁵ Hercules is an extraordinarily complex hero, characterized by a series of oppositions with no contradiction: civilized/bestial, serious/burlesque, saviour/destroyer, free/slave, divine/human, hard-working/relaxing, and even virile/feminine, Loraux 1990, 24. P. Zanker notes the extreme nature of Hercules in the visual record, also in connection with Omphale, Zanker 1999, 124.

¹³¹⁶ For discussion, see chap. 2.1.2.1.

¹³¹⁷ J.R. Clarke refers to Hercules as a "failed woman", Clarke 2007, 178f.

¹³¹⁸ J.R. Clarke also sees the images of Hercules and Omphale as a form of humour, but more so dark humour, due to being set against the background of Augustan "counter-propaganda" and general social anxieties about the increasing power of women, Clarke 2007, 173-175.

¹³¹⁹ Since identification is innate to human nature, it is possible that the viewers could have related to Hercules in these instances - or at least certain aspects of his character, which are exaggerated here - but it seems likely that the viewers primarily understood the hero as a spectacle in these instances.

This trend is best exemplified by the wall-painting of Hercules spinning in the woman's quarters: the hero is characterized as a "failed woman", since he tries to dress and behave like a woman, but ultimately lacks the grace and femininity of his female companions.¹³²⁰ The exaggerated exchange of gendered dress and roles creates a similar effect elsewhere, such as in the images of Hercules being pulled in a chariot or lying drunk on the ground.¹³²¹ It is worth mentioning a few other striking cases outside this representative sample. Hercules is presented in the Naples-Copenhagen Group in a particularly humorous manner (pl. 92a): he is shown as a bearded, muscular man in a long *chiton* - which is clearly too short for him, parodically slips off of his shoulder to reveal his bulging muscles, and even shows the outlines of his genitals through the fabric - and holding the items for spinning.¹³²² A mosaic from Liria dating to the 3rd century CE shows Hercules in similar dress, but surrounded by the Twelve Labours, which allows the viewer to consider his heroic extremes (pl. 128b).¹³²³ A marble well-head from the 2nd century CE shows Hercules trying to assault Omphale: he is dressed from head to toe like a woman, but is so aroused that his phallus lifts up his robes, revealing his massive, muscular legs (pl. 96b).¹³²⁴ The humor lies in the fact that Hercules fails to fit into his role as a woman.

4.1.3.5.1.4.2 *Exemplum Felicitatis* - Hercules as a Male Lover and Bacchant

Hercules is often presented as a male lover or a bacchant.¹³²⁵ In these cases, he tends to serve as an *exemplum felicitatis* - that is, a model of personal happiness, to which the viewers are intended to relate.¹³²⁶ Hercules is cast not as a victim, but rather as happily indulging in love and wine at the court

¹³²⁰ For the wall-painting, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 37. For discussion, see chap. 4.1.3.2. Note that J.R. Clarke refers to Hercules as a "failed woman" here, Clarke 2007, 178f.

¹³²¹ For the Arretine ware, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 36. For the wall-paintings, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 27. 28. For discussion, see chaps. 4.1.3.1.1; 4.1.3.2.

¹³²² For the Naples-Copenhagen Group, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 23. S. Oehmke argues that the *chiton* falls more or less perfectly on Hercules' body, but that the sartorial features traditionally used to highlight feminine beauty actually bring his male body to the fore; the exchange of gendered dress contains an element of humour, but ultimately results in his feminization, Oehmke 2000, 180-182. As rightly noted by B.S. Ridgway, Hercules's dress is actually a sarcastic rendition of alluring feminine robes, Ridgway 2002, 192.

¹³²³ For the mosaic, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 39. T. Peñalver Carrascosa, on the other hand, proposes that the mosaic could have been located in a house owned by a woman, with Omphale serving as her wealthy, powerful role model, Peñalver Carrascosa 2018.

¹³²⁴ For the well-head, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 33. The reasons for producing scenes of sexual assault (often recast as abduction) in antiquity, as well as the reception of these texts, images and performances, is heavily debated (e.g. display of power that appealed to the upper class men; projection of fantasies for men and/or women; criticizing men's lack of self-control and violent behaviour; warnings to women about male lust and encouragement to marry; empathizing with victims of sexual assault; eschatological readings, etc.), e.g. Cohen 1996; Richlin 1992; Stewart 1996; Wood 2000. It is not easy answer to this question and it is necessary to consider the scenes on a case-by-case basis. The image of Hercules trying to assault Omphale on this well-head was probably viewed on multiple levels. It seems that the image was mainly intended to provoke a humorous reaction, due to the ridiculous incongruity between the powerful body of the hero and his feminine dress, as well as the Dionysian setting; at the same time, it confirms that his virility is by no means impacted by his feminization. On the other hand, the scene is not unequivocally light-hearted due to the actions of the hero: he attacks Omphale and it seems unlikely that she will get away. As such, the viewer is not just focused on Hercules (as the comic spectacle), but also on Omphale (as the object of the male gaze).

¹³²⁵ P. Zanker argues that the majority of images of Hercules with Omphale present him as a hero capable of performing "manly" deeds, but also enjoying life (e.g. eating, drinking, love), Zanker 1999, 123f. He also notes Hercules' physical proximity and iconographic similarity to Bacchus in certain images (i.e. wall-paintings and mosaics showing him reclining), Zanker 1999, 124. See also Kampen 1996b, 242f.; Lorenz 2008a, 218-220.

¹³²⁶ A. Coralini labels him as an *exemplum felicitatis* in Pompeian wall-paintings, Coralini 2000, 72. 76. 79f. 82f.

of Omphale: it is the visualization of a fantastical, but desirable scenario, which potentially resonated with the experiences of the viewers.¹³²⁷ His status as a role model for enjoying the world of *otium* should nevertheless be understood in the broadest sense. Indeed, “the notion of *decor* - that is, furnishing a room with artwork that is appropriate for the activities taking place there - was not the same as [*a*]emulatio, setting up art as examples for viewers to follow.”¹³²⁸

Hercules’ ultramasculine nature established him as an ideal lover and bacchant, with the power to test the boundaries of gender. In some cases, Hercules wears poorly fitted feminine robes, which is still viewed in a humorous manner.¹³²⁹ In other cases, the comic reversals - including the exchange of gendered dress - are purposely toned down. The dress of Omphale hardly fits his body, but the dress of the male lover and bacchant fits him well.¹³³⁰ It is an alternate, less contentious means of expressing his “hard” and “soft” character simultaneously, which is part and parcel of his heroic extremes.¹³³¹ Indeed, Hercules leads a hard and toilsome life - just like Bacchus, his “manly” valour is best nourished through relaxation.¹³³² It seems that the exchange of gendered dress was downplayed in order to increase the potential for viewer identification in festive contexts. It was also seemingly implied that Hercules indulges in love and wine as a reward for his labours, which serves as a mythical precedent for Roman men performing *negotium* and then retreating into the world of *otium*.¹³³³

This trend is best exemplified by the wall-painting with Hercules in the Dionysian *thiasos*: he trades in his feminine robes for the markers of a hero and a bacchant, but with subtle hints of femininity and luxury.¹³³⁴ This identifies him as an ultramasculine hero, who is nevertheless capable of enjoying

¹³²⁷ Coralini 2000, 69.

¹³²⁸ Clarke 2003a, 230. J.R. Clarke makes this observation in an examination of wall-paintings with banqueting scenes at Pompeii: he concludes that the Roman viewers were intended to view the Greek symposium as excessive and removed from their own behaviour, and therefore humorously; the Roman *convivium*, on the other hand, more closely reflected their own experiences and therefore served as models for behaviour.

¹³²⁹ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 27. 28; 49 nos. 33. 36. A major exception here is the wall-painting from Pompeii portraying Hercules and Omphale embracing within a tondo, but the dress is hardly indicated here due to the bust format; for the wall-painting, Boardman 1994, 47 no. 14.

¹³³⁰ The pendant to this scenario is found in Aristophanes’ *Batrachoi*: Dionysos wears the clothing of Herakles over his own dress (e.g. *krokotos*, *kothornoi*), which causes the hero to break out into a fit of laughter, Aristoph. Ran. 45-48; Galinsky 1972, 89-91. Hercules, however, seems to fit effortlessly into the dress of the Dionysian retinue.

¹³³¹ According to Diodorus Siculus, Hercules received gifts from the gods after the Twelve Labours; most of them offered him items connected to warfare, but Athena offered him a *peplos* so that he could relax in times of peace, Diod. 4, 14, 3. N. Loraux identifies this as a garment worn by women at festivals; she proposes that Hercules’ excess of virility during his heroic exploits leaves him in constant danger of exhaustion, and so the feminine garment helps to restore the equilibrium in times of peace, Loraux 1990, 32-40. L. Llewellyn-Jones, however, rejects her interpretation: due to the unfixed use of dress terminology in antiquity, the term *peplos* need not refer to a feminine garment (but clearly one for enjoyment), Llewellyn-Jones 2005.

¹³³² See Seneca Herc. F. 465-477.

¹³³³ Coralini 2000, 72. 76. 79f. 82f. C. Ellinghaus argues that the imagery even serves an exculpatory function for the viewers: Hercules in the orbit of Omphale offers a justification for human weakness, especially on the part of men (even men serving in the Roman army), regardless of the traditional value system, Ellinghaus 2006, 181. In general, finding the proper balance between *negotium* and *otium* was tricky, which the possibility to contest the amounts of time that ought to be dedicated to each.

¹³³⁴ For the wall-painting, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 29. For discussion, see chap. 4.1.3.2.

worldly pleasures. The cross-dressing is also toned down in images of Hercules embracing Omphale, making love to her, or reclining like a symposiast.¹³³⁵

4.1.3.5.1.4.3 *Exemplum Virtutis* - Hercules as an Ultramasculine Hero

In rare cases, Hercules is portrayed as an ultramasculine hero in the company of Omphale. The hero serves as an *exemplum virtutis* - that is, a mythical exemplum for strength, courage and “manliness”. This is especially the case with the columnar sarcophagi juxtaposing the Twelve Labours of Hercules with his peaceful sojourn at the Lydian Court.¹³³⁶ He is virtually always portrayed as a dynamic figure in heroic costume, performing his manly deeds. He finally joins Omphale at the end of his trials, with the Apples of the Hesperides in his hands, which is the perfect way of balancing his *negotium* and *otium*. There are also images of Hercules and Omphale in a moment of loving togetherness, where the exchange of gendered dress is minimized and unidirectional, from Hercules to Omphale but not the other way around.¹³³⁷ This has the effect of highlighting his heroic identity while downplaying his subjugation and feminization at the hands of a woman.

It seems likely that this particular formulation of the hero’s iconography is related to the issue of identification. The iconography of Hercules and Omphale on the funerary monuments evokes not only the emotions, but also the virtues of husbands and wives: the cross-dressing is therefore practically eliminated, in order to prevent calling the masculinity of the husband into question. The domestic imagery and objects of personal adornment probably reflect private feelings and personal values as well, and were at times fashioned to better suit traditional gender relationships.

4.1.3.5.2 Omphale

4.1.3.5.2.1 Disarming Love

The overall significance of Omphale bearing Hercules’s arms is far less controversial. As discussed in detail, the images of Hercules and Omphale tend to serve as an allegory for the power of love to conquer all.¹³³⁸ This theme is illustrated in narrative form: Hercules is the victim of tiny erotes, who steal his arms on behalf of Omphale. It is also epitomized by Omphale herself: she is portrayed as a woman with beauty comparable to Venus, but bearing the club and lion skin of Hercules. Her cross-dressing therefore evokes disarming love in an emphatic way. It seems that women generally wished to identify with Omphale, as the erotic agent capable of disarming even the mightiest of heroes.¹³³⁹

¹³³⁵ For examples, Boardman 1994, 47 no. 16; 48 nos. 21. 30; 49 nos. 34. 40. For discussion, see chaps. 4.1.3.3; 4.1.3.4.

¹³³⁶ For the sarcophagus type, Boardman 1994, 51 no. 57. For discussion, see chap. 4.1.3.4.

¹³³⁷ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 21; Hodske 2007, 173 cat. 731. For discussion, see chaps. 4.1.3.2; 4.1.3.3.

¹³³⁸ For discussion, see chap. 4.1.2.

¹³³⁹ K. Schauenburg makes this argument for the intaglios depicting Omphale alone, Schauenburg 1960, 66.

4.1.3.5.2.2 The Cross-Dressing Motif Reconsidered

There is, however, more to consider here. Just like with Hercules, there is more than a single way for Omphale to cross-dress. The recourse to particular types of body styling, garments and accessories, as well as the precise manner of bearing the club and lion skin, affects her overall characterization. It is therefore worthwhile evaluating the finer nuances. The exchange of gendered dress was seemingly manipulated in order to oscillate between two ends of a spectrum: Omphale as a beautiful, delicate and modest woman at one end, and Omphale as a stunning, but particularly strong and capable woman at the other. These contrasting qualities seemingly encouraged viewer identification.¹³⁴⁰

4.1.3.5.2.2.1 *Exemplum Pulchritudinis* - Omphale as a Beautiful Woman

In all cases, Omphale is portrayed with pale skin and as soft, fleshy physique, as well as beautiful, feminine features.¹³⁴¹ It is therefore clear that she served as an *exemplum pulchritudinis* - that is, as a mythical exemplum for beauty. Her physical appearance and gestures are frequently comparable to Venus herself, the goddess of love and beauty.¹³⁴² Some models include the Aphrodite Anadyomene,¹³⁴³ the Aphrodite Urania,¹³⁴⁴ and the Aphrodite Arles.¹³⁴⁵ Otherwise, she is occasionally patterned after a sleeping hermaphrodite, thus introducing a voyeuristic aspect.¹³⁴⁶ Another common model is the maenad - either ecstatically dancing or resisting the advances of the hero - which likewise emphasizes her feminine beauty and sexual desirability.¹³⁴⁷

The predilection to portray Omphale in the nude ultimately stems from her exchange of gendered dress with Hercules. It has been suggested that her “heroic (malelike) nudity and club let the viewer know that she could fight like a man,”¹³⁴⁸ but this is untenable. The more she tries to imitate the (un)dress of the hero, the more her beauty and femininity are actually foregrounded. In other words, Hercules undresses to show off his powerful, muscular body, but for Omphale - as a stunning and sexually developed woman - the same action reveals her soft, erotic body. It is possible to view this ironically, as Omphale trying and failing to appear like a man; however, it seems more likely that “playing Hercules” gave her the opportunity to put herself on display as a sexually desirable woman.

In a few cases, however, Omphale is portrayed completely clothed. She wears elegant garments suitable to her sex, including the *chiton* and the *himation*, in an array of colours (e.g. saffron, light

¹³⁴⁰ Omphale was not only subject to the male gaze, since women had the potential to identify with her. For discussion on gaze theory and identification, see chap. 4.1.3.

¹³⁴¹ P. Zanker notes that Omphale is generally shown as a beautiful woman, Zanker 1999, 124.

¹³⁴² Oehmke 2000, 180. 182. 191.

¹³⁴³ The figure of Omphale in the Naples-Copenhagen Statue Group (see Boardman 1994, 48 no. 23) is essentially a variation on the Aphrodite Anadyomene, Oehmke 2000, 167-174. For the Aphrodite Anadyomene, Delivorrias et al. 1984, 55-57 nos. 423-455; Schmidt 1997, 206f. nos. 133-146.

¹³⁴⁴ For an example, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 29. For the Aphrodite Urania, Delivorrias et al 1984, 27-29 nos. 174-184.

¹³⁴⁵ For an example, Boardman 1994, 51 no. 57. For the Aphrodite Arles, Delivorrias et al. 1984, 63-65 nos. 526-553.

¹³⁴⁶ For examples, Boardman 1994, 52 nos. 79-80.

¹³⁴⁷ For examples, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 33; 51 no. 64.

¹³⁴⁸ Clarke 2007, 175.

purple).¹³⁴⁹ The tunic frequently slips off one shoulder, in order to highlight her Venus-like beauty.¹³⁵⁰ It is also possible to portray her semi-nude, by draping the *himation* on her body in manner that emphasizes her physical features (e.g. around the waist, under the buttocks) - this is not characteristic of the undress of Hercules, but rather of sexually desirable goddesses and mythical heroines (e.g. Venus, Ariadne, Rhea Silvia).¹³⁵¹ She is also occasionally shown with feminine ornaments.

In summary, it is evident that highlighting the beauty of Omphale was prioritized here, to fit into the overall theme of disarming love. The virtue of *pulchritudo* (beauty) was much admired in Roman women. It is therefore conceivable that she served as a model for women in their own beauty regimens and sexual relationships. This accounts for her presence on objects of personal adornment especially.

4.1.3.5.2.2 *Exemplum Dulcedinis* - Omphale as a Sweet Woman

Omphale frequently serves as an *exemplum dulcedinis* - that is, as a mythical exemplum for sweetness or related ideas, such as fragility and agreeability. She is invariably portrayed with pale skin and a soft, fleshy physique, which is suggestive of domesticity and physical weakness, especially when juxtaposed with the tanned, muscular body of Hercules. Her delicacy and instability on her feet is occasionally confirmed by her pose (e.g. exaggerated curves in her body, pressing her legs together).¹³⁵²

Quite significantly, her sweet and charming personality is frequently brought out by her interaction with the herculean arms. In such cases, she handles the club and lion skin in manner that completely subverts their original function as combative items. This is best illustrated by the images in the minor arts of Omphale standing and gently inclining her head (pl. 115).¹³⁵³ Hercules wields his club in an effortless manner, in order to slay beasts and criminals.¹³⁵⁴ Omphale, on the other hand, awkwardly supports the club over her shoulder with both hands: the attribute is unsuited to her weak and non-combative nature, and is instead borne as a token of love. Moreover, Hercules uses the impenetrable lion skin as armour (e.g. helmet, cuirass, shield).¹³⁵⁵ Omphale, on the other hand, usually drapes the lion skin around herself like a mantle.¹³⁵⁶ This phenomenon is attested in numerous other ways elsewhere. In some cases, she reuses the club as a pillow.¹³⁵⁷ She tends to hold the bow and quiver not

¹³⁴⁹ For examples, Boardman 1994, 47 nos. 14. 16; 48 nos. 28. 29.

¹³⁵⁰ For examples, Boardman 1994, 47 nos. 16; 48 nos. 28. 29. For a few examples of Aphrodite with the drapery slipping off the shoulder, Delivorrias et al. 1984, 31 no. 196; 32 no. 204; 33 no. 224.

¹³⁵¹ For some examples, Boardman 1994, 51 no. 57; 52 nos. 79. 80. For Venus portrayed semi-nude, Delivorrias et al. 1984, 63-87 nos. 526-786a. For a few examples of Ariadne portrayed semi-nude, Bernhard - Daszweski 1986, 1060 no. 97; 1062 no. 126; 1064 no. 143. For a few examples of Rhea Silvia portrayed semi-nude, Hauer-Prost 1994, 616 no. 6; 617 no. 7. 11.

¹³⁵² For examples, Boardman 1994, 49 nos. 31. 33. 40; 51 no. 60; 51f. nos. 71-77.

¹³⁵³ For examples, Boardman 1994, 51f. nos. 71-75.

¹³⁵⁴ Hercules does not stand with the club in both hands; for an exception, Boardman et al. 1988, 758 no. 599.

¹³⁵⁵ Boardman et al 1990, 185.

¹³⁵⁶ For some examples, Boardman 1994, 49, no. 33; 51f nos. 71-75. 77. 78. It seems that Hercules only wears the lion skin as a mantle around his body on hip herms; for examples, Boardman et al. 1988, 781-784 nos. 1104-1172.

¹³⁵⁷ For examples, Boardman 1990, 52 nos. 79. 80. Sometimes the club is omitted altogether, probably for lack of an idea of how to show her with this attribute; for examples, Boardman 1994, 49 nos. 31. 33. 34.

as weapons, but as gifts.¹³⁵⁸ She also coquettishly unfurls the lion skin behind her,¹³⁵⁹ repurposes the hide as a bed for lovemaking,¹³⁶⁰ or even sleeps on it.¹³⁶¹ She is also shown with the *skyphos* of Hercules, but - unlike the hero - is frequently passed out and therefore unable to hold her alcohol.¹³⁶² Overall, the herculean attributes at times ironically serve to characterize her as a beautiful, sweet and delicate woman. Despite the cross-dressing, she embodies an array of traditional feminine qualities, which minimizes her threat to patriarchal systems. It is conceivable that formulating her iconography in this manner cast her as a far more conventional role model for Roman women.

4.1.3.5.2.2.3 *Exemplum Pudicitiae* - Omphale as a Modest Woman

Omphale is portrayed as a beautiful but modest woman in a few cases. She therefore offers an *exemplum pudicitiae* - that is, a mythical exemplum for chastity and purity. She is occasionally modelled after the Knidian Aphrodite: she stands completely nude, but partially hunched over and pressing her legs together, as well as pulling the lion skin in front of her pudenda with her right hand (pl. 129a).¹³⁶³ In the minor arts especially, the modesty of the nude woman is not only expressed by gently inclining her head, but also by draping the lion skin around her torso like a *himation* - this is a standard feature of modest women in visual culture (e.g. Pudicitia, Large and Small Herculaneum Women).¹³⁶⁴ Furthermore, it is possible to clothe Omphale in traditional feminine garments, in order to present her as a respectable queen.¹³⁶⁵ In all of the cases in which Hercules seeks out intimate relations in a drunken state, Omphale rejects his advances by threatening him,¹³⁶⁶ pushing him away,¹³⁶⁷ or else shielding herself and pulling back her garments.¹³⁶⁸ As such, her sexual allure is balanced by another praiseworthy quality, namely *pudicitia*, encompassing notions of chastity, modesty and (sexual) purity. The characterization of Omphale as a beautiful but modest woman probably contributed to her status as a role model for Roman women. It seems hardly coincidental that the finger ornaments, aimed at female consumers, incorporate signs of beauty, delicacy and modesty.

4.1.3.5.2.2.4 *Exemplum Fortitudinis* - Omphale as a “Strong” Woman

In other cases, however, Omphale is not necessarily shown as a sweet and delicate woman, but exhibits strength and capacity - in other words, she serves as an *exemplum fortitudinis*. This impression is achieved in a variety of ways. There are a few cases in which her physical body and bearing exude

¹³⁵⁸ For examples, Boardman 1990, 51 no. 57; Hodske 2007, 173 cat. 731.

¹³⁵⁹ For an example, Boardman 1994, 51 no. 61.

¹³⁶⁰ For an example, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 34. Note, however, that Hercules also reclines as a symposiast on the lion skin; for a few examples, Boardman et al. 1988, 777 no. 1017; 778 no. 1025. 1039.

¹³⁶¹ For examples, Boardman 1994, 52 nos. 79. 80.

¹³⁶² For examples, Boardman 1994, 52 nos. 79. 80.

¹³⁶³ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 30; 49 no. 31. For more on the Knidian Aphrodite (and her “relatives”), Delivourrias et al 1984, 49-54 nos. 391-422; Schmidt 1997, 204-206 nos. 109-132. See also, Havelock 1995.

¹³⁶⁴ For examples, Boardman 1994, 51f. nos. 71-75. S. Ritter notes the modestly inclined head, Ritter 1995, 180. For discussion on the Pudicitia type and the Large and Small Herculaneum Women types, see chaps. 2.1.3.1; 2.1.3.2.

¹³⁶⁵ For examples, Boardman 1994, 47 no. 14; 48 no. 28.

¹³⁶⁶ For an example, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 40.

¹³⁶⁷ For an example, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 33.

¹³⁶⁸ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 30; 49 no. 31.

confidence and self-control. It is clear that “weaker” models for the goddess of love, such as the Knidian Aphrodite, were occasionally rejected in favour of “stronger” models. She is patterned after the Aphrodite Urania in the wall-painting from the Casa di Marcus Lucretius, which transfers connotations of dignity and power to her, fitting to her role as the mistress of Hercules.¹³⁶⁹ It is even possible (but uncommon) to partially masculinize the schemata.¹³⁷⁰ In the Naples-Copenhagen Statue Group, she is essentially modeled after the Aphrodite Anadyomene, but masculinized in several respects, including her physique (i.e. androgynous ideal of beauty) and pose (i.e. rigid and strong stance).¹³⁷¹ Besides this, her placement on a throne conveys her queenly power,¹³⁷² while her portrayal as a dancing maenad conveys her wild independence.¹³⁷³

Most often, Omphale’s strong and capable personality is brought out by her interaction with the herculean arms: indeed, it is possible for her to bear the club and lion skin in a manner that resembles Hercules to some extent. In most of the cases in which she wields the club like the hero, she lightly grasps the end of the club with one hand, and rests it in the crook of her arm.¹³⁷⁴ It is rarer for her to firmly wrap her fingers around the handle of the club and rest it over her shoulder.¹³⁷⁵ Otherwise, she grasps the end of the club on the ground.¹³⁷⁶ In exceptional cases, she actually swings the club above her head.¹³⁷⁷ Furthermore, it is possible for Omphale to wear the lion skin over her head like a helmet and knotted at her chest, in a manner similar to the hero.¹³⁷⁸ In one case, the lion skin is knotted over the shoulder just like a *chlamys*.¹³⁷⁹ It is, however, equally possible to leave the lion skin unknotted and thus hanging loosely,¹³⁸⁰ which is not attested for the hero. Overall, Omphale’s successful imitation of herculean dress behaviour transfers virtues associated with Hercules (i.e. strength, capacity) to her, which are ironically used against the hero. This idea is reflected well in Ovid’s *Heroides*, when Deianeira admonishes Hercules for his unfaithfulness:

¹³⁶⁹ For the wall-painting, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 29. For the Aphrodite Urania (as well as its significance), Delivorrias et al. 1984, 27-29 nos. 174-184.

¹³⁷⁰ For another example, Boardman 1994, 50 no. 42.

¹³⁷¹ For the statue group, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 23; Oehmke 2000, 167-174.

¹³⁷² For examples, Boardman 1994, 49 nos. 34. 39.

¹³⁷³ For an example, Boardman 1994, 51 no. 64.

¹³⁷⁴ For examples, Boardman 1994, 49 nos. 36. 39. 41; 50 nos. 42. 49. Hercules also holds the club like this; for a few examples, Boardman et al. 1988, 760 nos. 631. 634. 636.

¹³⁷⁵ For an example, Boardman 1994, 47 no. 14. Hercules also holds the club like this; for a few examples, Boardman et al. 1988, 761 no. 650; 762 no. 659.

¹³⁷⁶ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 23. 29; 51 no. 60. Hercules also holds the club like this; for a few examples, Boardman et al. 1988, 746 nos. 292. 294; 748 no. 352.

¹³⁷⁷ For examples, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 40; 51 no. 67; 52 no. 81. Hercules also swings the club in combative contexts; for a few examples, Boardman et al. 1990, 9f. nos. 1716-1718.

¹³⁷⁸ For examples, Boardman 1994, 47 nos. 16. 18; 48 nos. 29. 30; 49 nos. 31. 36; 51 nos. 56. 67; 52 no. 81. Hercules also wears his lion skin like this; for a few examples, Boardman et al. 1988, 753 nos. 465. 466. 468.

¹³⁷⁹ For an example, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 23. It is far less common to portray Hercules with the lion skin knotted over the shoulder; for examples (with or without the lion skin placed directly over the head), Boardman et al. 1988, 761 nos. 652. 653; 768 no. 1165.

¹³⁸⁰ For examples, Boardman 1994, 47 no. 14; 49 nos. 34. 39; 51 nos. 61. 62.

“The nymph-daughter of Iardanus [i.e. Omphale] has even tricked herself out in your arms, and won famous triumphs from the vanquished hero. Go now, puff up your spirit and recount your brave deeds done; she has proved herself a man by a right you could not urge. You are much less than she, O greatest of men, as it was greater to vanquish you than those you vanquished. To her passes the full measure of your exploits - yield up what you possess; your mistress is heir to your praise.”¹³⁸¹

In one case, Omphale is even crowned by Victoria with a wreath, which is otherwise a sign of military victory.¹³⁸² It ought to be stressed, however, that Omphale’s supreme power is generally displayed in the context of disarming love and without cancelling out her femininity - this is due to her pale, soft body especially, as well as the possibility of adding feminine dress (e.g. long *chiton*, jewellery).¹³⁸³ The portrayal of Omphale in a herculean manner is often seen to contribute to the comic reversals.¹³⁸⁴ On the other hand, perhaps the image of a “strong” woman resonated with the female viewers on some level, primarily in matters of love but perhaps even beyond that.¹³⁸⁵

4.1.4 Towards Demythologization

Gods and heroes are occasionally furnished with the attributes of others. This sort of iconography serves as a metaphor, which demands interpretation.¹³⁸⁶ For instance, the motif of Eros with the thunderbolt of Zeus can more or less be broken down in the following manner: “Eros is like Zeus” = “Eros takes on the roles and abilities of Zeus” = “Eros is the real ruler of heaven and earth”.¹³⁸⁷ The essential iconographic message is easily connected back to mythical narratives, considering that Zeus, despite his almightiness, was notoriously subject to love.¹³⁸⁸

As we have seen, the image of Omphale with the club and lion skin of Hercules functions in a similar manner.¹³⁸⁹ There are, however, unique exceptions to the rule: this testifies to the potential for the imagery to become divorced from its mythical background, as well as to open up a space for a

¹³⁸¹ Ov. epist. 9, 103-110. For discussion on Hercules and Omphale in Ovid’s *Heroides*, Bolton 1997, 427-341; Casali 1995, 505-508.

¹³⁸² The image of Victoria crowning the emperor referred to a specific military victory until the reign of Commodus, but afterward, the goddess was the constant companion of the emperor and evoked victoriousness in general, Reinsberg 2006, 121-123. Quite interestingly, it is possible for men to crown women with laurel wreaths in scenes of lovemaking as well, to signify their erotic victory over them, see Clarke 2003b, 141f.

¹³⁸³ For examples of Omphale imitating the dress behaviour of Hercules, but wearing additional feminine garments and accessories, Boardman 1994, 47 no. 14; 48 no. 29; 49 no. 40.

¹³⁸⁴ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 nos. 23, 29; 49 no. 36.

¹³⁸⁵ Women in the Republican and Imperial Periods are at times ascribed *virtus*; for discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.1.2.

¹³⁸⁶ M. Bergmann explores the significance of Hellenistic and Roman rulers portrayed with divine and heroic attributes, Bergmann 1998, 16-39.

¹³⁸⁷ Bergmann 1998, 37f.; see also Hallett 2005, 231f.

¹³⁸⁸ Hallett 2005, 231f.

¹³⁸⁹ In most cases it evokes disarming love: she is portrayed as a beautiful woman, similar to Aphrodite, maenads or hermaphrodites, and therefore embodies the erotic desirability that causes Hercules to surrender his club and lion skin to her. The validity of this interpretation is likewise reinforced by the mythical background.

reconfigured, resemanticized understanding of the cross-dressed woman.¹³⁹⁰ This phenomenon will be briefly addressed here, specifically for imagery establishing connections with real women.

4.1.4.1 *Exemplum Virtutis* - Omphale as a Combative Woman

It has been demonstrated that the images of Omphale on “uterine” gems – probably produced at Alexandria between the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE – acquired connotations completely unattested in the literary tradition.¹³⁹¹ These gems were primarily designed to protect the uterus: the red or ferric minerals conferred hemostatic qualities on their users by sympathetic magic.¹³⁹² On comparable magical gems, Hercules is shown throttling a lion with his bare hands, typically in defense of the stomach (probably due to his legendary appetite) (pl. 129b).¹³⁹³ Omphale takes on a similar role on the “uterine” gems: here, she appears as a plump, pregnant woman with the lion skin over her head, squatting and brandishing the club in the air (pl. 130a).¹³⁹⁴ Her target is an ithyphallic donkey, which stands for maladies in general, but here the beast threatens the uterus in particular.¹³⁹⁵

By taking over the club and lion skin and slaying beasts, Omphale is effectively transformed into the female doublet of Hercules, but specifically in the domain of sexual and reproductive health.¹³⁹⁶ This is explicitly evoked on a bilingual gem: the hero fights the lion on the one side, while the heroine fights the donkey on other side (pl. 130b).¹³⁹⁷ Omphale only significantly differs from Hercules in two respects. She is portrayed with a corpulent, fertile body, not with a muscular physique. Moreover, she attacks with weapons, not with brute force.¹³⁹⁸ Overall, Omphale is recast as a positive model for a combative woman, protecting her sexuality and fecundity in particular.¹³⁹⁹ Her cross-dressing is understood as a sign of agonistic and healing powers, which are not attested for her elsewhere. Just like Hercules, there is potential for Omphale to take up the club and lion skin to actually fight, and therefore to serve as an *exemplum virtutis* for women in their everyday lives.¹⁴⁰⁰

¹³⁹⁰ In some cases, the iconography of Omphale insists on her connection to Hercules, but encourages an entirely different interpretation. It is possible for Omphale to become demythologized in the visual record or, more specifically, to be conceived of as a “female Hercules” in some sense. Indeed, she occasionally functions as a sort of doublet of the hero, with her pose and dress closely modeled after him, but far removed from the context of disarming love encountered so far.

¹³⁹¹ Dasen 2008; see also Dasen 2015, 87-108.

¹³⁹² Dasen 2008, 267.

¹³⁹³ Dasen 2008, 269-272.

¹³⁹⁴ Dasen 2008, 267-269.

¹³⁹⁵ Dasen 2008, 267-269. 272-275.

¹³⁹⁶ Dasen 2008, 275.

¹³⁹⁷ Dasen 2008, 275.

¹³⁹⁸ Dasen 2008, 272.

¹³⁹⁹ Dasen 2008, 280. This is perhaps due to her etymological connection to the navel, which stands for the link between the mother and her fetus, Dasen 2008, 272.

¹⁴⁰⁰ The pseudo-Baubo featuring Omphale allow for a similar reading, Dasen 2015, 102-107.

4.1.4.2 *Exemplum Potestatis* - Omphale as a Hellenistic Monarch

Also notable here is a series of AE contorniates portraying Olympias - the mother of Alexander the Great - in the guise of "Omphale" (pl. 131a).¹⁴⁰¹ These were most likely minted at Rome between 350 and 425 CE.¹⁴⁰² The obverse features a female bust in profile view, holding the club vertically with the handle side up, as well as wearing the lion skin over her head and knotted at her chest. The legend identifies her as Olympias.¹⁴⁰³ The reverse features various motifs (e.g. Hercules with Minerva, Hercules fighting a centaur, Roma sitting on a pile of weapons).¹⁴⁰⁴

The iconography of Olympias exhibits various strands of influence, which produce a completely unique image. The portrait type is directly based on other representations of Olympias as a queenly figure - with a hairband, veil and scepter (pl. 131b) - following the Hellenistic models of Arsinoe II, Berenike III and Arsinoe III.¹⁴⁰⁵ However, the royal scepter is replaced by the knotted club and the modest veil by the lion skin. The image of a woman wielding the club and lion skin meets the criteria for Omphale,¹⁴⁰⁶ but, at the same time, the iconography and composition draws strong connections to Hercules himself. It is similar to busts of Hercules in profile view in the minor arts (e.g. medallions, coins, intaglios), especially as a youthful, idealized male (pl. 132a).¹⁴⁰⁷ She is therefore cast as a doublet of Hercules.

Olympias' portrayal with the club and lion skin of Hercules was probably inspired by her son's well-known connection to the hero in visual culture.¹⁴⁰⁸ Alexander the Great started to mint coins with Hercules wearing the lion skin over his head at Alexandria in 336 BCE (pl. 132b); whether this is actually a portrait of the young leader is not entirely clear, but later generations would honour him in this manner.¹⁴⁰⁹ "The hero Herakles can be seen as a prototype for Alexander, a conquering hero and ancestor whose deeds of valour subdued barbaric forces and brought glory to Greek culture..."¹⁴¹⁰

¹⁴⁰¹ For the contorniates, Alföldi et al. 1976, 19 cat. 63-66; Alföldi - Alföldi 1990, 86f. cat. 63-66; Boardman 1994, 51 no. 56; 53.

¹⁴⁰² Normal contorniates, which are minted or mold-made (as opposed to engraved), were most likely produced at Rome, Mittag 1999, 48f. For the dating, Boardman 1994, 51 no. 56.

¹⁴⁰³ The contorniates can appear with or without this legend. For some examples with this legend, Alföldi et al. 1976, 19 cat. 63. 64; for some examples without this legend, Alföldi et al. 1976, 19 cat. 65. 66.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Alföldi - Alföldi 1990, 86f.; Boardman 1994, 51 no. 56.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Alföldi - Alföldi 1990, 86. For the portraits of Olympias, Alföldi et al. 1976, 18f. cat. 61. 62; Alföldi - Alföldi 1990, 85f. Coins show Arsinoe II, Berenike III and Arsinoe III with a melon coiffure and band in the hair, with the option of adding a veil and (less often) a scepter behind the head, Alföldi - Alföldi 1990, 86. 97 footnote 9.

¹⁴⁰⁶ The resulting image is especially similar to the representations of Omphale as a head/bust in profile view, attested on coins, cameos and intaglios (for the material, see Boardman 1994, 50f. nos. 43-55); here, however, she actually holds the club, and like a sceptre in the portraits of Olympias (as well as in earlier portraits dating as far back as the Hellenistic Period, but surely to the Roman Imperial Period), Alföldi - Alföldi 1990, 86.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Boardman 1994, 50. As such, the representations of Hercules and Omphale as a head/bust in profile view can only be securely distinguished through sexual features (e.g. facial hair for Hercules, breasts for Omphale).

¹⁴⁰⁸ Carney 2006, 123; Ghedini 1984, 157. For the connection between Alexander the Great and Hercules in visual culture, Palagia 1986, 138-142.

¹⁴⁰⁹ O. Palagia is cautious about identifying Hercules as a portrait of Alexander the Great; in any case, the same coin type was taken over by later kings and cities and labeled as Alexander, Palagia 1986, 140f. J.J. Pollitt argues that Hercules was not originally intended as a portrait of Alexander the Great; however, Alexander developed a godlike status, and so the representation of Hercules on coins minted at Alexandria ca. 325 more closely resembled the Macedonian leader and acquired this significance, Pollitt 1986, 25f.

¹⁴¹⁰ Pollitt 1986, 25

Afterwards, Hellenistic and Roman rulers were shown in the guise of Hercules as well.¹⁴¹¹ It is highly improbable that Olympias was portrayed with the club and lion skin during her lifetime,¹⁴¹² but the weight of this longstanding honorific tradition eventually impacted her as well.¹⁴¹³

How could have this portrait of Olympias been understood? First of all, the image of a woman with the attributes of Hercules can only be identified as Omphale; the stability of the visual code and its constant replication over the course of centuries ensures this reading.¹⁴¹⁴ It is notable that Olympias wears the lion skin like a veil, in a manner that more or less obscures the breasts.¹⁴¹⁵ This downplays the potentially erotic connotations of the portrait, thus shifting the interpretive possibilities away from disarming love. Instead, the bearing of Olympias, as well as the manner in which she wields the club, is entirely regal in character, and thus introduces a clear element of political power into the image. At the same time, Olympias is strongly modeled after Hercules, or even Alexander the Great as Hercules, which is probably a deliberate ambiguity here. Does the takeover of Hercules' lion skin and club merely reflect Olympias' role as a "passionate woman in a family of would-be Hercules"?¹⁴¹⁶ Or are the virtues of the ultramasculine hero directly transferred to Olympias here, centuries after her death? Without further information about the circumstances of this portrait type's creation, it is difficult to say. In any case, the result is a highly gender-bending portrait of Olympias as Omphale, which is practically freed from the mythical narrative. It is not an image praising the irresistible beauty of Olympias, but an image of political power and prestige, imbued with "manly" qualities. As such, there is potential for Omphale to take up the club and lion skin as regal, but distinctly masculine attributes, in order to serve as an *exemplum potestatis*, surpassing the expectations of her sex.

4.1.5 Conclusions

The images of Hercules and Omphale are few in number and relatively consistent in their essential significance. This representative analysis of the imagery nevertheless demonstrates their considerable variety, both in terms of the iconography and especially the dress, as well as their general appeal in different settings. The overall trends observed here are summarized in the following graphic:

¹⁴¹¹ Palagia 1986; see also Hekster 2005.

¹⁴¹² Ghedini 1984, 157.

¹⁴¹³ E.D. Carney suggests that "this oddly Heraclid Olympias invokes a gender-bending image of her that one suspects the historical Olympias might have enjoyed," Carney 2006, 123.

¹⁴¹⁴ It seems that there are no examples of women depicted as gods of heroes. It would therefore be an enormous leap to view this as a portrait of Olympias as Hercules in particular.

¹⁴¹⁵ The details of the contorniates are difficult to evaluate due to the poor state of preservation, but it seems that the breasts are largely covered by the lion skin.

¹⁴¹⁶ Boardman 1994, 53.

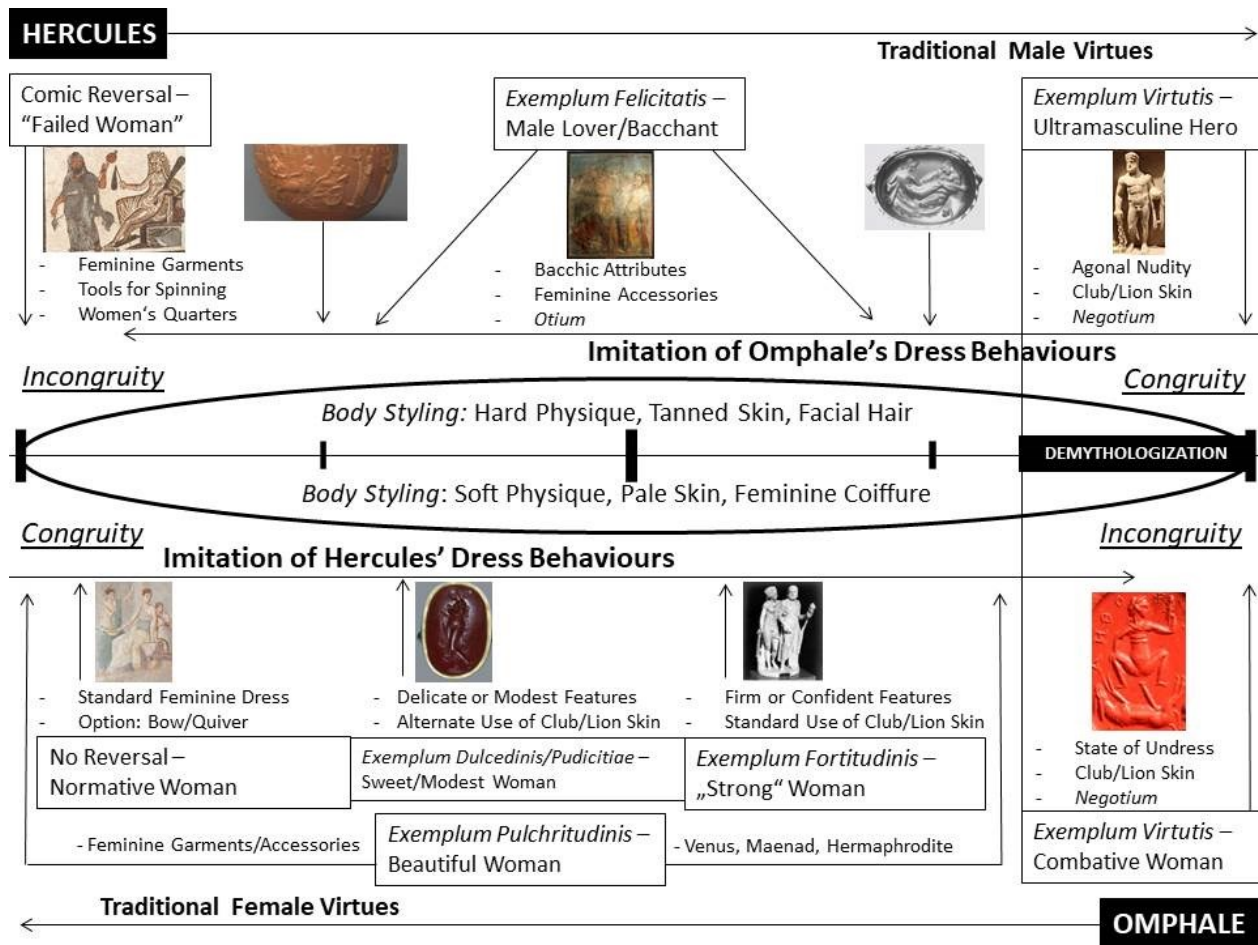


Fig. 2: Summary of the Dress and Dress Behaviours of Hercules and Omphale. © S. Hollaender.

In all of the images, Hercules and Omphale are instantly recognizable as a man and woman respectively, due to their contrasting body styling. Hercules is shown with a hard physique, tanned skin and facial hair, whereas Omphale is shown with a soft physique, pale skin and a feminine coiffure. These are the most stable characteristics of their dress and serve to reaffirm the essential differences between the sexes. Besides that, they imitate each other's dress behaviours to varying degrees.

For Hercules, it is possible to consider these trends on a sliding scale. The more the hero dresses like a woman, the more the incongruity between his body and the garments/accessories is highlighted. At one extreme, he is completely dressed in feminine garments and accessories, often with the tools for spinning (e.g. distaff, spindle). The setting is generally the women's quarters. It seems that the cross-dressed hero was viewed in a humorous manner here, as a “failed woman”, due to the exaggerated reversal.¹⁴¹⁷ At the middle of the spectrum, Hercules is portrayed with bacchic attributes or feminine accessories, or a mixture of the two. The hero is situated in the world of *otium*, in the company of his

¹⁴¹⁷ For discussion, see chap. 4.1.3.5.1.4.1.

beloved queen or the Dionysian *thiasos*, or both. The cross-dressing is partially downplayed here - instead, the focus shifts to the pleasurable life of the hero as a male lover or bacchant, thus establishing him as an *exemplum felicitatis*.¹⁴¹⁸ At the other extreme, Hercules is portrayed in agonal nudity, bearing his club and lion skin. The cross-dressing is entirely effaced in these instances. He is shown either performing the Twelve Labours for Eurystheus - which conflates mythical narratives - or already resting after his labours with Omphale.¹⁴¹⁹ The focus shifts back to the heroic character of the hero, thus establishing him as an *exemplum virtutis*.¹⁴²⁰ Overall, the more Hercules imitates Omphale's dress behaviour, the more the hero is established as an amusing spectacle. Conversely, the less he imitates her dress behaviour, the more he is established as a model for traditional male virtues and hence for (indirect) identification. It ought to be noted that within the spectrum presented here, there is potential for overlap between these particular categories.

It is possible to consider the trends for Omphale on a sliding scale as well. The more she fashions herself after Hercules, the more the incongruity between her body and his accessories (i.e. club and lion skin) is brought out.¹⁴²¹ In all cases, Omphale is portrayed as a beautiful woman. She is portrayed either nude or in feminine garments and accessories, often patterned after Venus, maenads or hermaphrodites. She is therefore established as an *exemplum pulchritudinis*.¹⁴²² At one extreme, Omphale is shown in completely feminine dress and hence as a normative woman. Her disarming influence is either downplayed here, or else expressed in alternate ways, such as grasping the supplementary arms of hero (i.e. the bow and quiver) or summoning erotes to do her bidding. There were generally three options for portraying Omphale with the club and lion skin of Hercules. First of all, she is shown with sweet and delicate features, as well as handling the arms in a manner that completely subverts their combative function, which casts her as an *exemplum dulcedinis*.¹⁴²³ It is possible to add modest features to the mix (e.g. inclining her head, shielding her pudenda), in order to cast her as an *exemplum pudicitiae*.¹⁴²⁴ Secondly, Omphale is portrayed with firm or confident features, as well as bearing the club and lion skin in a manner similar to the hero. Her imitation of herculean dress behaviours transfers qualities like strength and capacity to her, therefore establishing her as an

¹⁴¹⁸ For discussion, see chap. 4.1.3.5.1.4.2.

¹⁴¹⁹ Since the Twelve Labours belong to another narrative tradition entirely, portraying the hero in this manner is a sign of demythologization. The mythographic tradition of Hercules' enslavement to Omphale lists the heroic feats performed in her service; for some examples, see Aischyl. Ag. 1040; Apollod. 2, 6, 2-3; Diod. 4, 31, 5-8; Hyg. fab. 32; Plut. qu. Gr. 45; Soph. Trach. 252-257, 356-357.

¹⁴²⁰ For discussion, see chap. 4.1.3.5.1.4.3.

¹⁴²¹ In general, the image of Omphale with the club and lion skin of Hercules always presents an incongruity. It is debatable which version produces the starkest contrasts. The image of Omphale handling the club and lion skin in a sweet and modest manner might present an even greater incongruity than the image of Omphale handling these attributes with firmness and confidence (i.e. like Hercules); moreover, the image of Omphale as a portly woman (perhaps pregnant) and swinging the club is also incongruous. The sliding scale presented on the chart here is therefore an imperfect reflection of this phenomenon.

¹⁴²² For discussion, see chap. 4.1.3.5.2.2.1.

¹⁴²³ For discussion, see chap. 4.1.3.5.2.2.2.

¹⁴²⁴ For discussion, see chap. 4.1.3.5.2.2.3.

exemplum fortitudinis (at least in terms of her erotic power).¹⁴²⁵ Thirdly, Omphale bears the club and lion skin in a manner that casts her as a “female Hercules”, completely divorced from the mythological context of disarming love.¹⁴²⁶ For instance, she is transformed into a slayer of beasts and hence as an *exemplum virtutis*.¹⁴²⁷ The less Omphale imitates Hercules’ dress behaviour, the more she is established as a model for traditional female virtues (e.g. beauty, delicacy, modesty) and hence for (indirect) identification. Conversely, the more she imitates his dress behaviour, the more she is imbued with his “manly” qualities, which open up various possibilities: her masculinization probably contributes to the overall comic reversal in some instances, but presumably casts her as a praiseworthy model for female strength in others. There is, moreover, potential for overlap between these categories.

4.2 Portraits of Women as Omphale

4.2.1 Introduction

From the middle of the 1st and into the 4th century CE, portraits of private persons and especially freedpersons in the guise of mythological figures appear in the funerary context of Rome and its environs especially.¹⁴²⁸ It has been convincingly argued that this is not a private apotheosis, but rather an allegory for the emotions and virtues of the deceased and their kin. In rare cases, men and women were portrayed in the guise of Hercules and Omphale (pls. 1. 3. 5; cf. pls. 2. 4).¹⁴²⁹ This is attested in both freestanding statuary and reliefs, in the same periods and settings.

The following analysis will evaluate how Hercules and Omphale came to serve as role models in private portraiture. It will start by considering why the identification of men and women with these notorious cross-dressers seems astonishing. It will then offer an overview of the monuments, which exhibit notable differences and therefore demand consideration on an individual basis. Afterwards, it will turn to the capacity of the mythological imagery to evoke private emotions and virtues.

The production of portraits of men and women in the guise of Hercules and Omphale would initially seem counterintuitive. As discussed above, the myth of Hercules and Omphale generally falls into two broad categories.¹⁴³⁰ The mythographic version merely recounts the circumstances of the hero’s servitude, including his heroic feats. The romanticized version popular among the Romans especially characterizes him as a captivated lover and emphasizes their exchange of gendered roles and dress. It is true that authors constantly rework the tale of Hercules and Omphale for their own purposes, by criticizing, excusing or even omitting the hero’s debasement at the hands of this queen. Of greatest interest here, however, is the comparison of particular individuals to Hercules and Omphale in the literary sources. It is striking that the mythical allegory consistently aims to present them in a shameful

¹⁴²⁵ For discussion, see chap. 4.1.3.5.2.2.4.

¹⁴²⁶ For discussion, see chap. 4.1.4.

¹⁴²⁷ For discussion, see chap. 4.1.4.1.

¹⁴²⁸ For mythological portraiture in general, see chap. 1.3.

¹⁴²⁹ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, OMP1. 4. 6; see also OMP2. 3. 5.

¹⁴³⁰ For discussion on the myth of Hercules and Omphale, see chap. 4.1.

light, by highlighting the submission of men to dominant women, as well as to their own desires - this is consistently perceived as a violation of traditional gender roles and values.

The direct identification of particular individuals with Hercules and Omphale in ancient texts is typically defamatory. This comparison can be traced back to the Old Comedy of Athens in the 5th century BCE. Since the genre is often topical and teeming with political invective, the Athenian statesman Perikles and his consort Aspasia of Miletos were frequently targeted here. In particular, Aspasia is constructed as a licentious and dominant *hetaira*, seen to wield excessive influence over Perikles and his political agenda.¹⁴³¹ Due to this eastern woman's perceived control over such an influential man, either Kratinos' *Cheirones* or Eupolis' *Philoï* refers to her as the "Tyrant Omphale",¹⁴³² and Plutarch would later remark that she was fashioned in Old Comedy as the "New Omphale".¹⁴³³

Similar connections are drawn between Hercules and Roman leaders. Most notable are the comparisons drawn between Hercules and Marcus Antonius, as well as between Omphale and Cleopatra, in order to highlight the shameful emasculation of a powerful man at the hands of an eastern queen.¹⁴³⁴ Furthermore, in Martial's discussion of a statue of Domitian as Hercules along the Via Appia, he claims that Hercules would have surely avoided his servitude to Omphale, if only he had been furnished with the features of Domitian earlier.¹⁴³⁵ The emperor is not only seen to surpass the hero, but is also explicitly distanced from his effeminate behaviour.

It is possible to catch glimpses of this disparaging comparison directed against private persons in the Roman world as well. The first known case is in Terence's *Eunuchus*, which is an adaption on a play from New Comedy. Here, Thraso's submission to Thais is linked with Hercules' enslavement to Omphale.¹⁴³⁶ This is certainly not an attack on any particular individual, but the use of stock figures from everyday life - in this case, the *miles gloriosus*, or the "braggart warrior" - turns the genre into a social commentary.¹⁴³⁷ When Horace criticizes "Sybaris" for devoting himself to a sexually liberated woman, she is probably given the pseudonym "Lydia" to evoke Omphale in particular.¹⁴³⁸ Likewise, Plutarch censures elderly statesmen (such as Lucius Licinius Lucullus) who have succumbed to a life of luxury and excess by comparing them to Hercules at the Lydian court, where he shamefully allows

¹⁴³¹ For the portrayal of Aspasia in Old Comedy, Henry 1995, 19-28.

¹⁴³² Schol. Plat. Mx. 235E; for discussion, Storey 2003, 265 footnote 5.

¹⁴³³ Plut. Perikles 24, 6. For discussion on the comparison of Aspasia to Omphale in general, Henry 1995, 22f.; Powell 2003, 258-260; Schmitt Pantel 2007; Wagner-Hasel 1998, 216f.

¹⁴³⁴ For discussion, see chap. 4.1.3.1.1.1.

¹⁴³⁵ Mart. 9, 64-65.

¹⁴³⁶ Ter. Eun. 1025-1028. For discussion on this comparison, Brown 1992, 97; Frangoulidis 1994, 589f. 593f.

¹⁴³⁷ Brown 1998, 190.

¹⁴³⁸ Hor. carm. 1, 8. A. Kiessling and R. Heinze were the first to make this connection, Kiessling - Heinze 1968, 45. R.G.M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard argue that the name Lydia was simply popular by this time, Nisbet - Hubbard 1970, 110. There is, however, good reason to believe that the connection was intentional. J.-Y. Maleuvre notes that Sybaris had much in common with Hercules, due to performing physical feats before becoming a slave to a woman, Maleuvre 1990, 131. B.W. Boyd and C. Doyen also draw attention to the fact that cross-dressing is particular to the feminization of not only Hercules, but also Achilles, to whom Sybaris is explicitly compared, Boyd 2001, 76; Doyen 2004, 315; for further discussion on the connection between "Sybaris" and Achilles, Leach 1994.

himself to be dressed up like a woman, fanned and groomed.¹⁴³⁹ Finally, Celsus - a Greek philosopher and early opponent of Christianity - maintains that Jesus was like Hercules, but the Christian theologian Origen of Alexandria draws a distinction between these saviours by noting that Jesus never had to endure the shameful servitude to Omphale.¹⁴⁴⁰ Perhaps yet more derogatory allusions exist in the ancient texts, but this is sufficient for demonstrating this trend.

In contrast, the Roman elegists compare male lovers to Hercules at the Lydian court in a favourable manner. By the 4th century BCE, a romanticized version of the tale came into existence, in which Hercules willingly endures his slavery to Omphale due to his consuming passion for her.¹⁴⁴¹ The myth was therefore seized upon by the Roman elegists as a natural model for *servitium amoris* - that is, the “slavery of love”, in which a male lover subordinates himself to his beloved.¹⁴⁴² Propertius uses Hercules as a precedent to justify his own submission to a woman: “Why wonder that a woman governs my life, and hauls off a man in bondage to her sway? ... Omphale, the Lydian girl who bathed in Gyges’ lake, won such renown for her beauty that he who had set up his pillars in the world he had pacified plucked with his brute hands soft tasks of wool.”¹⁴⁴³ Ovid even offers Hercules as the ideal model for an obedient, dutiful male lover in the *Ars amatoria*:

“Be sure to hold her parasol over her; and clear a way for her if she’s hemmed in by the crowd; fetch a stool to help her on to the couch; and unlace or lace up the sandals on her dainty feet. And then, though you perish with cold yourself, you will often have to warm your mistress’s icy hands in your warm bosom. And you mustn’t mind, although it does seem a little undignified, holding up her mirror, like any slave, for her to look in. Why Hercules himself, who performed some mighty feats of bravery and strength, who won a seat in the Olympian realm he had carried on his shoulders, is said to have dwelt among the Ionian maids as one of them, to have held the wool basket and to have spun coarse wool. The Tirynthian hero [i.e. Hercules] obeyed his mistress’s commands; and will you hesitate to endure what he endured?”¹⁴⁴⁴

Nevertheless, the elegists so openly flout all social conventions that the idealization of Hercules’ servitude for love only reaffirms that his “soft” behaviour was not considered emulable by most of society.¹⁴⁴⁵ Indeed, the literary motif of *servitium amoris* “is an expression of the lover’s humility and abasement, of his willingness in the name of love to undergo punishments and to undertake duties

¹⁴³⁹ Plut. mor. 785D-786A

¹⁴⁴⁰ Orig. 7, 54.

¹⁴⁴¹ For early references to this romanticized variant, see the fragment of Ephoros of Kyme FGrH 70 F 14b = Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1, 1289; Palaiph. 44.

¹⁴⁴² For discussion on *servitium amoris*, including its connection to Hercules/Omphale, Copley 1947; Lyne 1979. The metaphor was also taken up for fictional characters in ancient Greek novels: for instance, in Achilles Tatius’ *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, Cleitophon stands before his beloved Leucippe and compares himself to the cross-dressed Hercules, enslaved by Omphale in Lydia, Ach. Tat. 2, 6, 2; for discussion, Jones 2012, 239-248.

¹⁴⁴³ Prop. 3, 11, 1-2; 17-20 (translation in Goold 1990, 257. 259).

¹⁴⁴⁴ Ov. ars 2, 209-222 (translation in De Coster - Nisenson 1932, 147-148).

¹⁴⁴⁵ The elegiac tradition is notable for drawing out the romantic connotations of the myth, which was the main reason that images of Hercules and Omphale proliferated by the end of the Republic, Ellinghaus 2006, 171-181; Oemhke 2000, 193-197. It is not methodologically sound, however, to use these elegiac texts to interpret the images of Hercules and Omphale as a whole, even if similarities are revealed in some cases.

which in real life were felt to be peculiar to the slave alone, and entirely unworthy of a free man.”¹⁴⁴⁶ As such, love is idealized out of all relation to reality and hence restricted to the fantasy world of the elegists’ imagination. Moreover, it is now frequently accepted that the elegists used sexuality - and with it the motif of *servitium amoris* - as a literary device for commenting on the changing socio-political structures of the late Republican and early Imperial Period.¹⁴⁴⁷ Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid, as members of the male elite, seemingly adopted an emasculated voice in order to vent their frustration about their diminishing opportunities to obtain public office and perform masculinity in these contexts, whereas the influence of freedmen and even women was on the rise.¹⁴⁴⁸

The comparison of Gaius Maecenas - the close friend and advisor of Augustus - to Hercules at the Lydian court in the *Elegiae in Maecenatem* is a bit different.¹⁴⁴⁹ Here, he is described in seemingly controversial terms. He enjoys the company of Omphale (perhaps standing for his wife Terentia) but also lives under her sway: he cross-dresses, carries out wool work and even receives beatings from his mistress.¹⁴⁵⁰ None of this was, however, intended as slander.¹⁴⁵¹ The author of the elegy was evidently well-disposed to Maecenas and actually drew on this particular mythological precedent to defend Maecenas against charges of leading a overly luxurious lifestyle.¹⁴⁵² Hercules - in this instance at least - is understood to indulge in love and luxury at the Lydian court only after completing his labours. In a similar manner, Maecenas is permitted, following the victory at Actium, to lead a “soft” lifestyle without a guilty conscience.¹⁴⁵³ It seems that Maecenas’ casting off of conventional male dress and behaviour is completely metaphorical: having fulfilled his obligations to Rome, he can now afford to shed his masculine identity in the *Pax Augusta*. The crucial point here is that the pursuit of pleasure must occur at the appropriate moment. Indeed, for both Hercules and Maecenas, their indulgence in passion and luxury is understood as a reward for their labours.

In summary, the myth of Hercules and Omphale was continually manipulated by ancient authors in order to serve their own purposes and need not entail any contradiction. On the whole though, whenever particular individuals are directly identified with Hercules and Omphale, the intention was typically defamatory. More favourable associations are seemingly limited to elegy, as well as the novel: here, the portrayal of men enslaved to beautiful women and luxuries creates a surprisingly idyllic scene. It should nevertheless be kept in mind that elegy is an extremely topsy-turvy genre, deliberately

¹⁴⁴⁶ Copley 1947, 285.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Rawles - Natoli 2014, 349-354.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Rawles - Natoli 2014, 349-354.

¹⁴⁴⁹ *Elegiae in Maecenatem* 1, 69-86. For the text and translation, Miller 1941.

¹⁴⁵⁰ For the suggestion that Omphale stands for Terentia, Nigro 1998, 139.

¹⁴⁵¹ Cairns 2006, 288.

¹⁴⁵² Cairns 2006, 288. Moreover, the setting is fitting for someone born in Arretium, due to the false theory circulating in antiquity that the Etruscans originated in Lydia.

¹⁴⁵³ See *Elegiae in Maecenatem* 1, 39-50. Maecenas is likewise compared to Apollo, Bacchus and Jupiter, resting after their feats, *Elegiae in Maecenatem* 1, 51-68. 87-92.

flouting social conventions. In short, Hercules and Omphale are consistently cast as shameful models for human behaviour in the ancient literary sources, whether this shame is idealized or not.

Based on this, the private portraits of men and women as Hercules and Omphale would initially seem contradictory. This is, however, not the case. It is not methodologically sound to treat different semiotic systems as interchangeable: in other words, there is no reason to assume that mythical allegories offered in the literary sources are relevant to the images as well, especially considering that a deprecatory intention cannot possibly apply to commemorative portraiture.

Rather, the portraits demand consideration on their own terms. The generic images of Hercules and Omphale tend to evoke disarming love and Dionysian excess especially.¹⁴⁵⁴ The preceding analysis has probed the potential for the ancient viewers to either distance themselves from Hercules and Omphale or, conversely, to actually relate with them on some level.¹⁴⁵⁵ It has been demonstrated that the pair was often set up as a mythical exemplum for the viewer's own experiences and qualities, but that the iconography was carefully negotiated in such instances, in order to cast them as more suitable models for viewer identification. The cross-dressing of Omphale is hardly problematized due to the potential to evoke disarming love, but formulated in a variety of ways to bring out different qualities: she is virtually always praised for her beauty, but oscillates between being a delicate and modest woman, and a firm and confident woman. It is even possible to transform Omphale into a "female Hercules". The cross-dressing of Hercules, on the other hand, is frequently downplayed and exchanged for bacchic or heroic features, depending on whether he is cast as a model for personal happiness or "manliness". This is especially the case with the mythological imagery on columnar sarcophagi, which shifts from being strictly a site for viewer identification to the commemoration of married couples.

These observations are valuable for evaluating the private portraits of men and women in the guise of Hercules and Omphale, insofar as a direct identification is finally established. The following examination will reveal which emotions and virtues were latched onto for self-representation and commemoration, as well as the strategies for expressing them in a socially acceptable manner. In particular, the aim here is to determine how the exchange of gendered dress was reconciled with their role as positive role models for both men and women. Since the portraits type is exceedingly rare and seemingly only produced by special commission for the sepulchral context, the extant material - as well as its comparative examples - demands examination on a case by case basis.

¹⁴⁵⁴ For discussion, see chap. 4.1.2

¹⁴⁵⁵ For discussion, see chap. 4.1.

4.2.2 Overview of the Monuments

4.2.2.1 Portraits of Women as Omphale

Women are portrayed in the guise of Omphale in their own right. This is exemplified by a marble statue in the Museo Gregoriano Profano (Vatican City State) (pl. 1), which was probably displayed at Rome or its environs at the beginning of the 3rd century CE.¹⁴⁵⁶ It is roughly life-size, measuring 1.82 m in height. Here, a portrait head of a middle-aged woman is combined with an ideal body most closely approximating that of the Knidian Aphrodite (pl. 144a).¹⁴⁵⁷ She faces forward and stands completely upright,¹⁴⁵⁸ putting the weight on the left leg and lightly pressing her thighs together. At the same time, she reaches to shield her pudenda with the right hand. The herculean attributes clearly identify her as Omphale: she holds the club in the crook of her left arm, and wears the lion skin over the head, knotted at her breasts and then draped up over the left arm. Just like the Venus Felix with her mantle (pl. 133a), she gently draws the lion skin in front of her pudenda, thus incorporating this herculean attribute into the conventional pudica gesture.¹⁴⁵⁹

Turning to the portrait head, the drilling of the eyes, the full cheeks and the coiffure - parted at the middle, and then combed towards the back into undulating tresses - are reminiscent of Iulia Domna.¹⁴⁶⁰ This identification should nevertheless be excluded here, since the individualized features bear no direct resemblance to the empress,¹⁴⁶¹ and portraits of imperial woman in the nude are virtually unknown.¹⁴⁶² Rather, the woman probably belongs to the class of wealthy imperial freedpersons, who adopted the mythological portraiture of the imperial court.¹⁴⁶³ The patron of the monument was in all likelihood her husband.¹⁴⁶⁴ It is true that the monument involves a fair degree of visual replication. The individualized portrait head is combined with an ideal statuary type, which was relatively straightforward to produce in antiquity. Moreover, the nude portraits of women in this period were

¹⁴⁵⁶ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, OMP1. G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg dates the statue to the beginning of the 3rd century CE, Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1937, 295f. cat. 727.

¹⁴⁵⁷ P. Zanker observes that this statue scheme stands in the tradition of the late Classical and Hellenistic statuary types for Aphrodite, but without directly copying any of them; in any case, the position of the right arm and the composition of the legs generally matches the Knidian Aphrodite, Zanker 1999, 125. A. Lo Monaco claims that she is modeled after the Knidian Aphrodite, Lo Monaco 2011, 357. For the Knidian Aphrodite (and her "relatives"), Delivorrias et al. 1984, 49-53 nos. 391-421; Schmidt 1997, 204-206 nos. 109-132; Havelock 1995. In addition, P. Zanker claims that the modest motifs (i.e. shielding the pudenda and draping the breasts with the lion skin) are taken over from the Capitoline Aphrodite, Zanker 1999, 125. This is less convincing, since the Knidian Aphrodite already shields her pudenda with her right hand (at least unconsciously), and the Capitoline Aphrodite shields her breasts with the her right arm, not by wearing a cloak.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Zanker 1999, 126.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Zanker 1999, 125. 127f. For the Venus Felix, Delivorrias et al. 1984, 78f. nos. 696-706.

¹⁴⁶⁰ For the portrait head (as well as the similarities to Iulia Domna), Kampen 1996b, 233; Zanker 1999, 119.

¹⁴⁶¹ Ghedini 1984, 156.

¹⁴⁶² Alexandridis 2004, 84-86.

¹⁴⁶³ H. Wrede concludes that mythological portraiture is particularly appealing to freedpersons, Wrede 1981, 159-170. The possibility has been noted in this case as well, Kampen 1996b, 234f.; Zanker 1999, 119-121.

¹⁴⁶⁴ The funerary monuments of women are generally dedicated by their husbands. This is the most likely scenario in this case as well, Lo Monaco 2011, 357; Zanker 1999, 119-121.

frequently patterned after statues of Venus shielding her sexual parts (e.g. breasts, genitals).¹⁴⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the unusual combination of the body of Venus with the attributes of Hercules must have required an exceptional degree of planning and effort, which suggests that the monument was not purchased on stock, but rather specially commissioned.¹⁴⁶⁶ In this case, the portrait head and the idealized statue were completed by two different sculptors, with the head and the lion skin carved from the same marble, still attached. The provenience of the monument is unknown, but mythological portraits in general and portraits of women in the nude in particular are connected to the funerary context especially (e.g. mausoleum, funerary temple).¹⁴⁶⁷

The overall portrait type is extremely rare. There is only a single comparative example, namely, a marble statue of Omphale - slightly under life size - in the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen (Rouen, France) (pl. 2a), which is now headless.¹⁴⁶⁸ It was probably displayed at Luni (Italy) in the 2nd century CE.¹⁴⁶⁹ The statuary type is most closely modeled after the Aphrodite of Kyrene,¹⁴⁷⁰ but combined with the attributes of Hercules: she wears the lion skin obliquely over the chest and knotted on the right shoulder (much like a *chlamys*), while lightly grasping the club leaning against her right leg.¹⁴⁷¹ Whether the statue was ever individualized cannot be known. Otherwise, the only other statue of Omphale that could have qualified as a portrait is a life-sized marble statue in the State Hermitage Museum (St. Petersburg, Russia), which is from Ostia and dated to the 1st/2nd century CE (pl. 2b).¹⁴⁷² The statue is only preserved below the breasts. She stands with the weight on her right leg, her right hip strongly protruding and her left leg turned to the side.¹⁴⁷³ She is draped in a mantle, drawn together at the front, but securely identified as Omphale by the traces of a lion skin on the back. The iconography is

¹⁴⁶⁵ The nude portraits of women catalogued by C.H. Hallett are often modeled after the Knidian or Capitoline Aphrodite (but other schemes are attested as well), Hallett 2005, 331f. For discussion on the portraits of women as Venus, D'Ambra 1989, 392-400; D'Ambra 1996; D'Ambra 2000; Hallett 2005, 199. 209-212. 219-222. 331-332; Kleiner 1981; Kousser 2007; Salathé 2000; Wrede 1971, 131. 144-145. 157-161; Wrede 1981, 306-318 cat. 292-316.

¹⁴⁶⁶ It is true that portrait statues typically draw on the same constantly replicated costumes, but it is possible to break away from convention and select innovative costumes as well (e.g. the portrait statue of Mindia Matidia as Aura at Sessa Aurunca is a unique and site-specific commission, which required considerable planning and expenditure), Wood 2015, 267f. There are certainly generic images of Omphale with the pudica gesture, but this is rare; for examples, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 30; 49 no. 31.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Mythological portraits are primarily from the funerary context of Rome and its environs, Wrede 1981, 159. 170. The nude portraits of women catalogued by C.H. Hallett often come from the funerary context (but also the domestic context), Hallett 2005, 331f. It is assumed that this one comes from the funerary context as well, Kampen 1996b, 234f.; Lo Monaco 2011, 357; Zanker 2009, 191-121.

¹⁴⁶⁸ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, OMP2. The neck was already broken off in antiquity, Lechat 1912, 6. The statue, with the head restored, would have measured about 1.50 m, Lechat 1912, 6.

¹⁴⁶⁹ J. Boardman dates the statue to the 2nd century CE, Boardman 1994, 51 no. 63. H. Lechat was told that the statue was discovered at Luni by a peasant digging a well, Lechat 1912, 5.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Lippold 1950, 387. For the Aphrodite of Kyrene, Delivorrias et al. 1984, 56f. no. 455; Neumer-Pfau 1982, 227-229.

¹⁴⁷¹ The nude portraits of women catalogued by C.H. Hallett are often modeled after the Knidian or Capitoline Aphrodite, but other schemes are attested as well, Hallett 2005, 331f. The attribute in the raised left hand remains uncertain, but H. Lechat proposes that it was a mirror, Lechat 1912, 19.

¹⁴⁷² For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, OMP3. H. Lechat identifies this as a portrait, Lechat 1912, 17f. The height of the surviving part of the statue is 1.43 m, Waldhauer 1936 50, cat. 295. Based on this, it seems that the original would have been roughly 1.85 m.

¹⁴⁷³ Waldhauer 1936, 51 cat. 295.

unusual here: if Omphale is alone, then she is typically nude, but here she completely clothed. It is possible that the modest dress was introduced for the commemoration of a woman, but there is no way to judge this now.¹⁴⁷⁴ In summary, only one portrait of a woman commemorated as Omphale in her own right has been securely identified. The rarity of the portrait type strongly suggests that this monument was in fact produced by special commission.

4.2.2.2 Portraits of Girls as Omphale

It is possible that girls are portrayed in the guise of Omphale in their own right. This is exemplified by a marble statue in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Copenhagen, Denmark) (pl. 5), which is dated to the middle of the 1st century CE or shortly thereafter.¹⁴⁷⁵ It measures 1.09 m in height.¹⁴⁷⁶ The young female figure stands with her weight on the right foot and the left set forward and turned to the side. Her head is turned sharply to the left. She is dressed in a *peplos*, girdled over the long overfold just under the breasts, as well as sandals. As in clothed images of Venus, the garment slips off her shoulder.¹⁴⁷⁷ The lion skin on her head identifies her as Omphale. The position of the arms is not clear. The angle of the fragmentary right arm suggests that she once propped her club on the ground, but the position of the left arm, which is broken off at the shoulder, is less certain. It has been proposed, due to the sharp turn of the head, that she is accompanied by Hercules, just like in the Naples-Copenhagen Statue Group (pl. 92a).¹⁴⁷⁸ It is true that the extant parts of the arms could fit into the schema of Omphale placing her right hand onto the club and her left arm over Hercules' shoulders. The issue with this reconstruction is that she is not swaying her body to her left, in order to lean into another figure. Moreover, the plinth supported Omphale alone,¹⁴⁷⁹ which casts serious doubt on the inclusion of Hercules: indeed, the lack of a shared base precludes any considerable degree of interaction with another figure. If the statue had in fact been part of a group, then this must have consisted of freestanding, pendant statues, not a closely interlocking group.

The face is childlike, with round, chubby cheeks, small eyes and a double chin.¹⁴⁸⁰ It is not extremely idealized, nor particularly individualized.¹⁴⁸¹ The hairstyle is covered by the lion skin, but waved locks of hair are visible on the side of the head. The lack of distinctly individualized details need not,

¹⁴⁷⁴ There are parallels for the phenomenon in the portraits of women as Venus: the nude bodies are at times clothed to make them more suitable for the commemoration of Roman women, see chap. 4.2.3.2.2.

¹⁴⁷⁵ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, OMP6. M. Moltesen dates the statue to the middle of the 1st century CE or shortly thereafter, Moltesen 2005, 214 cat. 101. This is exactly when mythological portraiture was extended to private persons (i.e. Claudian-Neronian Period), Wrede 1981, 159; Alexandridis 2004, 82. For the identification of the statue as a portrait of a young girl, Caprino 1963, 696; Ghedini 1984, 157; Oehmke 2000, 148 footnote 10; Poulsen 1951, 197f. cat. 265a; for a more ambiguous view on the matter, Moltesen 2005, 214 cat. 101.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Moltesen 2005, 214f. cat. 101

¹⁴⁷⁷ For a few examples of Aphrodite clothed, with the drapery slipping off the shoulder, Delivorrias 1984, 25 no. 159; 26 no. 172; 32 no. 204.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Boardman 1994, 48 no. 25; Poulsen 1951, 198 cat. 265a; Moltesen 2005, 214 cat. 101. For the Naples-Copenhagen Statue Group, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 23; Oehmke 2000.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Oehmke 2000, 148 footnote 10.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Moltesen 2005, 214 cat. 101.

¹⁴⁸¹ As noted by J. Fejfer, female portraits heads are typically more idealized than male portrait heads, to the point that it is difficult to distinguish them from goddesses, Fejfer 2008, 351f.

however, rule out a portrait identification. Freestanding portraits of children in the Julio-Claudian Period are typically idealized and seldom adopt imperial hairstyles.¹⁴⁸²

The portrayal of Omphale as a child is completely unique, which suggests that the statue fulfilled a special purpose. It is comparable to statues of Hercules as a child, who is already dressed in the club and lion skin despite his tender age and inexperience.¹⁴⁸³ The theme was probably invented the late Hellenistic Period, but the extant cases predominantly date to the 2nd century CE.¹⁴⁸⁴ A number of these statues are identifiable as portraits of boys (pl. 133b),¹⁴⁸⁵ and it is plausible that other statues with idealized features were intended for the commemoration of children as well.¹⁴⁸⁶

The dress of Omphale might support the portrait identification as well. If featured alone, Omphale is typically nude or semi-nude, but here she is not. She instead wears a tunic slipping off the shoulder, which is similar to the portraits of girls as Venus: indeed, it is possible to portray women as the goddess of love and beauty in the nude, but for girls, the association is merely evoked by slipping drapery.¹⁴⁸⁷ It is perhaps no coincidence that the nudity of Omphale is rejected here and replaced by conventions used for commemorating prepubescent girls in the guise of Venus.

The identification of the statue as a portrait of a girl is by no means conclusive, but within the realm of possibility. If this is the case, then she probably belonged to the class of freedpersons¹⁴⁸⁸ and was commemorated by her parents.¹⁴⁸⁹ The overall rarity of the type - that is, a “child” Omphale - strongly suggests that the monument was produced by special commission, but perhaps the Naples-Copenhagen Group was nevertheless used as a model.¹⁴⁹⁰ This would explain the odd format of the statue: indeed, she is probably alone, but appears as though she is looking at another figure. The statue is presumably from Rome, but the exact display context is unclear.¹⁴⁹¹ The marble is severely weathered, indicating that the statue was set-up outdoors at some point.¹⁴⁹² Freestanding portraits of children in the guise of

¹⁴⁸² Backe-Dahmen 2006, 107. As A. Backe-Dahmen notes, the hairstyles of children are rarely adopted directly from members of the imperial family (but might nevertheless play with these fashions). The hairstyles of girls in freestanding portraiture of the Julio-Claudian Period are at times generic (for examples, Backe-Dahmen 2006, 165 cat. F3; 167 cat. F8. F9.), just like the waves of hair on the right sides here, vaguely resembling a melon coiffure.

¹⁴⁸³ For the sculptural representations of Hercules as boy, Boardman et al. 1988, 786-788 nos. 1221-1256.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Boardman et al. 1988, 786.

¹⁴⁸⁵ For examples, Boardman et al. 1988, 786 no. 1231; Wrede 1981, 200 cat. 13; 238f cat. 121; 251 cat. 150.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Boardman et al. 1988, 786.

¹⁴⁸⁷ For some examples, Backe-Dahmen 2006, 169f. cat. F 15; 184 cat. F 55; 193f. cat. F 80; Mander 2013, 170f. no. 52; 173 cat. 63; 175 cat. 71.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Mythological portraiture is particularly appealing to freedpersons, Wrede 1981, 159-170.

¹⁴⁸⁹ The epigraphic evidence from funerary altars reveals that children are most often commemorated by their own parents, Backe-Dahmen 2006, 88.

¹⁴⁹⁰ For the Naples-Copenhagen Statue Group, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 23; Oehmke 2000.

¹⁴⁹¹ The statue was acquired in 1912 in Rome, Poulsen 1951, 197 cat. 265a. Perhaps it was found there.

¹⁴⁹² Moltesen 2005, 215 cat. 101.

mythical figures are most commonly situated in the sepulchral context.¹⁴⁹³ In this case, the statue could have been displayed within a funerary precinct, on a grave monument, or the like.

4.2.2.3 Portraits of Men and Woman as Hercules and Omphale

Men and women - presumably husbands and wives - are portrayed as Hercules and Omphale together. This is exemplified by a marble relief in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (Naples, Italy) (pl. 3).¹⁴⁹⁴ It was discovered in the vineyards of the Villa Casali on the Mons Caelius, and so probably displayed at Rome or its environs.¹⁴⁹⁵ It dates to around 140 CE.¹⁴⁹⁶ The relief, measuring 0.73 m in height and 0.63 m in length, is divided into numerous subsections. The main, central field portrays a man and woman, orienting themselves toward each other and making eye contact. Their faces are extremely worn, but their individualized hairstyles are still detectable: the man has curly locks and a beard and the woman wears a bun of coiled braids, which fits well into the fashions of the time.¹⁴⁹⁷

The man is portrayed in the guise of Hercules, closely following the Chiaramonti type (pl. 134a).¹⁴⁹⁸ He appears in agonal nudity, propping his club on a globe with his left hand and draping the lion skin over his right arm. He also holds the Apples of the Hesperides in his right hand, thus signifying the end of the Twelve Labours.¹⁴⁹⁹ It would initially seem that the woman is portrayed as Venus, modeled after the Capuan type (pl. 134b).¹⁵⁰⁰ Indeed, she is nude but for the *himation* around her waist - which she grasps at the front, as though to prevent it from slipping - and affectionately rests her left hand on the right shoulder of the man.¹⁵⁰¹ The pair is nevertheless identified as Hercules and Omphale by the inscribed labels beneath their feet.¹⁵⁰² The exchange of masculine and feminine attributes, crucial to the secure identification of Hercules and Omphale, is certainly attested, but limited to the attributes in the lower field: the bow and quiver are beneath the woman, whereas the wool basket and spindle are beneath

¹⁴⁹³ Backe-Dahmen 2006, 104f. Nevertheless, a host of other public and private contexts are possible as well (e.g. forum, bath, theatre, nymphaeum, temple, villa), Backe-Dahmen 2006, 105. M. Moltesen proposes a sanctuary setting, Moltesen 2005, 214 cat. 101.

¹⁴⁹⁴ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, OMP4.

¹⁴⁹⁵ For information about the circumstances of the find, CIL 06, *3473. It first came into the collection of the Villa Casali at Rome, Santolini Giordani 1989, 122 cat. 67.

¹⁴⁹⁶ H. Wrede dates the relief to around 140 CE, Wrede 1981, 244 cat. 131.

¹⁴⁹⁷ The relief has been identified as a votive relief, Domenico 1883, 61 cat. 6683; Santolini Giordani 1989, 122 cat. 67. There are, however, several issues with the interpretation (e.g. the inscription does not indicate that the relief was dedicated in fulfillment of a vow; it fails to account for the individualized hairstyle of the woman especially, as well as the extreme manipulation of the standard iconography of Hercules and Omphale). The male and female figures are rightly identified as portrait figures (based on the hairstyles), Cancik-Lindmaier 1985, 209-216; Kampen 1996b, 239; Zanker 1999, 209f.; Oehmke 2000, 148 footnote 10; Wrede 1981, 244 cat. 131.

¹⁴⁹⁸ For the Herakles Chiaramonti, Boardman et al. 1988, 752f. nos. 447-464.

¹⁴⁹⁹ For the canonical composition and order of the Twelve Labours, Boardman et al. 1990, 5.

¹⁵⁰⁰ Zanker 1999, 130. For the Capuan Aphrodite, Delivorrias et al. 1984, 71-73 nos. 627-642.

¹⁵⁰¹ The gesture is interpreted by H. Cancik-Lindmaier as a sign of *mancipatio*, in which the slave becomes the property of the master, Cancik-Lindmaier 1985, 119f. It is, however, the same as the loving embrace attested in private portraiture of men and women as Mars and Venus, Zanker 1999, 130.

¹⁵⁰² As R.M. Kousser demonstrates, the Aphrodite of Capua type is adapted throughout antiquity for different purposes and could even take on different identities (e.g. wings are added to transform her into Victoria), Kousser 2008. This is yet another instance of the phenomenon, where the identity of the figure is completely altered through the addition of new attributes.

the man.¹⁵⁰³ As such, the iconography of Hercules and Omphale is uniquely formulated for the portraits of the husband and wife on this monument.

Around the central field are the Twelve Labours of Hercules.¹⁵⁰⁴ The first to sixth labours are depicted in the upper panel: the Nemean Lion, the Lernean Hydra, the Erymanthian Boar, the Ceryneian Hind, the Stymphalian Birds and the Augean Stables. The seventh to ninth labours continue on the left side: the Horses of Diomedes, the Cretan Bull and the Belt of Hippolyta.¹⁵⁰⁵ Finally, the tenth to twelfth labours are depicted on the right side: the Cattle of Geryon, the Apples of the Hesperides and Cerberus in Hades.¹⁵⁰⁶ The inclusion of the Twelve Labours of Hercules in connection with Omphale is uncommon, but attested elsewhere.¹⁵⁰⁷ In this case, Hercules is resting with Omphale after the labours, since he already holds the Apples of the Hesperides in his hands.

Quite interestingly, the relief includes a short inscription in the lower field, which perhaps offers some insight into the identity of the portrait subjects as well as the dedicant. The text - "Cassia / Mani filia / Priscilla / fecit" - indicates that the relief was commissioned by Cassia Priscilla, the daughter of Manius.¹⁵⁰⁸ Cassia Priscilla probably created the relief for herself and her husband.¹⁵⁰⁹ It is, however, within the realm of possibility that Cassia Priscilla made this for other familial relations (e.g. for her father Manius and her mother). The relief is almost certainly assignable to the class of freedpersons. The name Priscilla is most frequently used for female slaves, freedwomen and their descendants.¹⁵¹⁰ Moreover, imperial freedpersons are most likely to mimic the mythological portraiture of the imperial court.¹⁵¹¹ There is good reason to believe that the monument was produced by special commission. Indeed, Hercules and Omphale are hardly recognizable here: neither of them is cross-dressed, and so alternate textual and visual cues were necessary for their identification.¹⁵¹² The precise display context is unknown, but mythological portraits in general, and portraits of women in the nude in particular, are connected to the funerary setting especially.¹⁵¹³

¹⁵⁰³ Cancik-Lindemaier 1985, 219; Kampen 1996b, 239; Wrede 1981, 244 cat. 131; Zanker 1999, 130.

¹⁵⁰⁴ For the canonical composition and order of the Twelve Labours, Boardman et al. 1990, 5.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Note, however, that the labours are not in the standard order here.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Note, however, that the labours are not in the standard order here.

¹⁵⁰⁷ For examples, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 39; 51 no. 57.

¹⁵⁰⁸ For the inscription, CIL 06, *3473.

¹⁵⁰⁹ In general, the joint funerary monuments of husbands and wives are dedicated by one of the spouses.

¹⁵¹⁰ Cancik-Lindemaier 1985, 225. Moreover, H. Cancik-Lindemaier notes that epigraphic evidence from Rome reveals that the husband and brother of a certain Cassia Prisca were both secretaries of the *curule aedile*, a position commonly filled by the descendants of freedpersons.

¹⁵¹¹ Wrede 1981, 159-164.

¹⁵¹² As discussed by S. Hijmans, "Roman art in particular was characterized by a strictly defined and highly durable iconographic toolbox, from which artists could, or indeed were obliged to draw to compose their images. The rigidity of this iconographic vocabulary was such that it was as impossible for a Roman artist to depict Sol with a beard as it was to depict Jupiter without one, or to place an owl (or any other bird) rather than a peacock next to Juno," Hijmans 2009, 44. The same is true here as well: if Hercules and Omphale are not associated with an exchange of gendered dress, then the imagery is no longer comprehensible.

¹⁵¹³ Mythological portraits are primarily from the funerary context of Rome and its environs, Wrede 1981, 159. 170. The nude portraits of women catalogued by C.H. Hallett often come from the funerary context (but also the

There is only one other possible example of a man and woman portrayed as Hercules and Omphale. This is a marble relief in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Venezia (Venice, Italy) (pl. 4), which dates to the Trajanic Period (98-117 CE).¹⁵¹⁴ It measures 0.56 m in height and 0.57 m in length.¹⁵¹⁵ The relief has not only been broken off at the edges, but also extensively reworked in modern times,¹⁵¹⁶ which severely hampers our examination of the material. As with the previous relief, it shows Hercules standing with a Venus-like woman. He is portrayed leaning heavily on his club with his left hand (perhaps as a sign of weariness), and with the lion skin on his left arm.¹⁵¹⁷ His female companion most closely resembles the Knidian Aphrodite, but is dressed in a long, diaphanous *chiton*, slipping off her left shoulder.¹⁵¹⁸ She also pulls a *himation* up in front of her pudenda with her right hand. Their passionate relationship is indicated by their mutual embrace,¹⁵¹⁹ as well as by the inclusion of a cupid between them (looking at and touching the female figure in particular).

It is clear that the female figure was once equipped with a portrait head.¹⁵²⁰ This is indicated by the coiffure: the double diadem on the forehead, as well as the bun of braids on the crown, is reminiscent of hairstyles from the Trajanic Period.¹⁵²¹ This is, however, the only remaining trace of individualized features on the entire relief. As such, there is no concrete evidence that Hercules was once furnished with the individualized features of a man as well.¹⁵²² There are certainly parallels for this phenomenon among other mythological couples on funerary monuments, such as Pluto and Proserpina (pl. 135a) or Bacchus and Ariadne (pl. 122a) - here, only the heroine receives individualized features.¹⁵²³ On the other hand, it seems improbable that the female figure received a portrait head here, but not the male figure, considering that the scene is entirely focused on the mythical pair and their loving relationship to each other. The other burning question is whether the Venus-like woman is actually identifiable as Omphale (as on the previous relief), as opposed to another lover of Hercules. The possibility that the woman is portrayed as Omphale, and perhaps her husband as Hercules, should not be excluded here,

domestic context), Hallett 2005, 331f. It is assumed that this one comes from the funerary context as well, Kampen 1996b, 239; Zanker 2009, 129f.

¹⁵¹⁴ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, OMP4.

¹⁵¹⁵ Sperti 1988, 126 cat. 39.

¹⁵¹⁶ H. Wrede notes the reworking, Wrede 1981, 243 footnote 12. For the evidence, Sperti 1988, 126 cat. 39.

¹⁵¹⁷ There is no precise model for Hercules here. For examples of Hercules resting his left hand or elbow on the club, and extending his right hand forward, Boardman et al. 1988, 756 nos. 543-553. Hercules is portrayed leaning even more heavily on his club elsewhere, to signify his weariness, Boardman et al. 1988, 763-765 nos. 660-737.

¹⁵¹⁸ For the Knidian Aphrodite, Delivorrias et al. 1984, 49-52 nos. 391-408.

¹⁵¹⁹ Hercules rests his right hand on her left shoulder, and she reciprocates by placing her left hand in the bend of his right arm. This differs from the portrait group in previous relief (OMP4), where the woman as Omphale merely places her left hand on the right shoulder of the man as Hercules.

¹⁵²⁰ Anti 1930, 137 no. 5; Sperti 1988, 126-128, cat. 39.

¹⁵²¹ Sperti 1988, 126 cat. 39.

¹⁵²² F. Ghedini claims that Hercules was not furnished with individualized features, Ghedini 1984, 157.

¹⁵²³ For portraits of women in the guise of Proserpina, without accompanying portraits of men as Pluto, Wrede 1981, 296-298 cat. 266-269. For portraits of women in the guise of Ariadne, without accompanying portraits of men as Bacchus, Wrede 1981, 209 cat. 44-47; 210f. cat. 49-53.

but the hypothesis can neither be confirmed nor ruled out based on the extant material.¹⁵²⁴ If this is in fact the case, then it seems most likely that the monument was specially commissioned, to commemorate freedpersons in a funerary context.¹⁵²⁵

4.2.2.4 Portraits of Men as Hercules at the Lydian Court?

Hercules was an extremely popular role model for men. Alexander the Great was the first to be directly identified with Hercules in visual culture, and numerous Hellenistic and Roman rulers followed his lead.¹⁵²⁶ By the 2nd century CE, private portraits of men as Hercules were being produced for the funerary context at Rome and its environs especially.¹⁵²⁷ This was typically a means of evoking the strength, courage and overall “manliness” - or *virtus* - of the male deceased.¹⁵²⁸ On a sarcophagus featuring the Twelve Labours of Hercules (pl. 135b), for instance, the male deceased is directly inserted into the middle of this heroic narrative: his role model even gradually ages over time, perhaps as an allegory for overcoming life’s challenges (*labor*) and achieving glory (*gloria*).¹⁵²⁹

There were, however, other reasons for identifying men with Hercules as well. As seen on a sarcophagus featuring the Triumph of Bacchus (pl. 122b), Hercules was a natural choice for portraying the male deceased as a joyous reveler, who is nevertheless strong and disciplined.¹⁵³⁰ Equally striking is a sarcophagus featuring the Abduction of Hylas (pl. 136a): here, a deceased youth is portrayed in the guise of Hylas, and one of his male relatives or friends is identified with Hercules, to convey feelings of love and loss.¹⁵³¹ Hercules was renowned not only for his ideal manliness, but also for his *joie de vivre* and (often unruly) passions, all of which were potential points of identification in the portraiture of men as Hercules. It is notable, however, that these less “manly” roles necessitated certain modifications to the iconography - namely, portraying the hero completely upright and in control of himself - in order to produce more suitable memorials for Roman men.

In spite of the wide range of possibilities, portraits of men in the guise of Hercules at the Lydian court in their own right are entirely lacking. It has been suggested that a portrait of a man in the Bardo National Museum (Tunis, Tunisia) (pl. 136b) is shown as “... a follower of the cult of Hercules, cross-dressed as Omphale.”¹⁵³² This fascinating but perplexing statue is dated to about 250 CE¹⁵³³ and was

¹⁵²⁴ Perhaps additional textual/visual cues once prompted this particular interpretation, but are now missing. If this has in fact been the case, then it would be likely that the portrait relief was specially commissioned.

¹⁵²⁵ The unique iconography suggests a special commission. Mythological portraiture is particularly appealing to freedpersons, and primarily comes from the funerary context of Rome and its environs, Wrede 1981, 159-170. 170. L. Sperti locates the relief in a funerary context as well, Sperti 1988, 128 cat. 39.

¹⁵²⁶ Palagia 1986; see also, Hekster 2005.

¹⁵²⁷ For examples, Wrede 1981, 238-242 cat. 121-127; 243-248 cat. 129-140.

¹⁵²⁸ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 230; for further discussion, Grassinger 2007.

¹⁵²⁹ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 233; Grassinger 2007, 115. For the sarcophagus, Wrede 1981, 246 cat. 137.

¹⁵³⁰ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 162. For the sarcophagus, Wrede 1981, 245 cat. 134.

¹⁵³¹ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 96-98. For the sarcophagus, Wrede 1981, 248 cat. 140.

¹⁵³² Varner 2008, 193. For the portrait statue, Wrede 1981, 241f. cat. 127; Varner 2008, 193f.; Yacoub 1970, 29; Yahoud 1996, 67.

¹⁵³³ H. Wrede dates the statue to about 250 CE, Wrede 1981, 241 cat. 127.

discovered at Borj el Amri in the Roman Province of Africa Proconsularis. The face exhibits individualized features: he has a balding forehead, a furrowed brow, baggy eyes, tight lips and a short beard, which give an impression of austerity, maturity and ruggedness. He faces forward and stands upright, with the weight on the right leg. He wears a short-sleeved tunic, reaching to just above the knees, as well as fur boots. He also wears an animal skin over the head, which is knotted at both the chest and the waist. In the right hand are wheat sheaves and poppies. In the left hand is a staff-like attribute, now missing.¹⁵³⁴ A dog, carved into the support, sits at his feet and looks up at him. The monument was presumably displayed in a funerary context.¹⁵³⁵

The proposal that the man is an adherent to the cult of Hercules, wearing the dress of Omphale, is untenable. It has been suggested that the portrait figure was altered from a statue of Ceres in particular (pl. 137a): “Much of the drapery, the breasts, and the wheat stalks and poppies held in the right hand are derived from the front half of an image of Ceres... and a lion skin has been refashioned from a veil that originally covered the head of the goddess.”¹⁵³⁶ This hypothesis is, however, highly problematic. There are simply too many features that could not have been easily re-carved or supplemented after the fact, such as the entire animal skin hood (which is bulkier than a veil) and even the statue support (which is superfluous in draped female statuary).¹⁵³⁷ Moreover, the present garments and accessories (e.g. the short tunic, the boots) are primarily masculine in character. If the portrait figure transgresses the boundaries of gender in any sense,¹⁵³⁸ then this is due to the floral attributes alone.¹⁵³⁹ Wheat sheaves and poppies, as signs of fertility and prosperity, are generally associated with female portraiture (e.g. Large and Small Herculaneum Women, Ceres type).¹⁵⁴⁰ This does not, however, point to the dress of Omphale either. The only reasonable explanation is that the statue portrays a hybrid figure. Perhaps this is merely a *signifer* (pl. 137b) with unusual attributes;¹⁵⁴¹ or a creative mixture of Hercules and Silvanus, the tutelary deity of the woods, who is frequently shown with a short

¹⁵³⁴ This has been identified as a club, Yacoub 1996, 67; a spear, Wrede 1981, 242 cat. 127; and even as a military standard, Wrede 1981, 242 cat. 127.

¹⁵³⁵ Wrede 1981, 242 cat. 127; Yacoub 1970, 29; Yacoub 1996, 67.

¹⁵³⁶ Varner 2008, 193.

¹⁵³⁷ It is possible that this unique portrait was re-carved from another monument. The portrait head is relatively high-quality, but proportionately too small for the animal skin hood and therefore sits awkwardly on a blank background. The shoulder line within the hood is also lower than the level outside the hood, especially on the right side. These disproportions are suggestive of re-carving. Moreover, the overall statue is hardly carved in the round, but more so in relief - this perhaps, but not necessarily, indicates that the surface was extensively reworked at some point as well. If the portrait statue had in fact been extensively re-carved from another monument, then a more plausible option is a *signifer* (standard bearer) due to the overall dress: the (wolf) skin headdress, the short tunic, the fur boots and of course the staff-like attribute in the right hand, Wrede 1981, 241f. cat. 127. In this case, it is possible that the dog and the wheat sheaves/poppies were added here, due to their relatively rudimentary appearance. Even this hypothesis, however, is problematic, considering that it would have been extremely challenging to re-carve the former attribute - which is directly connected to the torso by a puntello - into wheat sheaves and poppies in particular. It seems most likely that the portrait head was simply carved onto an existing statue, without significantly changing its appearance.

¹⁵³⁸ Varner 2008, 193.

¹⁵³⁹ E.R. Varner identifies the poppies as feminine attributes, Varner 2008, 193. He also notes that the folds trace the chest as though there were breasts there, but this is probably just poor carving.

¹⁵⁴⁰ For discussion on these female portrait types (and others), see chap. 2.1.3.2.

¹⁵⁴¹ Wrede 1981, 241f. cat. 127.

tunic, floral attributes and a hound (pl. 138a).¹⁵⁴² This question cannot be adequately resolved, but it is safe to write off the idea that the man is commemorated as Hercules in women's dress.

4.2.3 Interpretation

4.2.3.1 State of the Question

The portraits of men and women as Hercules and Omphale are often dismissed as frivolous commissions. The portrait of a woman as Omphale in the Vatican (pl. 1) has been identified as the "good friend" of some Herculus, who wanted to flatter her by immortalizing her in this banal way.¹⁵⁴³ Moreover, her takeover of Hercules' arms is considered fitting for a period in which emperors were dominated by their female relatives.¹⁵⁴⁴ In other cases, however, the portraits have been taken seriously and probed in greater detail. The discussion revolves around two monuments: the portrait of a woman as Omphale in the Vatican (pl. 1) especially,¹⁵⁴⁵ as well as the portrait group of a man and woman as Hercules and Omphale in Naples (pl. 3).¹⁵⁴⁶ These interpretations will be briefly outlined here, in order to assess their merits and weaknesses, as well as to point out further avenues for examination. It is worthwhile taking the other possible portraits of men, women and even girls into consideration as well.¹⁵⁴⁷

First of all, it has been proposed that the mythological paradigm actually reflects social relationships: as such, the portrait group of a couple as Hercules and Omphale in Naples is designed to commemorate a Roman mistress and her beloved former male slave.¹⁵⁴⁸ It is true that marriages between women and their freedmen were forbidden and even punishable by Roman law at the time the monument was commissioned. It is nevertheless possible to find support for this interpretation in actual social practice: there is evidence for marriages between women and their freedmen at this time, and, in similar cases, it is clear that social realities could provoke amendments to Roman law. This interpretation is consistent with the overall trends regarding private mythological portraiture, namely, that these monuments were commissioned by imperial freedpersons especially.¹⁵⁴⁹

Secondly, the portrait of a woman as Omphale in the Vatican has been attributed a political significance. It has been proposed that the reputation of Omphale was intricately connected to the fortunes of Hercules amongst the Roman imperial families.¹⁵⁵⁰ Hercules and Omphale had been used as Augustan "counter-propaganda" against Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra. As such, the domestic imagery

¹⁵⁴² Von Heintze 1969, 147 no. 136/137. For the iconography of Silvanus, Nagy 1994.

¹⁵⁴³ Bianchi Bandinelli 2002, 183.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Vermeule 1986, 111 cat. 54. Moreover, M. Bieber claims that this statue begs the question of "... who this domineering lady was, and who may have been her Hercules," Bieber 1977, 65f.

¹⁵⁴⁵ OMP1

¹⁵⁴⁶ OMP4

¹⁵⁴⁷ OMP2. OMP3. OMP5. OMP6.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Cancik-Lindmaier 1985. The focus of this analysis is on OMP4.

¹⁵⁴⁹ See Wrede 1981, 159-170.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Kampen 1996b; note that the focus of her examination is on the portrait of the women in the Vatican (OMP1), whereas the portrait group of spouses as Hercules and Omphale in Naples (OMP4) is only addressed in passing. N. Kampen's interpretation is followed by and expanded upon by Van Keuren et al. 2009, 169f.

of Hercules and Omphale from the Augustan Period and then into the 1st century CE was primarily romantic, derisive and trivial in character. However, once the imperial families - and the Severan dynasty especially - started to promote the image of Hercules as a virtuous hero, as well as to strongly connect themselves with him, Omphale finally became dissociated from these historically-specific connotations of female dominance and eastern luxuriousness. The salvaged reputation of Hercules allowed for the images of Omphale to enter the public and funerary contexts of the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE. Overall, the portrait statue of a Severan woman as Omphale - which was apparently paired with a statue of her husband as Hercules - is seen as a means of aligning the married couple with imperial values in a socially aspirational manner.

Thirdly, the portrait of a woman as Omphale in the Vatican has been ascribed a religious and eschatological significance. She is interpreted as a follower of Bacchus, who recognized the mystical, initiatory value of the exchange of gendered dress.¹⁵⁵¹ Moreover, Hercules and Omphale themselves are initiates into the cult of Bacchus, which promises rebirth and transcendence, and so the gender instability brought about by the cross-dressing is a symbol for the fluid boundaries between life and death in the sepulchral context.¹⁵⁵² Similar ideas have been thrown around as well. The portrait of the women in the guise of Omphale is seen to reflect a domestic cult for Hercules.¹⁵⁵³ Moreover, the symbolism of the powerful hero enslaved by a woman is connected back to the Stoic or Neo-Platonic notions about the quirks of fate and death in the 3rd century CE, which make the imagery suitable for a funerary context.¹⁵⁵⁴ It has also been argued that the portrait group of a married couple as Hercules and Omphale in Naples serves as a “private apotheosis”: the deification of the hero after his labours has led to the deification of his female companion as well.¹⁵⁵⁵ This list of religious and eschatological interpretations is scattered, but probably goes on here.

Fourthly, the portraits of men and women as Hercules and Omphale have been understood in terms of the private feelings and personal virtues of the female deceased and her husband.¹⁵⁵⁶ Certain aspects of the mythical narrative were, in all periods, highlighted, suppressed or even invented in the visual culture, in order to produce different evocations depending on the particular function and intention of the image: “it is significant that Hercules’ affair with Omphale can *concurrently*, in different contexts, serve as an example of the disgraceful and immoral behaviour of a man *and*, in a positive sense, of the

¹⁵⁵¹ Turcan 1962, 602.

¹⁵⁵² Kampen 1996b, 240-244.

¹⁵⁵³ Uhlenbrock 1986, 111 cat. 52.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Vermeule 1986, 111 cat. 54.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Wrede 1981, 71. 112.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Zanker 1999; note that the focus of his examination is on the portrait of the women in the Vatican (OMP1), but the portrait group of spouses as Hercules and Omphale in Naples (OMP4) is addressed as well. This approach is followed by others as well, Ritter 2008, 187-189; Lo Monaco 2011, 357. K. Schauenburg had already encouraged this sort of approach in passing, Schauenburg 1960, 64f.

ability to enjoy life and love.”¹⁵⁵⁷ The portrait of a woman as Omphale in the Vatican - which stands in the tradition of Praxiteles’ Knidian Aphrodite, with her characteristic pudica gesture - celebrated the feminine virtues of beauty and modesty.¹⁵⁵⁸ This sort of praise is typical for wives in their funerary inscriptions: the female deceased is not only beautiful, but also modest. At the same time, the attributes of Hercules bespoke of the husband’s love and metaphorical surrender to his deceased wife. These monuments need not be executed at the expense of his dignity, as long as certain iconographic features were highlighted or suppressed to hinder an emasculating interpretation.

Fifthly, the notion that women were commemorated in the guise of Omphale has been completely rejected.¹⁵⁵⁹ In the case of the statue in the Vatican, the takeover of not only the body of Venus, but also the weapons of Hercules, is seen to point to another role model altogether: the so-called “Venus-Hercules”. This hybrid configuration confers the qualities of both Venus and Hercules on the woman: she is portrayed as beautiful and modest,¹⁵⁶⁰ but also as “particularly brave” and “in a manly way”.¹⁵⁶¹ In the case of the relief in Naples, the takeover of the body of Venus without the weapons to Hercules is even seen to preclude an identification with Omphale.¹⁵⁶²

Taking all of these interpretations into consideration, the view that the portraits reflect the emotions and virtues of the deceased is the most credible: the woman is portrayed in the guise of Omphale to highlight her beauty and modesty, and her takeover of Hercules’ arms is an emphatic expression of her husband’s love for her.¹⁵⁶³ This interpretation fits perfectly well into the overarching significance of the images of Hercules and Omphale as an allegory for disarming love.

The other interpretations are less convincing. It is legitimate to point out that the portraits reflect the social standing and aspirations of their commissioners, but this should be understood in a general way: freedpersons selected mythological portraiture to mimic the trends of the imperial court, as a means of elevating the deceased and their families.¹⁵⁶⁴ Beyond this, the particular relationships between mythical protagonists (e.g. mistress/freedman) was not a decisive factor for their selection.¹⁵⁶⁵

¹⁵⁵⁷ Zanker 1999, 124 (translation by the author). Earlier, P. Zanker argued that Hercules and Omphale had been used as Augustan “counter-propaganda” against Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra, which could have an influence on visual culture (i.e. Arretine ware), see Zanker 1990, 66-68; this theory seems unlikely (see chap. 4.1.3.1.1), but can be easily fitted into the broader model he offers here as well. For discussion on the significance of the imagery of Hercules and Omphale as disarming love and Dionysian excess, see chap. 4.1.2.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Zanker 1999. This interpretation is followed by others as well, Ritter 2008, 187-189; Lo Monaco 2011, 357. K. Schauenburg had already reached a similar conclusion about the portrait of woman as Omphale (OMP1): the motif shows the triumph of a woman in love and allows for the display of her feminine body, Schauenburg 1960, 64f.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Mols et al. 2016, 55f. (OMP1).

¹⁵⁶⁰ Mols et al. 2016, 43-47.

¹⁵⁶¹ Mols et al. 2016, 56.

¹⁵⁶² Mols et. al. 2016, 56.

¹⁵⁶³ Zanker 1999 (OMP1).

¹⁵⁶⁴ Wrede 1981, 159-170.

¹⁵⁶⁵ For instance, Mars and Venus are adulterers, yet used to commemorate husbands and wives; for examples, Wrede 1981, 268-270 cat. 194. 195. Theseus and Ariadne were lovers, yet used to commemorate a boy and his mother, Wrede 1981 211 cat. 55. Hylas was abducted by love-struck nymphs and desperately sought out by Hercules, yet these mythical protagonists were used to commemorate an entire family, Wrede 1981, 248 no. 140. It

Moreover, there is no evidence that empresses were connected to Omphale in imperial propaganda, in the same way that emperors were to Hercules.¹⁵⁶⁶

It is possible that the portraits had an eschatological significance in the sepulchral context, but there is no compelling reason to connect them to certain cults, rituals or philosophical ideas.

The attempt to re-label the portrait of a woman as “Venus-Hercules” is thought-provoking but unconvincing.¹⁵⁶⁷ She must be identified as Omphale for two reasons. The iconography perfectly matches the criteria for Omphale.¹⁵⁶⁸ Moreover, there are no parallels for private portraits of women in the guise of gods or heroes, or even as hybrid figures crossing sexual lines. The mythical models were always sex-specific.¹⁵⁶⁹ This reassessment nevertheless raises an extremely important point: that is, the need to consider the imagery independently of its mythical narrative, at least in so far as possible. It is worthwhile probing this question in greater detail here.

4.2.3.2 Portraits of Wives (and Daughters) as Omphale

4.2.3.2.1 *Pulchritudo*

It is evident that the portrait of a woman as Omphale in the Vatican (pl. 1) is praised for her outstanding beauty.¹⁵⁷⁰ She wears a fashionable hairstyle, which is a sign of beauty and high-class femininity.¹⁵⁷¹ Most significantly though, she is portrayed in a manner comparable to the Knidian Aphrodite, a conventional paragon of female beauty.¹⁵⁷² She also wields the arms of Hercules, which is a clear indication of her husband’s love for her.¹⁵⁷³ At this point, it is worthwhile considering the

would, however, be interesting to explore whether Hercules was a popular role model for freedmen in general, considering that the hero was a slave for most of his life (to both Eurystheus and Omphale).

¹⁵⁶⁶ For discussion on Hercules as a model for Roman emperors in general, Palagia 1986; Van Keuren et al. 2009, 169f. For discussion on the close connection between Hercules (as well as Liber Pater) and the Roman emperors of the Severan dynasty in particular, as homeland gods, protective gods, as well as divine models, Lichtenberger 2011, 27-99. It seems, however, that empresses were not associated with Omphale in any medium (e.g. literary sources, monuments, coinage, etc.). There are probably several reasons for this. First of all, it is argued below (see chap. 4.2.3.3.2) that portraits of women as Omphale (with nude bodies) offer a celebration of erotic love in marriage, which was seemingly not appreciated among imperial women, but only private women (for instance, portraits of women in the guise of Venus, completely nude, are not securely attested among imperial women, but embraced by freedwomen). Moreover, it seems that cross-dressing was avoided in the portraiture of imperial women, but not of private women (see chaps. 5.2.3.2; 6.2.3.2; 7.4). Perhaps there were other reasons for this as well.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Mols et al. 2016, 55f.

¹⁵⁶⁸ Other iconographic features turning her into a demythologized, combative woman are missing here.

¹⁵⁶⁹ In general, it is possible to produce a cross-gendered portrait, by placing the portrait head of a woman on the body of a man or vice versa, but this is probably the result of unplanned use or reuse, see chap. 7.3; app. C. In any case, it seems that mythological portraits of women with the bodies of gods or heroes are lacking.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Zanker 1999, 126-128 (OMP1).

¹⁵⁷¹ For discussion on female coiffures in Roman portraiture as a sign of adornment and culture, Bartman 2001.

¹⁵⁷² Zanker 1999, 127f.

¹⁵⁷³ Zanker 1999, 129.

concept of the nude body of Venus as a costume in female portraiture in greater detail, especially in conjunction with the theme of disarming love (i.e. bearing the arms of Hercules).¹⁵⁷⁴

The significance of nude portraiture in Roman society has been addressed in considerable detail.¹⁵⁷⁵ There was a strong taboo against men being seen naked in public at Rome, at least outside the context of the baths.¹⁵⁷⁶ Being stripped and exposed to public view was something imposed on criminals and slaves and therefore had connotations of punishment and humiliation; moreover, nudity was considered morally corrupting. For this reason, the introduction of nude portraits of prominent Roman (or Italian) men in the Greek East and then at Rome during the Republican Period was groundbreaking (pl. 138b).¹⁵⁷⁷ The Romans were not, however, troubled by this contradiction: what was utterly taboo in real life was permissible in art, since the nudity was never taken at face value.¹⁵⁷⁸ The male nude was adopted by the Romans as a ready-made visual convention from the Greeks, and answered a genuine need for self-representation that “realistic” Roman portrait types (e.g. magistrate, military commander, hunter) could not fulfill – indeed, the man is elevated to the realm of heroes, and therefore associated with paradigms of human excellence.¹⁵⁷⁹

Female nude portraiture was slightly more problematic. Modesty was paramount for respectable women in patriarchal Roman society; moreover, the exposure of flesh for mortal women carried connotations of promiscuity or vulnerability.¹⁵⁸⁰ In portraying contemporary women nude, the Romans entirely broke with Greek tradition¹⁵⁸¹ and seemingly not without their own reservations. There are hundreds of freestanding portraits of men in heroic costume, but just a few handfuls of nude or semi-nude women (e.g. pl. 32a), including the portrait of a woman as Omphale under consideration here.¹⁵⁸² Moreover, it seems that nude female portraiture was confined to private contexts (e.g. funerary, domestic).¹⁵⁸³

The paradox of commemorating Roman women in the nude can be partially resolved by adopting the same line of reasoning as with the male nude: that the nudity is not perceived as real, but rather

¹⁵⁷⁴ P. Zanker argues that women are portrayed as different kinds of Venuses in order to highlight different facets of their beauty; the portrait of the woman as Omphale (OMP1) falls into the category of beautiful (including physically beautiful) but modest Venuses, Zanker 1999, 126-128. It is worthwhile expanding on these ideas here.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Hallett 2005.

¹⁵⁷⁶ For the attitudes towards male nudity in Roman society, Hallett 2005, 61-82.

¹⁵⁷⁷ For the adoption of the nude portrait for Roman (or Italian) men, Hallett 2005, 102-158.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Hallett 2005, 100f.

¹⁵⁷⁹ For the function and meaning of heroic costume in Roman portraiture, Hallett 2005, 217-222.

¹⁵⁸⁰ For the attitudes toward female nudity in Roman society, Hallett 2005, 83-87.

¹⁵⁸¹ Hallett 2005, 219.

¹⁵⁸² Hallett 2005, 219 (OMP1). There are sixteen extant examples of nude female portrait statues.

¹⁵⁸³ For examples of private portraits of women as Venus (nude or semi-nude) from a funerary context, Wrede 1981, 308 cat. 293; 309 cat. 294; 316 cat. 310; 317 cat. 312. 313. For examples of private portraits of women as Venus (nude or semi-nude) from a domestic context, Wrede 1981, 307f. cat. 292; 314 cat. 307. Moreover, the private portraits of women as Ariadne and Rhea Silvia (nude or semi-nude) appear on sarcophagi; for examples, Wrede 1981, 209 cat. 44-47; 212-219 cat. 49-56; 271 cat. 200; 272 cat. 202. It is generally agreed that portraits of women as Venus with no secure provenience probably come from a funerary context, e.g. D’Ambra 1996, 224; Fejfer 2008, 342f.; Kleiner 1981, 530; Matheson 1996, 189. It seems, however, that public contexts are occasionally attested for nude female portraiture as well (for example, a portrait statue of a woman in the guise of Venus Anadyomene was discovered in the Forum at Praeneste, Hallett 2005, 332 cat. 336).

understood as a costume.¹⁵⁸⁴ The beautiful, divine body of Venus “replaces rather than reveals the body of the deceased”;¹⁵⁸⁵ as such, her state of undress is wholly artificial and largely exempt from social constraints. Moreover, their identification with the goddess of love signified traditional qualities for women, especially beauty and fertility.¹⁵⁸⁶

This has also been understood in a sanitized sense: “for Aphrodite/Venus beauty served as an erotic attraction; for the Roman matron, beauty reflected virtue and the display of the voluptuous female form, even if understood as... a convention of art, had to be redefined as a sign of fertility.”¹⁵⁸⁷ The selection of “purifying” iconography for the portraits of women as Venus (e.g. stern physiognomy, modest gestures), as well as the “domestication” of the goddess in Roman cult, ensured that the sexuality of the women was harnessed to the production of legitimate heirs and therefore non-threatening to Roman society.¹⁵⁸⁸ The picture painted here conforms to the evidence in the funerary epitaphs, where women are praised for their beauty with conventional, abstract epithets, such as *iucundissima* (most pleasing) or *pulcherrima* (most beautiful).¹⁵⁸⁹

It is nevertheless evident that nudity was not always considered appropriate for female portraiture.¹⁵⁹⁰ The women of the imperial family were portrayed as Venus, but nude versions of the goddess are virtually unattested.¹⁵⁹¹ Nudity is even deliberately avoided in private portraiture, by drastically manipulating the iconographic models. The portrait statue of a woman as the Venus Genetrix from the Building of the Augustales at Ostia, dating to the Hadrianic Period, does not leave the left breast bare, but completely covers it up (pl. 139).¹⁵⁹² The portraits of women as the Venus of Capua alongside their husbands as the Ares Borghese, dating to the Antonine Period, are not semi-nude, with a mantle around the waist, but clothed in long, concealing *chitones* (pl. 140).¹⁵⁹³ It is possible to show women with slipping drapery instead (pl. 141a),¹⁵⁹⁴ in order to remove the explicitly sexual connotations.¹⁵⁹⁵

¹⁵⁸⁴ For the concept of nudity as a costume in general, Bonfante 1989. Female nudity in portraiture is typically viewed as a costume that is wholly artificial, e.g. D’Ambra 1996, 219-221; Hallett 2005, 219, 222; Kampen 1996b, 234; Lovén 2012, 101-103; Zanker 1999, 126.

¹⁵⁸⁵ D’Ambra 1996, 219-221.

¹⁵⁸⁶ It is generally agreed that the identification of women with Venus evokes beauty and fertility, e.g. Bartman 2001, 22; D’Ambra 1996, 219-221; Hallett 2005, 221f.; Kleiner - Matheson 2000, 12; Salathé 2000, 877-879.

¹⁵⁸⁷ D’Ambra 1996, 221.

¹⁵⁸⁸ D’Ambra 1996, 221-222. 226-229 (quite interestingly, she also argues that the mature and stern physiognomy of these matrons cast them as “masculine women” with youthful, beautiful bodies, who are able to exhibit self-control and restraint); for similar opinions, see Bartman 2001, 22; Hallett 2005, 222; Salathé 2000, 877-879.

¹⁵⁸⁹ Von Hesberg-Tonn 1983, 214. P. Zanker, however, notes that conventional adjectives for beauty need not be understood in an abstract sense, since these can also be understood in a concrete sense, Zanker 1999, 126f.

¹⁵⁹⁰ P. Zanker notes that some women in the guise of Venus are nude (either confidently put on display or combined with modest gestures), whereas others are decently clothed, to highlight different aspects of beauty, Zanker 1999, 127f. It is worthwhile contributing to this discussion by focusing on the significance of the female nudity in particular, based on the obvious manipulations to established iconographic models.

¹⁵⁹¹ Alexandridis 2004, 84-88; Fejfer 2008, 342. The divine association is typically evoked by other means, such as drapery slipping from the shoulder or the inclusion of her son Amor.

¹⁵⁹² For the portrait, D’Ambra 2000, 107f. As E. D’Ambra notes, the body is still revealed through the drapery.

¹⁵⁹³ For the portrait groups, Kleiner 1981; Kousser 2007. R. Kousser notes this alteration, Kousser 2007, 684.

¹⁵⁹⁴ For portraits of women with slipping drapery, Wrede 1981, 317f. cat. 315, 316.

Alternate visual codes for signifying Venus (e.g. Venus bow, Venus locks, apples, tiny cupids) were preferred in other cases as well (e.g. pl. 141b).¹⁵⁹⁶ Women are even commemorated as the Aphrodite Sosandra, who is veiled and covered from head to toe in thick cloth.¹⁵⁹⁷

It is indisputable that the imperial and private patrons viewed the goddess of beauty as a suitable form of commemoration for women. Nevertheless, her value as a mythological model did not invariably extend to her physical body and especially her full nudity, which must have therefore carried its own set of connotations. It seems that this state of undress highlighted the physical attractiveness and sexual desirability of the woman in particular, presumably as a celebration of erotic love in marriage.¹⁵⁹⁸ It is possible - but uncommon - to praise the physical attractiveness of women in their funerary epitaphs.¹⁵⁹⁹ An excellent case in point is the monument dedicated to the freedwoman and concubine Allia Potestas by her patron Aulis Allius, which was set-up on the Via Pinciana (near the Horti Sallustiani) at Rome between the late 1st and early 4th centuries CE:

“She was beautiful with lovely eyes, was golden-haired,
There was an ivory gleam in her face
Such as they say no mortal had,
And on her snow-white breasts the shape of her nipples was small.
What about her legs? She had quite the pose of Atalanta on the comic stage.
She was not sparing, but generous with her lovely body.
She kept her limbs smooth and the hair was sought out everywhere.”¹⁶⁰⁰

The text uniquely praises Allia Potestas in terms reserved for wives and sex workers respectively, which might seem paradoxical.¹⁶⁰¹ It nevertheless offers an unconventional vision of the ideal Roman woman, at least in the commemorative context: her patron “advances the notion that a woman could both have marvelous breasts and be a wonderful housekeeper and wool worker.”¹⁶⁰² Perhaps the nude portraits of women as Venus, which deliberately put their soft and sensual bodies on display, were understood in a similar manner. In fact, Aulis Allius mentions that he commissioned a portrait of Allia Potestas to

¹⁵⁹⁵ However, even the bare shoulder was considered to show too much skin in some cases: for instance, on a sarcophagus featuring a portrait group of a youth and a woman as Adonis and Venus (see Wrede 1981, 317 no. 314), the woman is not shown with slipping drapery as usual, but with a covered shoulder. The patrons presumably wanted to suppress her physical appeal and hence the love affair as much as possible, since the monument probably commemorated a mother and her deceased son.

¹⁵⁹⁶ For portraits of women with a Venus bow (but perhaps other features of the goddess as well), Wrede 1981, 309f. cat. 295. 295a; 311f. cat. 301. For a portrait of a women with Venus locks and cupids, Wrede 1981, 316f. cat. 311. For a portrait of a women with an apple in her hand and cupids, Helbig 1972, 95f. cat. 3114.

¹⁵⁹⁷ For the portraits, Wrede 1981, 311 no. 298; 312 no. 303. The issue is, however, that the identification of the statue type as Aphrodite is disputed, see Delivorrias et al. 1984, 23f. no. 148.

¹⁵⁹⁸ The potential for the portraits of women as Venus to be viewed in an erotic manner has been noted (also in terms of the nudity), e.g. Fejfer 2008, 126f.; Hallett 2005, 222; Huskinson 2002, 13; Morales 2011, 92f. For discussion on erotic love in marriage, see chap. 7.5.2.1.

¹⁵⁹⁹ Riess 2012, 494f.; Zanker 1999, 126f.

¹⁶⁰⁰ CIL 06, 37965, lines 17-23 (translation in Horsfall 1985, 25, but altered by this author). For a detailed commentary on the funerary epigram of Allia Potestas, Horsfall 1985. For the provenience and dating, Strong 2016, 54. P. Zanker highlights this example as well, Zanker 1999, 126f.

¹⁶⁰¹ Strong 2016, 54-57.

¹⁶⁰² Strong 2016, 57.

console his grief,¹⁶⁰³ perhaps in the guise of a nude goddess or heroine as well.¹⁶⁰⁴ Rather than attempting to square away every aspect of the portraiture with traditional virtues and social convention, the potential for expressing personal feelings demands consideration as well.

Returning to the portrait of a woman as Omphale in the Vatican, it seems that female nudity was selected as a costume because its somatic connotations were appealing to the commissioner in their own right.¹⁶⁰⁵ The recourse to the Knidian Aphrodite for commemorative purposes points not to the beauty of the woman in general - in an abstract, "sanitized" sense - but to her sexual desirability in particular, which was understood in a concrete manner. Her physical attractiveness is evident (e.g. the soft skin, the contrast between the breasts and the lion claws), but it is equally important to acknowledge her potential to evoke an erotic response.¹⁶⁰⁶ It is inconceivable that a statue so heavily freighted with eroticism as the Knidian Aphrodite could have been completely revised and domesticated, or even appreciated in an detached manner, especially considering the stories circulating about Praxiteles engaging the *hetaira* Phryne as inspiration for his work, as well as about love-sick men trying to have sex with the statue: "Phryne reminds us that there is another dimension to this relationship: that there can be a real woman behind the artwork that is in turn the model for real women."¹⁶⁰⁷ As such, the intention of the husband was presumably to honour the sexual desirability of his wife in particular, as a celebration of their erotic love in marriage. On the one hand, the woman is reduced to her physical body, as the object of the male gaze,¹⁶⁰⁸ on the other hand, she was surely viewed by women as well and perhaps understood in terms of their own sexuality in a positive way, namely, being physically desirable in the interests of having a fulfilling, pleasurable sex life.¹⁶⁰⁹

The woman's possession of the club and lion skin enhances this praise all the more. She has metaphorically disarmed her husband, due to her physical beauty and sexual desirability - it is an expression of the power of *eros* to conquer even the mightiest of heroes.¹⁶¹⁰ Moreover, perhaps the

¹⁶⁰³ CIL 06, 37965, lines 44-46.

¹⁶⁰⁴ J. Fejfer suggests that she was portrayed in the guise of Venus, Fejfer 2008, 126f. It is also conceivable that she was portrayed in the guise of Atalante, since this comparison is drawn in the inscription. This heroine is portrayed like a huntress or in the nude in Roman visual culture, see chap. 6.1. The portraits of girls/women as Atalante are exceedingly rare (ATA1. 2), and so far, only the huntress version is attested.

¹⁶⁰⁵ OMP1.

¹⁶⁰⁶ According to P. Zanker, the portrait of the woman as Omphale falls into the category of beautiful (including physically beautiful) but modest Venuses; he nevertheless claims that the erotic attractiveness of her body is more or less deactivated for various reasons (e.g. the realistic forms of the body are reduced, the body is upright, etc.), Zanker 1999, 125-128. S. Ritter rightly points out that the presentation of a woman as Omphale was - due to her legendary beauty - an effective means of evoking her powerful erotic aura, Ritter 2008, 189.

¹⁶⁰⁷ Morales 2001, 93. 97 (quote on p. 97).

¹⁶⁰⁸ For this view on the Knidian Aphrodite, Salomon 1997.

¹⁶⁰⁹ For this view on the Knidian Aphrodite, Kampen 1997.

¹⁶¹⁰ P. Zanker argues that the woman's possession of the club and lion skin causes the viewer to imagine her husband as Hercules, who is conquered by his love for his beautiful wife, Zanker 1999, 129.

image of a woman masquerading in masculine dress was perceived as provocative, yet powerful and sexually appealing, just like “transgressive” female icons in the past century.¹⁶¹¹

The man who commissioned this monument for his wife surely wanted to say something about himself as well,¹⁶¹² but he is notably absent. There is no reason to assume that he commissioned a pendant statue of himself as Hercules¹⁶¹³ – at most, he is implicitly present in the image due to the attributes of the hero.¹⁶¹⁴ By selecting this monument, he does not necessarily speak of his *servitium amoris* in women’s dress or even his adherence to a life of “softness”.¹⁶¹⁵ It has been demonstrated that Hercules is portrayed in the company of Omphale in a variety of ways, as a “failed” woman, as a lover and bacchant, or even as a ultramasculine hero – as such, her takeover of his heroic attributes is not automatically coupled with his adoption of feminine or even “softer” dress.¹⁶¹⁶ Other monuments in the funerary context drawing close identifications between real individuals and Hercules and Omphale suggest that the husbands primarily wanted to be perceived as the strong and courageous version of the hero.¹⁶¹⁷ As a bare minimum, the portrait of the woman as Omphale, bearing the club and lion skin of Hercules, had the potential to invoke the image of her husband surrendering these arms to her. This could have been seen as feminizing, but perhaps of little consequence: indeed, his heroic identity essentially stems from his powerful, muscular body, as well as his sense of virtue, whereas the club and lion skin are merely the products and implements of his ultramasculine deeds. Moreover, this image would have only been brought indirectly to the mind’s eyes. In fact, the man’s absence from the commemoration probably encouraged the viewers to focus entirely on the erotic body of his wife, without thinking about the possible implications for the husband whatsoever.

The attitude of the other possible portraits of women as Omphale, commemorated alone, is more ambivalent: the first is completely nude,¹⁶¹⁸ whereas the other is completely clothed.¹⁶¹⁹ In the latter case, perhaps the husband wished to evoke his love for the wife, still dressed in his lion skin, but to minimize the erotic connotations as much as possible.

¹⁶¹¹ For instance, R. Kennison argues that the drag performances of Marlene Dietrich, as well as those of Madonna, express power and sexuality, Kennison 2002. Whether this perspective can be imposed on the images of women in Roman antiquity is another question.

¹⁶¹² Zanker 1999, 121. 129.

¹⁶¹³ N. Kampen suggests that the portrait of the woman as Omphale was joined with a portrait of her husband as Hercules, Kampen 1996b, 240.

¹⁶¹⁴ Zanker 1999, 121. 129.

¹⁶¹⁵ P. Zanker suggests that the husband as Hercules is present in the image and speaks about his “enslavement” in women’s dress, Zanker 1999, 121; A. Lo Monaco follows this view, seeing it as an expression of *servitium amoris*, Lo Monaco 2011, 357. P. Zanker also suggests that the husband is compared to the “soft” version of Hercules, much like in the Dionysian *thiasos*, Zanker 1999, 129.

¹⁶¹⁶ For discussion, see chap. 4.1.3.5.1.4.

¹⁶¹⁷ Hercules is primarily presented as a strong and courageous hero next to Omphale on columnar sarcophagi (see Boardman 1994, 51 no. 57), presumably due to the indirect identification drawn between the hero and the male deceased, see chap. 4.1.3.4. Moreover, the portrait groups of married couples as Hercules and Omphale (OMP4. OMP5.) adhere to a normative view of gender role and qualities, see chap. 4.2.3.3.

¹⁶¹⁸ OMP2.

¹⁶¹⁹ OMP3.

The portraits of women as Omphale (or another female companion) directly next to Hercules reveal an array of possibilities for expressing beauty as well. One woman is nude but for a mantle around the waist, which highlights her sexual attractiveness.¹⁶²⁰ The other woman is presented like the Knidian Aphrodite, but clothed.¹⁶²¹ Her beauty is instead signified by the drapery slipping off of her shoulder, as well as by her elegant, partially diaphanous robes. There are no parallel examples for the clothed Knidian Aphrodite in classical visual culture.¹⁶²² Her dress was not altered in order to completely de-sexualize her, considering that her body is still visible through the fabric, but to at least tone down the erotic connotations a bit.¹⁶²³ Moreover, the women do not wield the club and lion skin here, which eliminates the conventional evocation of disarming love.

The possible portrait of a girl as Omphale demands consideration in its own right.¹⁶²⁴ Children were commemorated in most instances by their own parents,¹⁶²⁵ and so the monument should be considered in this light. It would initially seem difficult to square away the portrait of a girl as Omphale with the interpretation just offered for women, as a celebration of beauty (i.e. slipping drapery) and disarming love (i.e. attributes of Hercules). This is, however, not the case. The use of myth as an allegory for private feelings was practically inexhaustible in the funerary context, as attested by the use of Theseus and Ariadne (pl. 142a) to express a mother's profound grief at the loss of her son.¹⁶²⁶ Equally striking mythical paradigms for mothers and sons include Hippolytus and Phaedra,¹⁶²⁷ as well as Adonis and Aphrodite (pl. 188b).¹⁶²⁸ The portrait of a girl as Omphale might easily serve as an expression of parental devotion, as a confession that their little girl had "conquered" them through love.

In fact, it seems that this little Omphale offered a sex-specific counterpart to portraits of young boys as Amor in particular, especially as Amor with the arms of Hercules (pl. 142b).¹⁶²⁹ It seems that Amor was favoured as a mythical model for boys due to his eternal youth, puerile beauty, as well as his playful, even mischievous character (e.g. stealing Hercules arms).¹⁶³⁰ That the search for a mythical model to mourn the loss of a beloved girl would land on Omphale is conceivable, considering that the theme of erotes stealing the arms of Hercules had been incorporated into the Lydian queen's iconography.¹⁶³¹

¹⁶²⁰ OMP4. H. Wrede argues that the selection of Omphale here was primarily to find a fitting companion for Hercules, but also due to her beauty, Wrede 1981, 71. 112.

¹⁶²¹ OMP5.

¹⁶²² For the iconography of Aphrodite, Delivourias et al. 1984. For the iconography of Venus, Schmidt 1997.

¹⁶²³ This also introduces a modest element, see chap. 4.2.3.2.2.

¹⁶²⁴ OMP6.

¹⁶²⁵ Backe-Dahmen 2006, 88.

¹⁶²⁶ For the monument, Wrede 1981, 211 cat. 55; for discussion, Newby 2011a, 207.

¹⁶²⁷ For the monument, Helbig 1969, 6f. cat. 2119; for discussion, Newby 2011a, 207. 218f.

¹⁶²⁸ For the monument, Wrede 1981, 195 cat. 2. It seems that the sarcophagi featuring Endymion and Selene could be used for mothers and sons as well, Newby 2011a, 207.

¹⁶²⁹ For portraits of boys as Amor, Wrede 1981, 198-201 cat. 7-15. For an example of a portrait of a boy as Amor, wearing the lion skin of Hercules, Benndorf - Schöne 1867, 284 cat. no. 409.

¹⁶³⁰ Mander 2003, 55f. 59.

¹⁶³¹ For discussion, see chap. 4.1.2.

This little Omphale allows for the extension of the allegory of disarming love to relationships beyond romantic ones; on the other hand, the iconography was manipulated in order to downplay the erotic connotations. Indeed, the nudity of Omphale is eschewed here: this is just like in the portraits of girls as Venus, where the reference to the goddess is limited to slipping drapery.¹⁶³²

In summary, the portraits of women and girls as Omphale invariably evoke the traditional feminine quality of beauty (*pulchritudo*). This is hardly surprising, considering that the mythical queen primarily serves as an *exemplum pulchritudinis*, regardless of her precise dress or demeanor.¹⁶³³ The portraits of women and girls as Omphale are primarily modeled after Venus (as opposed to maenads, hermaphrodites, etc.). There is nevertheless an array of options for expressing their beauty. In some cases, the women are portrayed as Omphale in the nude (e.g. Knidian Aphrodite, Capuan Aphrodite).¹⁶³⁴ There is no doubt that these beautiful, nude bodies were viewed as a costume, referring to traditional feminine virtues like beauty and fertility. There is, however, no reason to try to “explain away” the female nudity, with the consequence of downplaying the potentially erotic connotations. The physical bodies of women as Omphale are put on display precisely to highlight their sexual desirability, presumably as a celebration of erotic love in marriage - this mode of commemoration had the potential to be appreciated by male and female viewers alike.¹⁶³⁵ The inverse is true in other cases. Another woman accompanying Hercules is uniquely portrayed as a clothed Knidian Aphrodite, in order to tone down the erotic connotations.¹⁶³⁶ Moreover, the possible portrait of a girl as Omphale is clothed in a heavy, concealing *peplos*, with the drapery merely slipping off her shoulder.¹⁶³⁷ This outfit was presumably selected to de-sexualize the maiden.

4.2.3.2.2 *Pudicitia*

It is evident that the portrait of a woman as Omphale in the Vatican (pl. 1) is not only beautiful, but also modest.¹⁶³⁸ She gently turns her head, as a show of restraint.¹⁶³⁹ She demurely covers her pudenda with her right hand,¹⁶⁴⁰ just like the Knidian Aphrodite. It is striking that the lion skin is directly incorporated into this gesture: indeed, she uses the impenetrable armour of Hercules not to defend herself from criminals and beasts, but to protect her chastity and modesty. Moreover, the paws of the lion skin partially cover her breasts, but without concealing them.¹⁶⁴¹

¹⁶³² For examples, Backe-Dahmen 2006, 169f. cat. F15; 184 cat. F55; 193f. cat. F80; Mander 2013, 170f. no. 52; 173 cat. 63; 175 cat. 71.

¹⁶³³ For discussion, see chap. 4.1.3.5.2.2.1.

¹⁶³⁴ OMP1. 4; see also OMP2.

¹⁶³⁵ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.2.1.1.

¹⁶³⁶ OMP5. This is a portrait of a woman, but not necessarily as Omphale.

¹⁶³⁷ OMP6; see also OMP3.

¹⁶³⁸ Zanker 1999, 127f. (OMP1).

¹⁶³⁹ Zanker 1999, 126.

¹⁶⁴⁰ Zanker 1999, 128.

¹⁶⁴¹ Zanker 1999, 128.

The portrait of the woman as Omphale in Naples, next to her husband as Hercules, exhibits modest features as well.¹⁶⁴² She is primarily modeled after the Aphrodite of Capua (pl. 134b), but grasps her *himation* right in front of her pudenda, as though to prevent the fabric from slipping off her waist. There is no parallel for this modest gesture among the copies of the Aphrodite of Capua and her various adaptations (e.g. Victoria inscribing a shield (pl. 143a), Venus embracing Mars (pl. 140a)).¹⁶⁴³ This statuary type is usually employed as a model due to the unique position of the arms, which are both reaching out to the side. The portrait of the woman as Omphale partially sticks to this format by touching her husband as Hercules, but deviates from it by reaching down to shield her pudenda.

As such, the iconography is carefully manipulated to express the modesty of these women. Their transformation into “chaste Venuses” is hardly coincidental here. Women were praised for their modesty in their funerary epitaphs with a variety of epithets, such as *castissima* (most chaste), *innocentissima* (most innocent) and *pudentissima* (most modest).¹⁶⁴⁴ Moreover, the nude portraits of women as Venus were most often modeled after the Knidian and Capitoline types, in order to present them as “icons of a chaste and modest female sexuality.”¹⁶⁴⁵ At the same time, connotations like female dominance, as well as eastern luxury and bacchic exuberance, are eliminated here.¹⁶⁴⁶

Turning to the other possible portraits of girls and women as Omphale, the virtue of modesty is typically expressed as well. Two of them are shown without Hercules, but clothed, which is unusual in the visual record.¹⁶⁴⁷ It is perhaps a signal that these are in fact portraits of a maiden and matron respectively, properly attired to protect their modesty. The portrait of a woman closely modeled after the Knidian Aphrodite, next to Hercules, is not only clothed, but also pulls up a *himation* in front of her pudenda.¹⁶⁴⁸ There is no parallel for the Knidian Aphrodite or her modest “relatives” wearing a *chiton* and *himation*, probably because the lack of nudity renders the pudica gesture redundant. As such, this iconography was presumably invented in order to reaffirm the decency and propriety of the woman. In contrast, the statue of Omphale modeled after the Aphrodite of Kyrene is completely nude and lacks signs of modesty, which could indicate that the monument was never individualized at all.¹⁶⁴⁹ It is,

¹⁶⁴² OMP4. The modest gesture has been noted, Cancik-Lindemaier 1985, 219; Wrede 1981, 244 cat. 131.

¹⁶⁴³ For discussion on the Venus of Capua and its various transformations, Kousser 2008. The portrait of a woman as Omphale is yet another instance of the phenomenon, where the precise iconography and hence identity of the female figure is deliberately altered.

¹⁶⁴⁴ Von Hesberg-Tonn 1983, 213; Zanker 1999, 127f.

¹⁶⁴⁵ D’Ambra 1996, 219; Hallett 2005, 222 (quote on p. 222); moreover, Statius refers to the portrait of Priscilla as Venus in her tomb as *non improba* (not immodest), Stat. silv. 5, 233; D’Ambra 1996, 221; Hallett 2005, 122. On the other hand, N. Salomon argues that the pudica gesture has a negative impact on women: “Woman, thus fashioned, is reduced in a humiliated way to her sexuality... We are defined as primarily sexual, as vulnerable in our sexuality, and deployed as a shamed ‘other’ through the conditioning of culture,” Salomon 1997, 204.

¹⁶⁴⁶ Zanker 1999, 128.

¹⁶⁴⁷ OMP3. OMP6. For examples of Omphale clothed, Boardman 1994, 47 nos. 14. 16; 49 no. 28. 29.; 49 nos. 35. 37; 51 no. 58; Hodske 2007, 173 cat. 731; Seiler 1992, 117 cat. 8; 130f.; pl. 551.

¹⁶⁴⁸ OMP5.

¹⁶⁴⁹ OMP2.

however, possible for portraits of women as Venus to appear just as self-assured in their nude “costume” (pl. 143b), so the identification need not be excluded here.¹⁶⁵⁰

In summary, the portraits of women as Omphale were not only praised for their beauty (*pulchritudo*), but also for their modesty (*pudicitia*).¹⁶⁵¹ This is not completely unexpected, considering that Omphale occasionally serves as an *exemplum pudicitiae*. It is nevertheless striking that the portraits of women as Omphale regularly exhibit the pudica gesture,¹⁶⁵² considering that generic images of her covering her pudenda are so uncommon (e.g. pl. 129a).¹⁶⁵³ The motif was deliberately selected from the iconographic repertoire to highlight the modesty of the female deceased. The combination of sexual desirability and modesty is significant: “the women were beautiful and seductive, but simultaneously also exceptionally modest, faithful, innocent, chaste, and so on.”¹⁶⁵⁴ On the one hand, they are opened up to the male gaze, which encouraged heterosexual desire; on the other hand, they are constructed as fearing their genitals being seen, which served to regulate female eroticism in this patriarchal society.¹⁶⁵⁵ Besides that, it is possible that their modesty is expressed by simply clothing their bodies.¹⁶⁵⁶ This kind of dress is certainly attested in images of Omphale, but less commonly, especially if she is shown without Hercules.¹⁶⁵⁷ Overall, the commissioners latched onto a relatively insignificant characteristic of Omphale - namely, her modesty, expressed by the pudica gesture and clothing her body - in order to present the female deceased as respectable and complaisant.

4.2.3.2.3 *Virtus*

It is worthwhile evaluating the herculean costume in its own right. Considering the interlocking components of the portrait of the woman as Omphale in the Vatican (pl. 1), the interpretation of disarming love easily comes to mind: Omphale, modeled after Aphrodite herself, symbolizes the erotic love that causes Hercules to surrender his club and lion skin.¹⁶⁵⁸ The validity of this interpretation is reinforced by the mythical tradition. On the other hand, this cannot entirely explain the acceptability of the female-to-male cross-dressing. The woman commemorated in the guise of Omphale in her own right is permitted to bear the club and lion skin of Hercules. In the portrait group of a man and woman as Hercules and Omphale in Naples, however, the cross-dressing motif is practically eliminated, despite its status as an identifying feature.¹⁶⁵⁹ The sensitivity to the exchange of gendered dress indicates that it conveyed messages about the commemorated individuals in its own right, which were evidently

¹⁶⁵⁰ For examples, Wrede 1981, 309 cat. 294; 316 cat. 310.

¹⁶⁵¹ Zanker 1999, 126-128.

¹⁶⁵² OMP1. 4; see also OMP5.

¹⁶⁵³ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 30; 49 no. 31.

¹⁶⁵⁴ Zanker 1999, 128 (translation by the author).

¹⁶⁵⁵ For this view on the Knidian Aphrodite, Salomon 1997.

¹⁶⁵⁶ For possible portraits of girls and women as Omphale clothed, OMP3. OMP5. OMP6.

¹⁶⁵⁷ For examples of Omphale clothed, Boardman 1994, 47 nos. 14. 16; 49 no. 28. 29.; 49 nos. 35. 37; 51 no. 58; Hodske 2007, 173 cat. 731; Seiler 1992, 117 cat. 8; 130f.; pl. 551.

¹⁶⁵⁸ OMP1. S. Oehmke argues that the features of Aphrodite are frequently incorporated into the iconography of Omphale in general, to evoke disarming love, Oehmke 2000, 182. 191.

¹⁶⁵⁹ OMP4.

positive in the case of women alone, but not of men and women together. This begs the question: is the only possible interpretation of the portrait of the woman as Omphale a celebration of beauty and modesty (= features of Venus) and disarming love (= arms of Hercules)?

The iconography of the portrait of a woman as Omphale in the Vatican might speak against such a monolithic interpretation. The statuary type is most closely modeled after the Knidian Aphrodite (pl. 144a), but with some striking differences. Quite interestingly, she is not treated like an epiphany, completely absorbed in her own affairs.¹⁶⁶⁰ Like the Capitoline Aphrodite (pl. 32a), she knows that she is being observed, but she does not shy away from the gaze of the viewers. Rather, she actually faces forward and presents herself to them.¹⁶⁶¹ She stands fully upright,¹⁶⁶² with no hunching or pronounced curves in the body (cf. pl. 144b). She does not completely shield her pudenda with the hide (cf. pl. 133a).¹⁶⁶³ Her thighs are pressed together, but not in an exaggerated manner (i.e. with the knees overlapping).¹⁶⁶⁴ As such, the characteristic demeanor of the Knidian Aphrodite and her “relatives” is significantly altered here, in order to reduce the impression of instability and coy sensuality.

Her unusual sense of steadiness and confidence is more characteristic of the male nude.¹⁶⁶⁵ Hercules is typically portrayed completely upright, with fairly level shoulders, only a mildly jutting hip, legs set apart and feet firmly planted on the ground (pl. 145a).¹⁶⁶⁶ The nude body of the woman obviously differs from the herculean ideal: she lacks the muscular physique of the hero and also retains sensual but modest features (i.e. pudica gesture, pressed thighs). Nevertheless, the fact that she exhibits a fully upright, self-assured stance, similar to that of the male nude, is hardly insignificant.

Even more significantly, she is portrayed with the club and lion skin in a manner similar to Hercules.¹⁶⁶⁷ Indeed, she wears the lion skin over the head (like a helmet), knotted at the chest and draped over the left arm. She also holds the club in the crook of her arm. On the other hand, the herculean attributes participate in bringing out her Venus-like beauty. The hard/knotty club and rough/hairy lion skin trace her soft and smooth body, thus producing a strikingly incongruous effect. The sharp claws of the lion

¹⁶⁶⁰ G. Rodenwaldt interprets the Knidian Aphrodite in this manner, see Rodenwaldt 1943.

¹⁶⁶¹ Zanker 1999, 125f. P. Zanker argues that this removes the erotic stance.

¹⁶⁶² Zanker 1999, 125f.

¹⁶⁶³ She only covers half of the pudenda with the lion skin. In contrast, the Venus Felix tends to cover her entire pudenda with the mantle, Delivorrias et al. 1984, 78f. nos. 696-706.

¹⁶⁶⁴ P. Zanker notes that she does not have a tense stance, but an elegant one, Zanker 1999, 126. For examples of the Knidian Aphrodite with overlapping knees, Delivorrias et al. 1984, 50 no. 391; 51 nos. 399. 401.

¹⁶⁶⁵ The male and female nude were defined in opposition to each other in Greek art (i.e. male nudity bound up with excellence and confidence; female nudity bound up with sexuality and self-consciousness), Salomon 1997.

¹⁶⁶⁶ For the depictions of Hercules (alone), standing, Boardman et al. 1988, 745-772 nos. 271-910. There are, however, exceptions to the rule, such as the weary Hercules (i.e. resting after his labours) and the intoxicated Hercules (i.e. a drunken and stumbling figure), Boardman et al. 1988, 762-765 nos. 660-737; 770-772, nos. 875-910.

¹⁶⁶⁷ For examples of Hercules exhibiting the same dress behaviour, Boardman et al. 1988, 753 no. 468; 760 nos. 636. 639. The main difference here is that the lion skin is incorporated into the pudica gesture, which is completely foreign to the appearance of the hero.

both accentuate her breasts and contrast with her delicate skin.¹⁶⁶⁸ Moreover, the lion skin is part of the pudica gesture, which conceals but paradoxically draws attention to her pudenda.¹⁶⁶⁹

The only comparative example for the nude portrait of a woman as Omphale exhibits similar features (pl. 2a).¹⁶⁷⁰ She is most closely modeled after the Aphrodite of Kyrene (pl. 145b), whose pose is already relatively upright and sturdy - even “manly” - for the female nude.¹⁶⁷¹ Her physical features were altered to strengthen this impression: the slanted shoulders, the pronounced curve in the torso and the strongly jutting right hip are practically eliminated here; moreover, the feet are set relatively closely together but the left foot is pulled back, which improves the overall stability of the figure.¹⁶⁷² She wears the lion skin obliquely across the chest, knotted on the right shoulder just like a *chlamys* and then draped over the left arm. She also props the club on the ground, without supporting herself on it. Her herculean dress behaviour exhibits no substantial difference to that of the Villa Albani Hercules (pl. 146a),¹⁶⁷³ even if the attribute in the left hand remains unclear. At the same time, the incongruity between her Venus-like body and the herculean dress is evident here.

In summary, the portrait of a woman as Omphale in the Vatican - as well as the comparative example - integrates the features of Aphrodite and Hercules in a unique but surprisingly harmonious way. The viewer could not look at the body of Omphale without seeing Aphrodite, but the striking anomalies in her pose are more characteristic the male nude. Likewise, the viewer could not look at the dress of Omphale without seeing Hercules, but her interaction with the club and lion skin also has a feminine touch. The significance of Omphale’s emulation of Aphrodite, in terms of her physical appearance and gestures, is clear: she is the embodiment of female beauty, and wrests the club and lion skin from Hercules to evoke disarming love. What demands further consideration, however, are the reasons that the woman strongly emulates Hercules at the same time. The features of Hercules and Aphrodite cannot be viewed in isolation: any interpretation of the woman imitating Hercules needs to be squared away with her likeness to Aphrodite. She is not shown as Venus or Hercules, or even as “Venus-Hercules”, but as Omphale, sharing simultaneously in the qualities of Venus and Hercules.¹⁶⁷⁴

The generic images of Omphale offer a valuable interpretative key for the portrait of the woman as Omphale in the Vatican. It has been demonstrated that her overall demeanor and interaction with the club and lion skin altered her overall character.¹⁶⁷⁵ It is possible for Omphale to interact with the herculean arms in a feminine manner, especially in images where she is alone and the viewer’s

¹⁶⁶⁸ Zanker 1999, 128.

¹⁶⁶⁹ As noted by N. Salomon, it is irrelevant whether the Knidian Aphrodite actually points to or covers her pudenda: in either case, the gaze of the viewer is directed towards this feature, Salomon 1997, 204.

¹⁶⁷⁰ OMP2. The other possible portrait of a woman as Omphale (OMP3), which is clothed, will not receive further consideration in this respect, due to its exceptionally poor state of preservation.

¹⁶⁷¹ Neumer-Pfau 1982, 227-229.

¹⁶⁷² The thighs are, however, still pressed together here.

¹⁶⁷³ For the Villa Albani Herakles, Boardman et al. 1988, 761 nos. 652. 653.

¹⁶⁷⁴ S.T.A.M. Mols, E.M. Moorman and O. Hekster argue that this is “Venus-Hercules”, Mols et al. 2016, 55f.

¹⁶⁷⁵ For discussion, see chap. 4.1.3.5.2.

attention is entirely focused on her pleasing body (e.g. pl. 115). This visual code produces a charming incongruity, giving an impression of sweetness, delicacy and at times modesty. In contrast, it is possible for Omphale to imitate the dress behaviour of Hercules, especially in images of her reveling in her triumph over the hero (e.g. pl. 92a). The visual code highlights the particularly exceptional position of Omphale in finally conquering the unconquered hero. Imitating the dress behaviour of Hercules was valuable for transferring connotations of strength and capacity to an otherwise Aphrodite-like woman. In other words, the iconography of Hercules is effectively resemanticized to express the power and victory of Omphale, but in matters of love rather than war. The irony is that Hercules is presented as “defeated” by a woman with virtues that are typically attributed to him, but instead transferred to his female “opponent”. Finally, Omphale’s imitation of herculean dress behaviour could, in rare instances, cast her as a doublet of Hercules in her own right (e.g. pl. 130). There is potential for the imagery to take on connotations basically absent from the mythical tradition, such as “manly” power and pugnacity, which effectively transform her into a “female Hercules”.

Where shall the portrait of a woman as Omphale in the Vatican be placed on this broad spectrum? The physical figure of the woman is primarily modeled after Aphrodite, but partially masculinized through her stance and demeanor.¹⁶⁷⁶ On the one hand, she closely imitates the dress behaviour of Hercules;¹⁶⁷⁷ on the other hand, she handles the lion skin in a modest and feminine manner.¹⁶⁷⁸ She therefore seems to transcend categories. As usual, her erotic desirability is foregrounded. She partially falls into the category of images expressing her delicacy and especially modesty,¹⁶⁷⁹ but predominantly into the category of images stressing her triumph over Hercules. This is, in fact, basically the closest that Omphale comes to mirroring Hercules in terms of demeanor and dress, without slipping into demythologization. There is, however, a notable difference here. Hercules is typically included in the same scene, in order to make the target of her erotic attack clear, but there is no evidence that a portrait of her husband as Hercules was included in the commemoration – in fact, his direct identification with the “defeated” hero was in all likelihood deliberately avoided.¹⁶⁸⁰ It therefore seems that putting her fortitude on display was appealing in its own right here.

¹⁶⁷⁶ She faces the viewer, stands fully upright and exhibits a confident stance.

¹⁶⁷⁷ The closest parallel is the image of Omphale on the Arretine ware (pl. 98a), with the lion skin on her head the club in the crook of her arm; for the image, Boardman 1994, 49 no. 36. In the comparative example (OMP2), the dress behaviour is similar to the Naples-Copenhagen Group (pl. 92a); for the image, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 23.

¹⁶⁷⁸ For examples, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 30; 49 no. 31.

¹⁶⁷⁹ P. Zanker likens the portrait of the woman as Omphale to the images of the queen on finger rings, which portray her with a beautiful body and modestly inclined head, as well as the arms of Hercules (pl. 115). It is clear, however, that the portrait of the woman as Omphale lacks these kinds of modest qualities (i.e. inclining the head, using the lion skin primarily as a mantle) and does not interact with the club and lion skin in a delicate manner (i.e. holding the club with both hands).

¹⁶⁸⁰ N. Kampen suggests that the husband was included here, Kampen 1996b, 240. This is, however, highly unlikely, based on the other known portraits (e.g. there are no portraits of men and women as Hercules and Omphale with an exchange of dress, even in one direction), as well as imagery playing an important role in self-representation (e.g. the columnar sarcophagi show the hero in heroic costume and the queen bearing merely his supplementary

The question remains as to how the portrait of the woman as Omphale in the Vatican, cross-dressed like Hercules, became a socially acceptable form of commemoration. There are probably several reasons for this. First of all, the portraits of men in the guise of Hercules celebrate their *virtus*, or “manliness”, which encompasses notions of physical fitness, courage and general excellence.¹⁶⁸¹ As such, this dress code offers a convenient means of intensifying and undepinning the power of her beauty to disarm even the most powerful of heroes. Secondly, it is true that *virtus* is typically ascribed to men, in a straightforward and unmediated manner. The virtue is nevertheless perfectly admirable in women as well, and serves as a form of praise on their funerary monuments by the late 1st century BCE at the latest.¹⁶⁸² While this monument does not primarily evoke *virtus*, it seems that the acceptance of *virtus* in women formed the necessary social background for its creation. In other words, *virtus* is not unbecoming for the female sex in general, and so her imitation of Hercules is unproblematic.

It nevertheless seems that *virtus* is attributed to women in a highly negotiated manner, so as not to destabilize traditional hierarchies.¹⁶⁸³ The portrait of the woman as Omphale in the Vatican is easily viewed in this light as well. Quite notably, the overall dress is not strictly masculine, but includes feminine features as well, thus producing a gender-bending dress. She dresses like the hero, but the characteristics of his accessories (e.g. rough/hairy, hard/knotty) as well as her unconventional dress behaviour (e.g. covering the pudenda with the lion skin) ultimately draw attention back to her soft and smooth female form.¹⁶⁸⁴ In other words, she is instantly recognizable as a woman, despite the cross-dressing. Moreover, the celebration of her *virtus* is balanced by traditional feminine virtues, especially beauty and modesty. The woman is not portrayed as a rampaging virago, but a beautiful and chaste wife, whose “manly” qualities presumably reflected well on her husband and served their mutual interests. It is evident that ascribing *virtus* to the woman neither de-feminizes her nor threatens the manhood of her husband, who is conspicuously absent here. Overall, the portrait of a woman as Omphale is partially masculinized, but maintains an appropriate degree of difference between the sexes, both in terms of her physical body and feminine qualities.

The possible portrait of a girl as Omphale is approached in a slightly different manner.¹⁶⁸⁵ The body of the girl is flat-chested and undeveloped. She is not nude, but wears a long robe slipping off her shoulder - it is true that the motif is reminiscent of Venus, but the connection more or less ends there. Indeed, she stands strongly upright, with both feet planted firmly on the ground, which is less

arms; the gems featuring Omphale holding the arms of Hercules exclude the hero). P. Zanker more convincingly argues that the husband as Hercules is only implicitly positioned in the image, Zanker 1999, 121.

¹⁶⁸¹ For the portraits of men as Hercules, Wrede 1981, 238-242 nos. 121-127; 243-248 cat. 129-248. For the interpretation of the portraiture, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 230.

¹⁶⁸² For discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.1.2.

¹⁶⁸³ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.1.2.2.

¹⁶⁸⁴ She is also denied basic characteristics of Hercules, such as agonal nudity and an unequivocally heroic stance (e.g. no pudica gesture, no pressed thighs).

¹⁶⁸⁵ OMP6.

characteristic of Venus than Hercules (e.g. Lenbach type) (pl. 125a).¹⁶⁸⁶ Furthermore, she wears the lion skin over the head, knotted at the chest, and probably props the club on the ground with the right hand.¹⁶⁸⁷ The closest iconographic parallel is the generic image of Omphale in the Naples-Copenhagen Group (pl. 92a),¹⁶⁸⁸ highlighting her triumph over Hercules, but the pose of the girl is even firmer and the eroticism is significantly downplayed. Perhaps the little Omphale is practically demythologized and hence slides into the category of images where she is cast as a maidenly doublet of Hercules. In other words, she bears fewer similarities to Omphale triumphant in love, than to those of herculean women freed from this mythical narrative. She is clearly girlish and sweet, a cherished daughter who died prematurely. At the same time, she combines playfulness with signs of strength, qualities that were valued in girls.¹⁶⁸⁹ The boundaries are difficult to draw in this case.

4.2.3.2.4 Summary

In summary, the portrait of the woman as Omphale in the Vatican primarily serves to praise her beauty (*pulchritudo*), but in the sense of sexual desirability especially.¹⁶⁹⁰ She is deeply loved by her husband, who is indirectly likened to Hercules here.¹⁶⁹¹ Her overt eroticism is carefully balanced by her sense of modesty (*pudicitia*).¹⁶⁹² The praise for the woman is not, however, limited to traditional feminine virtues, since she is also celebrated for her strength and capacity (*virtus*).¹⁶⁹³ These qualities were understood in the context of disarming love, but all the same, the general acceptance of *virtus* in women was certainly a prerequisite for the production of this monument.¹⁶⁹⁴ Overall, the portrait of the woman as Omphale reveals a complex negotiation of gendered features, taken over from Hercules and Venus respectively, to evoke her virtues in a socially acceptable manner. It is remarkable that all of the most praiseworthy qualities of her mythical role model are conferred on her at once: beauty, modesty and strength. The same is basically true of the other cases as well. As for the portrait of a girl as

¹⁶⁸⁶ It is difficult to find a parallel for this particular statuary type in the corpus of images of Venus. Her stance is characteristic of particular early to high Classical statuary types for Aphrodite (e.g. “Aspasia”/“Europa” type, “Sappho”/“Kore” Albani type (pl. 146b)), see Delivorrias et al. 1984, 23f. no. 148; 24f. nos. 149-156. Nevertheless, the pose of the girl is far more dynamic here: her head is tilted slightly upward, turned sharply to the left, and the left foot is placed well in front of the right one. It is also worth noting that if Aphrodite is provided with a support (e.g. column, statuette, dolphin), then she tends to lean on it, see Delivorrias et al. 1984, 27-29 nos. 174-184. Although the girl most likely props the club on the ground, there is no indication that she supports herself on it in the same manner: this is clear from the obvious lack of a curve in her body. For the Lenbach Hercules, see Boardman et al. 1988, 747-749 cat. 325-376.

¹⁶⁸⁷ The dress is similar to that of Hercules, with the exception that the lion skin is not draped over the left arm here, but rather left hanging loosely down her back; for examples of Hercules dressed like this, Boardman et al. 1988, 746 nos. 305; 753 no. 466; 757 no. 576.

¹⁶⁸⁸ For the statue group, Boardman 1994, 48 no. 23.

¹⁶⁸⁹ For the connection between children and play (on Roman sarcophagi), Huskinson 1996, 88f. For the connection between girls and *virtus*, see chap. 7.5.1.3.2.1.

¹⁶⁹⁰ OMP1. For discussion, see chap. 4.2.3.2.1.

¹⁶⁹¹ For discussion, see chap. 4.2.3.2.1.

¹⁶⁹² For discussion, see chap. 4.2.3.2.2.

¹⁶⁹³ For discussion, see chap. 4.2.3.2.3.

¹⁶⁹⁴ Perhaps the image of the woman confidently wielding the club and lion skin of Hercules even presented a deliberate ambiguity to the viewer.

Omphale, the iconography points to her beauty but especially her strength.¹⁶⁹⁵ She is nearly presented as a female counterpart of Hercules, on the one hand as a young and sweet girl, but on the other hand as a bold and mighty “heroine”. It is also notable that portraits of women as Omphale with the club and lion skin were only commissioned as independent, freestanding monuments, that is, not in a group with their husbands as Hercules. It is time to turn to these portrait groups, and especially the implications for the exchange of gendered dress and expression of virtues.

4.2.3.3 Portraits of Husbands and Wives as Hercules and Omphale

4.2.3.3.1 *Concordia*

The portrait group of a man and woman as Hercules and Omphale in Naples (pl. 3) primarily focuses on their loving relationship.¹⁶⁹⁶ The overall composition most closely approximates the statue group of Mars and Venus created for the Forum Augustum.¹⁶⁹⁷ Venus turns towards Mars and embraces him with both arms; he does not look at her or touch her, but is clearly responsive, due to looking slightly downwards and orienting his head in her direction. The statue group originally honoured two divinities central to Augustan “propaganda”: Mars and Venus were not only ancestors of the *populus romanus* and the *princeps* respectively, but also a symbol of the *Pax Romana*, with the goddess of love disarming the god of war.¹⁶⁹⁸ In the Antonine Period, the statue group was commonly used for private portraits of husbands and wives, as a celebration of their harmonious and affective married life (pl. 140b).¹⁶⁹⁹ The portrait group of the married couple as Hercules and Omphale follows this general format, but with minor adjustments. The husband and wife gaze into each other’s eyes and orient their bodies towards each other. At the same time, the woman places one hand on the shoulder of the husband.

The gesture has been falsely interpreted as a sign of *mancipatio*, in which the slave becomes the property of the master.¹⁷⁰⁰ The actual significance of their physical interaction is evident from the commemorative context: it evokes *concordia* - that is, conjugal harmony - in particular. This virtue is broadly understood as the sense of solidarity and understanding between two parties. It was initially evoked for married couples in the late Republican Period through the *dextrarum iunctio* (clasped hands).¹⁷⁰¹ From the Claudian-Neronian Period and above all in the Flavian Period, further gestures were introduced to highlight the affective quality of marriage, such as lovingly touching or embracing each other. This is exactly the case here: the woman reaches out to embrace her husband, who acknowledges her affection by meeting her gaze and inclining his body towards her. As such, qualities connected to *concordia* are brought to the forefront, like closeness, tenderness and care.

¹⁶⁹⁵ OMP6. For discussion, see chaps. 4.2.3.2.1; 4.2.3.2.3.

¹⁶⁹⁶ OMP4.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Zanker 1999, 130. For the statue group of Mars and Venus in the Forum Augustum, Kousser 2007, 681-684.

¹⁶⁹⁸ For the statue group as Augustan “propaganda”, Kousser 2007, 681-684; Nawaracala 2009.

¹⁶⁹⁹ For the portraiture, Kleiner 1981; Kousser 2007.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Cancik-Lindemaier 1985, 119f.

¹⁷⁰¹ For the expression of *concordia* in Roman visual culture in general (especially among married couples), Alexandridis 2004, 95-98.

If the tale of Hercules and Omphale is generally characterized by inversion, the inclusion of the *concordia* motif effectively restores the proper order here. Indeed, the man in the guise of Hercules is not portrayed as a lovesick fool. Moreover, the woman in the guise of Omphale is not portrayed a domineering, emasculating woman, but as a proper matron, readily showing her affection for her husband.¹⁷⁰² The overall demeanor of the wife also casts her in a slightly subordinate role here. In *concordia* scenes in general, the interactions between the husband and wife are often mutual, in order to produce feelings of reciprocity and symmetry.¹⁷⁰³ It is, however, not uncommon for the man to assume the independent role, but the woman to assume the supportive role: she orients her body towards her husband and attempts to touch or embrace him, whereas he often directs himself elsewhere and fails to reciprocate her loving gestures in any significant way.¹⁷⁰⁴ Here as well, the woman more strongly orients herself toward the husband, even if the asymmetry is not particularly striking. The creation of *concordia* causes the wife to subordinate herself to her husband, insofar as their mutual interests were ultimately oriented towards his needs and benefit.¹⁷⁰⁵

The comparative example (pl. 4) evokes *concordia* as well, but in a slightly different manner.¹⁷⁰⁶ The man and woman are portrayed in a far more symmetrical manner, due to their completely mutual embrace.¹⁷⁰⁷ There are two plausible explanations for this. The female figure - whether Omphale or another lover of Hercules - is certainly furnished with the individualized features of a woman here, but it is not clear whether Hercules received the traits of her husband as well. If not, then she is merely inserted into the mythical setting here, as the beloved of Hercules: perhaps the lack of a direct identification between Hercules and her husband allowed for the uninhibited expression of private emotions. If he had been furnished with individual features, then the monument would simply offer a more balanced and affectionate formulation of *concordia* than usual.

4.2.3.3.2 *Pulchritudo/Pudicitia*

The focus of the portrait group of a married couple as Hercules and Omphale in Naples is on their mutual *concordia*, but the allusion to their individual virtues is notable as well.¹⁷⁰⁸ As discussed, the portrait of the woman is celebrated for her sexual desirability (i.e. nude body = *pulchritudo*) and her modesty (i.e. pudica gesture = *pudicitia*).¹⁷⁰⁹ Quite strikingly, however, she does not wield the club or lion skin of Hercules. The exchange of gendered dress is alluded to in the most subtle manner possible

¹⁷⁰² Zanker 1999, 130.

¹⁷⁰³ The images of married couples in the wedding scenes of Vita Romana Sarcophagi are an excellent example of this, see Reinsberg 2006.

¹⁷⁰⁴ Russenberger 2015, 394f. This is precisely the case for the Antonine portrait groups of spouses as Mars and Venus serving as a model here.

¹⁷⁰⁵ For further discussion, see chap. 7.5.2.5.

¹⁷⁰⁶ OMP5.

¹⁷⁰⁷ The closest iconographic parallel is the wall-painting of Hercules and Omphale embracing from Pompeii; for the wall-painting, Boardman 1994, 47 no. 14.

¹⁷⁰⁸ OMP4.

¹⁷⁰⁹ For discussion, see chaps. 4.2.3.2.1; 4.2.3.2.2.

here, by placing the supplementary arms of the hero (i.e. bow and quiver) under her feet.¹⁷¹⁰ As such, the metaphor for consuming passion that makes Omphale so special is virtually eliminated here.¹⁷¹¹ All that remains is a beautiful, modest woman – her husband loves her, but not to the point of surrendering the symbols of his manhood to her. If the comparative example actually features Hercules and Omphale, then the same trends are attested here as well.¹⁷¹²

Considering that the portrait of the woman as Omphale in the Vatican is permitted to proudly bear the club and lion skin,¹⁷¹³ the only reasonable explanation for the elimination of the cross-dressing motif here is the presence of her husband as Hercules. The theme was suddenly problematic for two possible reasons. First of all, it would have publically deprived the man of the symbols of his manhood, as well as emphatically expressed his “inordinate” emotions for his wife. Secondly, the man’s open association with this kind of cross-dressed woman was perhaps considered problematic in itself: her conspicuous takeover of his club and lion skin could have been perceived as a usurpation of his masculine rights and privileges, which threatened to call his superior position into question.¹⁷¹⁴

4.2.3.3.3 *Virtus*

The portrait of the man as Hercules (Chiaramonti type) is portrayed in his usual heroic costume: that is, with a powerful, muscular body, as well as his club and his lion skin.¹⁷¹⁵ He is therefore primarily celebrated for his *virtus* (“manliness”).¹⁷¹⁶ He also props his club on a globe, which reinforces his almighty power.¹⁷¹⁷ If the comparative example actually features Hercules and Omphale, then the hero is presented in a similar manner here as well.¹⁷¹⁸

It is possible, but uncommon, for Hercules to serve as an *exemplum virtutis* in the company of Omphale.¹⁷¹⁹ In the process, the exchange of gendered dress is practically eliminated: in this case too, it is restricted to the tools for women’s work (i.e. spindle, wool basket) under his feet.¹⁷²⁰ These radical alterations to the iconography of Hercules at the Lydian court suggest that cross-dressing was highly

¹⁷¹⁰ In contrast, B. Wagner-Hasel argues that the exchange of gendered dress is obvious, Wagner-Hasel 1998, 221.

¹⁷¹¹ The motivations for portraying the married couple in the guise of Hercules and Omphale here, as opposed to the hero and some other woman, are not entirely clear here, but evidently important to the patrons.

¹⁷¹² OMP5.

¹⁷¹³ OMP1.

¹⁷¹⁴ For discussion on female-to-male cross-dressing, see chap. 2.1.2.2.

¹⁷¹⁵ OMP4; Cancik-Hildegard 1985, 219.

¹⁷¹⁶ For the portraits of men as Hercules, Wrede 1981, 238-242 nos. 121-127; 243-248 cat. 129-248. For this interpretation of the portraits of men as Hercules, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 230; Zanker 1999, 129f.

¹⁷¹⁷ The attribute is typically placed under the rudder of the goddess Fortuna, in order to signify her supreme control over the fate of mortals; for a few examples, Rausa 1997, 128, nos. 33. 34; 129 no. 51a.

¹⁷¹⁸ OMP5. The key difference here, however, is that Hercules is not nearly as upright: he crosses his legs and partially supports himself on his club.

¹⁷¹⁹ For discussion, see chap. 4.1.3.5.1.4.3.

¹⁷²⁰ In contrast, B. Wagner-Hasel argues that the exchange of gendered dress obvious, Wagner-Hasel 1998, 221.

problematic for the commemoration of men in Roman society.¹⁷²¹ It seems that appearing in feminine dress would have harmed the dignity of the husband, considering the association of male-to-female cross-dressing with “softness”, weakness and ultimately the incapacity to rule oneself and others.¹⁷²² It is also linked to uxoriousness in particular: indeed, Seneca criticizes “a man who went too far in love of his own wife, drinking from the same cup and even wearing her breast-band.”¹⁷²³ If the exchange of gendered dress had not been an issue, then it would not have been avoided here, to the point of threatening the comprehensibility of the imagery.

At the same time, the man’s association with spinning implements is questionable enough.¹⁷²⁴ Wool work is typically assigned to women in ancient Rome, and symbolically linked to female virtue and chastity.¹⁷²⁵ This connection is drawn in one of the earliest portraits of a woman at Rome: Gaia Caecilia was honoured with a statue in the Temple of Sancus, as well as her spindle, distaff and the purple tunic she wove for Servius Tullius.¹⁷²⁶ Starting in the Republican Period, women of various social strata are praised on their funerary monuments with inscriptions related to wool work (e.g. *lanifica*, *lanam fecit*) as well as symbols (e.g. spinning implements, balls of yarn).¹⁷²⁷ Moreover, the bride is expected to weave her own dress, which is treated as proof of her ability to contribute to the household economy.¹⁷²⁸ A spindle and distaff are carried in the procession to the groom’s home.¹⁷²⁹ In contrast, “to connect a man to wool spinning would be either a mockery or a disgrace, and for a man it would be equivalent to exhibiting moral weakness or a ‘feminine character’, something entirely negative and the exact opposite of ideals for a woman.”¹⁷³⁰ This attitude is clearly revealed in Polyænus’ *Stratagemata*, dedicated to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.¹⁷³¹ Here, Xerxes awards Artemisia with a suit of armour for her exceptional gallantry, but the captain of her ship with a spindle and distaff¹⁷³² to reprove his

¹⁷²¹ Zanker 1999, 129f. The funerary relief forms a clear contrast to a mosaic with the same general format (see Boardman 1984, 49 no. 39): here, Omphale is portrayed as a queen sitting on her throne and commanding Hercules, who is completely dressed like a woman and holds the tools for spinning, Zanker 1999, 130.

¹⁷²² For discussion on male-to-female cross-dressing, see chap. 2.1.2.1.

¹⁷²³ Jer. Adv. Iovin. 49; Treggiari 1991, 216.

¹⁷²⁴ N. Kampen notes that the reversed attributes reveals an ambivalent attitude towards him, Kampen 1996b, 239.

¹⁷²⁵ Lovén 1998; Lovén 2007; Lovén 2020. It is possible for men to be associated with wool work as well, but with notable differences from women: the epigraphic evidence shows that both men and women were employed as professional wool workers, but that only women were associated with spinning; moreover, the textile work imagery on funerary monuments is clearly differentiated for men and women in a variety of ways, Lovén 2007, 231f. The image of the Roman matron virtuously spinning at home is more an ideal than reality, since she increasingly delegated this work to her female slaves, Wallace-Hadrill 1996, 112.

¹⁷²⁶ For the statue of Tanaquil/Gaia Caecilia, Fest. 276; Pollitt 1966, 13f. For the connection to wool work, Plin. nat. 8, 74.

¹⁷²⁷ Lovén 2007, 230-232. For further discussion on the association between women and wool-work symbols (e.g. spindle, kalathos), Tellenbach 2013, 285; Trinkl 2014.

¹⁷²⁸ Sebesta 1998, 110.

¹⁷²⁹ Treggiari 1991, 166.

¹⁷³⁰ Lovén 2007, 232; for further discussion, Lovén 2020, 130-132.

¹⁷³¹ Polyain. 1, preface.

¹⁷³² Polyain. 8, 53, 2.

weakness.¹⁷³³ The exchange of gendered dress points to the inversion of the natural order. In short, “to the ancient Romans, wool work obviously represented a very engendered issue and on an ideological level it may be seen as representing a polarization of male and female spheres in society.”¹⁷³⁴

Due to the generally negative connotations of men with spinning implements, additional measures were taken to ensure that the husband’s masculinity would not be called into question on the monument.¹⁷³⁵ The Twelve Labours were selected to frame the central scene, precisely to demonstrate the proven *virtus* of the male deceased.¹⁷³⁶ That fact that he holds the Apples of the Hesperides as the canonical labours are narrated around him indicates that he has reached the end of his toils.¹⁷³⁷ As a reward for his Twelve Labours, the husband is joined not with Hebe - the heavenly goddess of eternal youth - but with the mortal Omphale, frequently associated with passionate love and earthly pleasures. Their association with bacchic excess is nevertheless muted here, which is hardly coincidental: indeed, Dionysian imagery was extremely popular in the funerary context, but the deceased is rarely portrayed as a member of the *thiasos*.¹⁷³⁸ The husband wished to be remembered for his zeal for life, but not at the expense of his masculinity, or the sense of self-discipline and propriety this entailed.¹⁷³⁹ As the iconography of this funerary relief strongly suggests, *otium* - in this case, a life of love with an erotic but modest woman - is the man’s reward for *negotium*.¹⁷⁴⁰ The overall narrative presented here generally corresponds to the mythographic version of the tale, rather than the romanticized version, insofar as it offers a completely normative vision of gender roles and qualities.

4.2.3.3.4 Summary

The portrait group of a man and woman as Hercules and Omphale in Naples foregrounds their conjugal harmony (*concordia*), in a manner that reaffirms their unequal positions in the traditional gender hierarchy.¹⁷⁴¹ It also celebrates conventional virtues for men and women: beauty and modesty (*pulchritudo/pudicitia*) in the case of the wife,¹⁷⁴² but “manliness” (*virtus*) in the case of the husband.¹⁷⁴³ Most significantly, the exchange of gendered dress is practically effaced, and with it the woman’s disarmament of her husband and his resultant feminization.¹⁷⁴⁴ It seems that the mythological

¹⁷³³ This significance is suggested by a minor variation on the episode, preserved in the anonymous *Tractatus de mulieribus* 13, see Gera 1997, 10. As Xerxes proclaims, “‘O Jupiter, surely of man’s materials you have formed women, and of woman’s men,’” Polyain. 8, 53, 5 (translation in Shepherd 1974, 354); see also Hdt. 8, 88.

¹⁷³⁴ Lovén 2007, 232.

¹⁷³⁵ OMP4.

¹⁷³⁶ Wrede 1981, 244 no. 131; Zanker 1999 129f.

¹⁷³⁷ For the canonical composition and order of the Twelve Labours, Boardman et al. 1990, 5.

¹⁷³⁸ For discussion, see chap. 4.1.3.4.

¹⁷³⁹ It was common for Roman men to believe that they were capable of enjoying life’s pleasures without compromising their reputation for self-control (whereas men from other cultures struggled with finding this balance). This monument reflects like mentality well.

¹⁷⁴⁰ The portrayal of Omphale at the end of the Twelve Labours is remarkably similar to the iconography on the columnar sarcophagi discussed above, see chap. 4.1.3.4.

¹⁷⁴¹ For discussion, see chap. 4.2.3.3.1.

¹⁷⁴² For discussion, see chap. 4.2.3.3.2.

¹⁷⁴³ For discussion, see chap. 4.2.3.3.3.

¹⁷⁴⁴ For discussion, see chap. 4.2.3.3.2; 4.2.3.3.3.

costumes of the portrait figures were no longer considered readily comprehensible, hence the addition of labels to ensure their identification. The more conscientious viewer could come to this conclusion through the imagery alone, but the inclusion of the textual cues eliminated any possible ambiguity.

Hercules and Omphale were clearly desirable role models for husbands and wives, probably due to the romantic connotations of the narrative;¹⁷⁴⁵ at the same time, it is evident that formulating a socially acceptable iconography for the portrait groups of men and women as Hercules and Omphale was extremely challenging. The cross-dressing is deliberately eliminated to avoid potentially shameful connotations (i.e. dominant women/weak men), even to the point of risking the comprehensibility of their mythical identities.¹⁷⁴⁶ The image of Hercules and Omphale was more or less successfully reconciled with traditional virtues here, yet the monument was experimental and evidently failed to catch on in the Roman world as a whole.¹⁷⁴⁷ It is conceivable that the comparative example, with its confused results, testifies to this dilemma.¹⁷⁴⁸ There was evidently nothing for men to gain symbolically by cross-dressing, probably because the feminized man was so disparaged. If the primary appeal of the cross-dressed Hercules to Roman men had actually been his uncompromised masculinity, then there would have been no need to eliminate this motif in their funerary portraits.¹⁷⁴⁹ Moreover, it seems that women cross-dressing in the company of their husbands were equally suspect, if this meant publically depriving them of their arms and therefore threatening their dominant positions in the social hierarchy.¹⁷⁵⁰ It is true that the monument was commissioned by a woman, but even she felt compelled to adhere to this restrictive, normative vision of gender roles in Roman society.¹⁷⁵¹

4.2.4 Conclusions

The preceding analysis has assessed how Hercules and Omphale became suitable models for men and women in private portraiture. The essential evocation is clear: the image of the hero relinquishing his club and lion skin to a beautiful woman is convincingly interpreted as an allegory for disarming love.¹⁷⁵² It follows that the mythical allegory allowed for husbands especially to express their love for their

¹⁷⁴⁵ It was evidently important to the commissioner of this monument to show Hercules and Omphale in particular, rather than Hercules with any woman, since textual and visual codes were included to ensure this identification.

¹⁷⁴⁶ For discussion, see chap. 4.2.3.3.3.

¹⁷⁴⁷ OMP4.

¹⁷⁴⁸ OMP5.

¹⁷⁴⁹ M. Loar argues that the images of Hercules and Omphale assuaged anxieties about the status of Roman masculinity in an era witnessing the rise of powerful women, Loar 2015, 135f. 148. This seems, however, questionable, see chap. 4.1.3.5.1.3.

¹⁷⁵⁰ As we will see, it is possible for women to appear cross-dressed next to their husbands, but only if this did not involve an exchange of dress between them. For discussion, see chaps. 5.2; 5.3; 6.2; 6.3.

¹⁷⁵¹ As discussed by N.B. Kampen, "it makes sense... to keep in mind the concepts of complicity and resistance in mind as we think about the way power can be exercised through visual imagery and through the act of commissioning, choosing, or even viewing a work of art"; this is relevant to Roman women as well, since most women viewed the world through the same lens as their men or simply felt powerless to change anything, but there are also hints of resistance, Kampen 1996a, 14. It seems that this monument, commissioned by a woman, is characterized by both complicity and resistance: it primarily reaffirms traditional gender roles and relations, but subtly plays with them (i.e. hinting at female power through sexual appeal by the subtle exchange of attributes).

¹⁷⁵² For discussion, see 4.1.3.5.2.1.

wives.¹⁷⁵³ On the other hand, the iconography is carefully formulated in order to accentuate particular virtues as well as to eliminate potentially shameful connotations. The overall trends observed here are summarized in the following graphic (fig. 3):

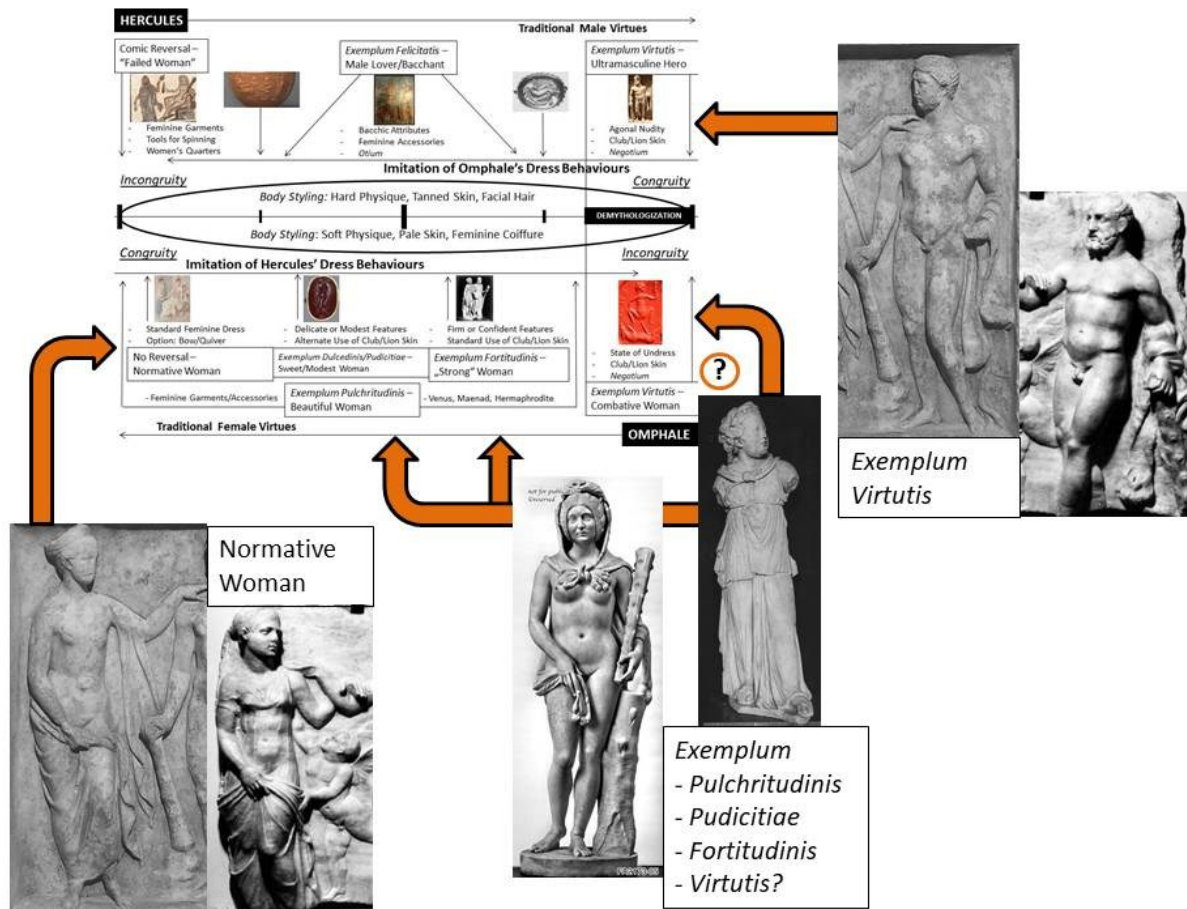


Fig. 3: Summary of the Dress and Dress Behaviours of Portraits of Men and Women as Hercules and Omphale. © S. Hollaender.

The portrait of a woman as Omphale in the Vatican combines all of the most admirable virtues of her cross-dressed role model in a remarkably harmonious way.¹⁷⁵⁴ She is primarily celebrated for her sexual desirability (*pulchritudo*),¹⁷⁵⁵ which is carefully balanced by her modesty (*pudicitia*).¹⁷⁵⁶ At the same time, she is no delicate flower. She is actually modeled after Hercules to a remarkable degree, both in terms of the physical pose and the dress. This introduces connotations of strength and capacity (*virtus*)

¹⁷⁵³ Zanker 1999, 129.

¹⁷⁵⁴ OMP1.

¹⁷⁵⁵ For discussion, see chap. 4.2.3.2.1.

¹⁷⁵⁶ For discussion, see chap. 4.2.3.2.2.

to an otherwise Venus-like woman.¹⁷⁵⁷ It is true that her “manly” virtues were ultimately directed towards the evocation of disarming love, but all the same: the acceptance of *virtus* as a praiseworthy quality in women surely formed the necessary social background for the production of this unique monument. The search for other examples has not been so fruitful,¹⁷⁵⁸ but even this isolated case reveals the potential for the cross-dressed female to offer a virtuous model for women in Roman society, at least for individual commemoration.¹⁷⁵⁹ It provides a fitting complement to the portraits of men as Hercules: indeed, it celebrates the *virtus* of a woman not only with a sex-specific model, but also in a highly negotiated manner, with her “manliness” perfectly bound up with her womanhood. It is possible that this form of commemoration was extended to girls as well, to show them as beautiful, beloved daughters, with a playful but “strong” character.¹⁷⁶⁰

The portrait group of a man and woman as Hercules and Omphale in Naples exhibits striking differences.¹⁷⁶¹ The focus shifts to their loving relationship, as a celebration of conjugal harmony (*concordia*).¹⁷⁶² The relationship is largely symmetrical, but the man does not surrender his arms and the woman is clearly placed in the supportive role.¹⁷⁶³ As such, the impression of uxoriousness is completely turned on its head here. The portrait group expresses their individual qualities as well: the wife is celebrated for her beauty (*pulchritudo*) and modesty (*pudicitia*),¹⁷⁶⁴ whereas the husband is celebrated for his “manliness” (*virtus*).¹⁷⁶⁵ The cross-dressing was practically eliminated, presumably because it threatened to call the masculinity of the man into question, as well as his control over his wife. It is unclear what is actually left of Hercules and Omphale here, other than a strong man and a stunning woman. The power of the mythical allegory to express passionate love is practically lost here. In any case, it was evidently important to the commissioner to provoke the identification with Hercules and Omphale in particular, indicating that their mythical background was not irrelevant. The image itself is conventional, but perhaps the fantastic tales of bliss and romance remained buried beneath the surface. The comparative example might attest to these problems as well.

Finally, portraits of men as Hercules at the Lydian court remain unattested.¹⁷⁶⁶ The claim that the cross-dressed Hercules appeared independently of Omphale in the visual record is already contentious.¹⁷⁶⁷ There is no compelling evidence that Hercules donning feminine dress and losing himself in world of luxury was thematized in its own right in Roman visual culture, as a means of opening up a fantasy world for men ascribing to a “soft” lifestyle. The images of Hercules in feminine

¹⁷⁵⁷ For discussion, see chap. 4.2.3.2.3.

¹⁷⁵⁸ Some possibilities have been noted here: OMP2. OMP3. OMP6.

¹⁷⁵⁹ OMP1.

¹⁷⁶⁰ OMP6. For discussion, see chap. 4.2.3.2.

¹⁷⁶¹ OMP4.

¹⁷⁶² For discussion, see chap. 4.2.3.3.1.

¹⁷⁶³ For discussion, see chap. 4.2.3.3.2.

¹⁷⁶⁴ For discussion, see chap. 4.2.3.3.2.

¹⁷⁶⁵ For discussion, see chap. 4.2.3.3.3.

¹⁷⁶⁶ For discussion, see chap. 4.2.2.4.

¹⁷⁶⁷ For discussion, see chap. 4.1.3.5.1.2.

dress certainly evoke uncompromised masculinity, but this cannot serve as a model for mere mortals.¹⁷⁶⁸ The image of the cross-dressed Hercules was hardly appreciated in its own right and evidently failed to offer a virtuous model for representation. As such, it seems hardly surprising that private portraits of men as Hercules at the Lydian court are unheard of.

This analysis of the iconography of Hercules and Omphale has concentrated on the relationship between their dress and their potential status as mythical models. Cross-dressing is certainly essential to their iconography, but its treatment significantly varies in the corpus. It seems that the different strategies for dealing with the exchange of gendered dress ought to be understood in terms of identification with Hercules and Omphale, whether indirectly with the viewer in the domestic context, or more directly with the deceased and their kin in the funerary context. In the portraiture of men as Hercules - which draws a direct identification - the cross-dressing is practically eliminated. In the portraiture of women as Omphale, however, the exchange of gendered dress is not an issue: she is simultaneously portrayed as a beautiful and “herculean” woman. This suggests that the cross-dressed man remained a dubious model, whereas the cross-dressed woman could offer a virtuous model.¹⁷⁶⁹ It is possible to explore this in greater detail, by turning to other relevant models like warrioresses and huntresses.

¹⁷⁶⁸ For discussion, see chap. 4.1.3.5.1.3.

¹⁷⁶⁹ For further discussion, see chap. 7.3; app. C.

5 Warrioresses

The starting point for approaching the portraits of women in the guise of warrioresses (i.e. Penthesilea, Virtus) is a detailed examination of the dress, from its origins to its reception in Roman visual culture. We will start with dress of the Amazons and consider its influence on the dress of Virtus, the Roman goddess of “manliness”. By approaching the dress in a comprehensive and chronological manner, it is possible to consider its characteristics, development and overall significance, before identifying which sartorial features were actually selected for self-representation and commemoration.

5.1 The Dress of Warrioresses

5.1.1 The Dress of the Amazons

The archetypal warrioresses in classical visual culture are the Amazons,¹⁷⁷⁰ a tribe of women who exist at the distant, unknown reaches of the world.¹⁷⁷¹ Unlike Greek women, the Amazons remain fiercely independent by spurning the institution of marriage, domestic and familial life, and even the company of men as a whole. These women only pursue physical relations for the sake of procreation, and their female offspring is raised communally.¹⁷⁷² The Amazons choose to behave like men by dressing and arming themselves for combat against eminent Greek heroes, including Herakles, Achilles and Theseus.¹⁷⁷³ In Homer’s *Iliad*, these warrioresses are even referred to as *antianeirai* - that is, as women not only challenging men, but also matching them in appearance, strength and virtue.¹⁷⁷⁴ The multifaceted nature of the Amazons might be aptly summarized in three words: as heroes, outsiders and women.¹⁷⁷⁵ The following analysis will explore how these complex and seemingly contradictory identities are carefully negotiated by their dress as well. It will start by considering the Amazons’ appropriation of masculine dress in ancient Greek visual culture, as well as the progressive feminization of their dress. It will then consider the transfer of this sartorial code to Roman visual culture.

5.1.1.1 Development of the Dress in Ancient Greek Visual Culture

The Amazons are essentially fighting women: as such, the images of the Amazons were primarily concerned with expressing their warriorhood, as well as reconciling their masculine roles and characteristics with their female nature.¹⁷⁷⁶ The overall portrayal of the Amazons - including their dress - is constantly revised between the 7th and 5th centuries BCE, depending on significant historical and

¹⁷⁷⁰ For the Amazons in the textual sources, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 586f.; Steinhart - Patay-Horváth 2008. For a general overview of the Amazons, Schneider - Seifert 2010, 74-90.

¹⁷⁷¹ For the locations of the Amazons, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 586.

¹⁷⁷² For the reproduction practices of the Amazons, Strab. 11, 5, 1

¹⁷⁷³ For literary sources about the dress, arms and warlike character of the Amazons, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 586. For literary sources about the combats between the Amazons and Greek heroes (i.e. Hercules, Achilles, Theseus), Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 586; for a general overview of the images of the Amazons battling Greek heroes in ancient Greece, Wünsche 2008b.

¹⁷⁷⁴ The epithet *antianeirai* is assigned to the Amazons in Hom. Il. 3, 189; 6, 186; for the significance of the epithet, Börner 2010a, 17f.; Hardwick 1990, 15; Veness 2002, 97. Palaephatus even claims that the Amazons were not women, but (barbarian) men in disguise, in order to rationalize their success in war, Palaiph. 32.

¹⁷⁷⁵ Hardwick 1990.

¹⁷⁷⁶ Kaeser 2008a, 49; Veness 2002, 99.

social shifts. In general, however, the dress of the Amazons is consistently patterned after that of their male counterparts, without entirely suppressing their femininity.¹⁷⁷⁷ These overarching trends are detectable not only in Attic visual culture, where the evidence for the Amazons is most abundant, but also further afield (e.g. Ionia, Megale Hellas).

5.1.1.1.1 Takeover of Masculine Dress

5.1.1.1.1.1 Greek Dress

The first securely identifiable Amazons appear on a terracotta votive shield from Tiryns, dating to around 700 BCE (pl. 147a).¹⁷⁷⁸ They are biologically distinguished from the Greeks by their lack of facial hair as well as the subtle intimation of breasts.¹⁷⁷⁹ Quite strikingly, the Amazons are already shown with short tunics and boots like the warriors, as well as the same arms (i.e. helmets, spears, shields). The differences in their dress are nevertheless notable.¹⁷⁸⁰ The tunics of the Greeks hardly cover their genitals. The Amazons, on the other hand, wear tunics that reach down to their knees or even below that, but compensate for the impractical length of their garments by thrusting one leg out of the long opening down the side.¹⁷⁸¹ The same trends are attested elsewhere: the warriors are either nude or in short tunics, whereas the warrioresses wear comparatively longer tunics and exhibit the same unusual dress behaviour.¹⁷⁸² This visual convention was invented to characterize the Amazons as active females: indeed, women in this early period are typically shown in long robes that are “closed” and restrictive (pl. 33b), but the warrioresses transgress the very boundaries of their garments for the sake of achieving greater freedom of movement.¹⁷⁸³ Overall, the longer tunic with an opening at the side is gender-indeterminate dress. It allows the women to act like men, while still approximating feminine sartorial norms. After the 7th century BCE, longer tunics disappear from their wardrobe.¹⁷⁸⁴

During the Archaic and into the early Classical Period, the Amazons are portrayed in close combat with Greek hoplites, as their “evenly matched” opponents wearing the same dress.¹⁷⁸⁵ This trend is most pronounced on Attic ceramics produced between 570 and 490 BCE: here, the warrioresses are portrayed

¹⁷⁷⁷ R. Veness demonstrates that the dress of the Amazons is patterned after their male counterparts on Attic ceramics especially, but notes a few feminine features as well, Veness 2002. B. Kaeser addresses the masculine and feminine features of their dress on Attic ceramics especially, Kaeser 2008a; Kaeser 2008b. Other studies deal with their dress to a lesser extent, or with particular details (e.g. the bared breast in Cohen 1997, 74-79). The following analysis aims to summarize and build on these studies, especially by dedicating more attention to the sculptural representations and exploring the interactions between bodies and dress as well as the increasing feminization of the dress in this medium over time, since this sartorial code was transferred to Roman visual culture.

¹⁷⁷⁸ For discussion on the votive shield, including the dress of the Amazons, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981 597 no. 168; Kaeser 2008a, 49-52; Krauskopf 2010, 39; Veness 2002, 95.

¹⁷⁷⁹ Veness 2002, 95.

¹⁷⁸⁰ For discussion, Kaeser 2008a, 49; Veness 2002, 95

¹⁷⁸¹ For discussion on this special garment, Kaeser 2008a, 49; Parisinou 2002, 65.

¹⁷⁸² For examples, Kaeser 2008a, 53 fig. 5.5; 57 fig. 5.8; 58 fig. 5.9; 59 fig. 5.10 (note that the Amazons wear mid to full-length tunics here).

¹⁷⁸³ For the significance of this visual convention, Kaeser 2008a, 49f.

¹⁷⁸⁴ Kaeser 2008a, 60. For rare instances of Amazons in long robes after the end of the 7th century BCE, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 589 no. 22; 594 no. 108.

¹⁷⁸⁵ Kaeser 2008a, 70; Veness 2002, 96f.

with body styling typical of female figures (e.g. white skin on black-figure ceramics, a lack of facial hair), but otherwise, in essentially the same militaristic dress as the warriors (pl. 147b).¹⁷⁸⁶ In fact, “there are very few items of dress, armour or weaponry used by the Amazons that are not elsewhere worn by the Greeks, and *vice versa*.”¹⁷⁸⁷ Just like the Greek hoplites, the Amazons tend to wear a sleeveless or short-sleeved *chiton*, typically belted at the waist and reaching no lower than the knees; the garment is often covered by a metal or linen cuirass, but this protective armour is conspicuously missing in other cases.¹⁷⁸⁸ It is possible for them to wear a *chlamys* as well (pl. 152a).¹⁷⁸⁹ Dressing these combatants in merely a *chiton* and *chlamys* is unrealistic, but effectively signifies their courage: it gives the impression that neither the Greeks nor the Amazons require physical protection, but trust in their own strength and capabilities.¹⁷⁹⁰ The remainder of their armament is similar as well. The Amazons usually wear a crested helmet (with or without cheek guards); the exact type (e.g. Attic, Corinthian) is left to the discretion of the artist, but the Attic helmet quickly becomes the norm.¹⁷⁹¹ They typically fight with a spear, but also with a sword, as well as various types of shields (e.g. Argive, Boeotian).¹⁷⁹² They are barefoot and often wear greaves.¹⁷⁹³ With the introduction of Attic red-figure ceramics around 530 BCE, the Amazons are virtually indistinguishable from the Greek hoplites in several cases, due to the sudden lack of white colour on their skin (pl. 87a).¹⁷⁹⁴ The only major difference is that the warriors are occasionally portrayed in agonal nudity, whereas the warriorresses are as a rule clothed.¹⁷⁹⁵

The overall similarities between the Greeks and Amazons are detectable in sculpture of the Archaic and early Classical Periods as well.¹⁷⁹⁶ It is common to show the Amazons in a short *chiton*, sometimes with

¹⁷⁸⁶ For a brief description of the standard dress of Greek hoplites, Kaeser 2008a, 70f. For a brief description of the “hoplite” dress of the Amazons, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 637. For discussion on the similarities (and differences) between the dress of the Greek hoplites and the Amazons “hoplites” on Attic ceramics, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 637; Kaeser 2008a, 70-72; Krauskopf 2010, 40; Osada 2010, 46; Veness 2002, 96-98; Serwint 1993, 412; Shapiro 1983, 106; Schneider - Seifert 2010, 78. R. Veness discusses the standardization of the dress of Greek warriors and Amazons on Attic ceramics: the dress of neither the Greeks nor the Amazons is uniform on earlier black-figure ceramics, but by around 530 BCE, the dress of both the Greeks and Amazons is standardized, with each side in a common “hoplite” outfit, Veness 2002, 96-98.

¹⁷⁸⁷ Veness 2002, 96.

¹⁷⁸⁸ Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 637. There is nevertheless a statistical difference between the short *chiton* of the Greeks and the Amazons: the tight-fitting *chiton* (i.e. a tunic open on one side, and just covering the buttocks and the top of the thigh) is somewhat more commonly attested among the warriors, whereas the wide *chiton* (i.e. a tunic closed on both sides, and reaching to about the knee) is somewhat more commonly attested among the Amazons, Kaeser 2008a, 156f.

¹⁷⁸⁹ For an example, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 606 no. 296.

¹⁷⁹⁰ Kaeser 2008a, 71.

¹⁷⁹¹ Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 637.

¹⁷⁹² Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 637.

¹⁷⁹³ Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 637. P. Devambez and A. Kauffmann-Samaras claim that the Amazons wear boots as well.

¹⁷⁹⁴ Veness 2002, 97. For examples, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 632. no. 740; 633 nos. 759. 765.

¹⁷⁹⁵ Kaeser 2008a, 71; Kaeser 2008b, 155f.; Veness 2002, 95f. 97. P. Devambez and A. Kauffmann-Samaras claim that the “hoplite” Amazons occasionally fight with a bow and arrow as well, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 637. If so, this is considered a cowardly form of combat by the 7th century BCE, Kaeser 2008a, 53f.

¹⁷⁹⁶ Serwint 1983, 412. It is, however, possible to include eastern dress here as well.

a corselet (pl. 148a).¹⁷⁹⁷ The tendency to portray the Greeks and Amazons in similar dress in close combat is an expression of their relative equality as fighters.¹⁷⁹⁸ The men are nevertheless the superior party, even if some women manage to violently slay their enemies.¹⁷⁹⁹

5.1.1.1.2 Eastern Dress

Amazons with an eastern appearance are first attested on Attic ceramics around the middle of the 6th century BCE.¹⁸⁰⁰ At first, the Amazons are modeled after Skythian archers: they are marked out as women by their white skin, but are otherwise dressed in their distinctive pointed leather or felt cap with flaps (*kidaris*), constructed sleeved jerkins with fitted leggings (*anaxyrides*) as well as a sigma-shaped bow and quiver (*gorytos*) (pl. 148b).¹⁸⁰¹ It is clear that the introduction of “Skythian” Amazons closely follows developments in hoplite warfare. The Greeks had started to employ Skythian mercenaries to fight against other Greeks.¹⁸⁰² As in the standard battle scenes between men, the “Skythian” Amazons are far fewer in number and of a more auxiliary nature than the “hoplite” Amazons (pl. 149a).¹⁸⁰³ Once the Skythian archers basically vanish from the visual record around 490 BCE, so do the Amazons modeled after them.¹⁸⁰⁴ In total, “Skythian” Amazons comprise only one-fourth of the warriorresses on Attic ceramics of the Archaic Period.¹⁸⁰⁵ The warriorresses nevertheless start to assume other eastern features, such as the *pelta* (crescent-shaped shield) (pl. 149b), battle-axe and combat on horseback, all of which evolve into their distinctive markers.¹⁸⁰⁶

Also notable is a series of *alabastra* with Amazons modeled after African warriors, produced in the early 5th century BCE (pl. 150).¹⁸⁰⁷ The men and women are clearly differentiated by their body styling: the African warriors have a dark complexion and short, tightly curled hair, whereas their female

¹⁷⁹⁷ Serwint 1983, 412. “Greek” Amazons are attested, for instance, on the Athenian Treasury at Delphi and the Temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria, see Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 593 nos. 95. 95a; 858 no. 2.

¹⁷⁹⁸ Kaeser 2008a, 70; Veness 2002, 104.

¹⁷⁹⁹ Kaeser 2008a, 64. 68f.

¹⁸⁰⁰ For a detailed analysis of the Amazons in foreign dress, Knaus 2008a. Note that Amazons in foreign dress are hardly attested in the extant sculpture of the Archaic Period, Serwint 1993, 412. On Temple E at Selinous, an Amazon is shown in a mixture of Greek and eastern dress, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 593 no. 96.

¹⁸⁰¹ For discussion on the “Skythian” Amazons, Krauskopf 2010, 40-42; Knaus 2008a, 92-94; Osada 2010, 46f.; Veness 2002, 98. Note that the Amazons are shown with the characteristics of Skythian archers by the middle of the 6th century BCE and then in their full guise by 530 BCE, Veness 2002, 98. Quite interestingly, Herakles also appears as a Skythian archer in Late Archaic Art, Boardman et al. 1990, 184.

¹⁸⁰² Knaus 2008a, 92; Veness 2002, 98. The theme first appears on Attic ceramics during the second quarter of 6th century BCE.

¹⁸⁰³ Veness 2002, 98.

¹⁸⁰⁴ Knaus 2008, 101; Veness 2002, 99.

¹⁸⁰⁵ Veness 2002, 99.

¹⁸⁰⁶ The *pelta* is Thracian dress, Veness 2002, 98. For an example of an Amazon dressed as a Skythian archer, but holding a battle-axe, Knaus 2008a, 94. 96 fig. 7.11. For the Amazons as riders, Knaus 2008b.

¹⁸⁰⁷ For the material and discussion (including the dress), Neils 1980. J. Neils has since re-identified the African warriors as “African” Amazons as well (for various reasons, e.g. the physical appearance of male and female Africans is not necessarily so clear cut, the Amazons are reported to come from Libya as well, the *alabastra* were produced for women), Neils 2007. The main issue with this reassessment is that it does not entirely explain why there are two categories of Amazons (i.e. with different skin colours and hairstyles), but basically dressed in the same “African” dress. Moreover, her reassessment does not take into account the propensity for the Amazons to imitate the dress of male warriors, whether Greek or barbarian, as seems to be the case here as well.

counterparts have a pale complexion and longer hair. Otherwise, their outfits - consisting of a linen cuirass worn over *anaxyrides*, a patterned mantle, as well as barbarian arms (e.g. axe, bow, *gorytos*) - are identical. The reasons for the production of the vessels is debated.¹⁸⁰⁸

The orientalization of the Amazons was intensified with the transition to the Classical Period. During the early 5th century BCE, they are suddenly depicted in Persian dress on Attic ceramics, including highly ornate tunics (*ependytes*) layered over their fitted sleeved and trousered suits (*anaxyrides*), as well as the so-called “Phrygian” cap (pl. 151a).¹⁸⁰⁹ The same kinds of eastern arms are carried forward here. These warriorresses are traditionally interpreted as a stand-in for the recent Persian invader - as yet another barbarian threat to Greek civilization - but the heart of the issue is still women at war with men.¹⁸¹⁰ This is suggested by the fact that “Greek” and “Persian” Amazons appear in roughly equal measure on Attic ceramics;¹⁸¹¹ it is even possible to mix their indigenous and foreign dress, with innumerable permutations (pls. 151a-153).¹⁸¹² The coexistence of “Greek” and “Persian” Amazons, or even some eclectic mixture thereof, strongly deviates from the model set by the standard battle scenes for men, with their strict divisions between Hellenic heroes and eastern foes.¹⁸¹³ It is not necessarily that “the artists have prioritized their conception of Amazons as woman warriors associated with Greek hoplites over their conception of them as foreigners.”¹⁸¹⁴ Rather, the Amazons are compared to male fighters in general - whether Greek or barbarian - to emphasize the battle of the sexes in particular.

By 470 BCE, the Amazons are portrayed with at least one foreign article of dress as a general rule.¹⁸¹⁵ They gradually relinquish the majority of their hoplite weaponry (e.g. shield, sword), except for the spear, and start to favour eastern arms like the bow/arrow, battle-axe and *pelta*.¹⁸¹⁶

The orientalizing tendency is most pronounced on the pottery produced in Megale Hellas in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE: here, the warriorresses typically appear in Persian dress (i.e. *ependytes*, *anaxyrides*, “Phrygian” cap) and boots (*embades*), but, just like the warriors, in a *chlamys* (pl. 154a).¹⁸¹⁷

¹⁸⁰⁸ See Neils 1980; Neils 2007.

¹⁸⁰⁹ For discussion on the “Persian” Amazons, Cleland et al. 2007, 4; Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 640f.; Knaus 2008a, 98-102; Osada 2010, 48f.; Shapiro 1983, 114; Schneider - Seifert 2010, 81f. 84; Veness 2002, 99-104. Once the “Skythian” Amazons vanish from Attic ceramics, it is only natural that “Persian” Amazons (wearing the most familiar foreign dress of the period) appear in their stead, Veness 2002, 100.

¹⁸¹⁰ Veness 2002, 99-104. She notes several flaws with the traditional interpretation. For instance, Amazons in distinctly Persian dress are conspicuously absent from Athenian monuments built to celebrate the defeat of the Persians, such as the west metopes of the Parthenon and the shield of Athena Parthenos. Rather, she argues that the Amazon symbolizes the threat posed for Greek women as both insiders and outsiders in their societies: “The real danger is from the woman who has been integrated, taken into the household. You must marry the amazon, the woman, but she remains an amazon, remains a danger,” Veness 2002, 106.

¹⁸¹¹ Veness 2002, 99.

¹⁸¹² Veness 2002, 101; for an overview, see also Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 642.

¹⁸¹³ Veness 2002, 100.

¹⁸¹⁴ Veness 2002, 100.

¹⁸¹⁵ Kaeser 2008a, 75.

¹⁸¹⁶ Kaeser 2008a, 75.

¹⁸¹⁷ See Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 592f. nos. 90-93; 598f. nos. 182-186; 610-613 nos. 361-410.

The visualization of the Amazons closely aligns with the Greeks' conception of the "other", which shifted from period to period. The incorporation of foreign dress into their wardrobe - whether Skythian, Thracian, African or Persian - has been explained in a variety of ways, which are by no means mutually exclusive. First of all, it broadly reflects their distant origins,¹⁸¹⁸ and along with it their rejection of Greek norms of female behaviour and therefore of social structure.¹⁸¹⁹ Secondly, dressing them up like the current enemy (e.g. Persians) strengthens their impression as threatening foreigners.¹⁸²⁰ The Amazons are seen as invaders and a threat to the natural order - hence their status as a symbol for the triumph of civilization over chaos at Athens, epitomized by the Amazonomachy on the Parthenon.¹⁸²¹ Thirdly, it marks them as technically and ethically inferior.¹⁸²² Producing bows and arrows required fewer manufacturing skills; moreover, fighting with them was considered a "cowardly" form of warfare by this time, since close combat requires more courage than ranged combat.¹⁸²³ On the other hand, the fact that the Amazons have mastered all forms of warfare - in both Greek and eastern societies - identifies them as particularly exceptional warriorresses.¹⁸²⁴

It is, however, necessary to emphasize the role of intersectionality. Men in eastern societies were typically considered effeminate by the Greeks, a prejudice that is brought into connection with their luxurious dress as well.¹⁸²⁵ The conflation of socially inferior categories - i.e. female, barbarian - is hardly coincidental: the Amazons adopt not only Hellenic dress, but also eastern elements, precisely to highlight their difference from the Greek warriors as woman, and therefore as intruders and inferiors in

¹⁸¹⁸ Kaeser 2008a, 70.

¹⁸¹⁹ Hardwick 1990, 18. For further discussion on the Amazons rejecting the roles of proper women in ancient Greece, Fornasier 2007, 23-32; Wagner-Hasel 2010.

¹⁸²⁰ Veness 2002, 104f. She also links this back to the potential threat that Greek women could pose in their own societies, as the "alien within".

¹⁸²¹ For discussion on the significance of the triumph of the Greeks over the Amazons in art at Athens in the Classical Period, Fornasier 2010.

¹⁸²² Kaeser 2008a, 70. F.S. Knaus argues that the "Persian" Amazons are perceived as base, inferior enemies, effortlessly struck down by the Greeks, Knaus 2008a, 100f. R. Veness, on the other hand, argues that the "Persian" Amazons are actually shown on relatively equal terms with the Greeks (in contrast to the male Persians, who tend to suffer horrible defeat and degradation), Veness 2002, 100f. In any case, it is clear that the "Persian" Amazons are ultimately inferior to the Greeks in battle, due to their greater likelihood to be shown as defeated enemies.

¹⁸²³ Kaeser 2008a, 53f. 70. (This attitude already emerges in the 7th century BCE.)

¹⁸²⁴ Kaeser 2008a, 70.

¹⁸²⁵ For discussion on the longstanding association between the orient and luxury (especially in dress), Cleland et al. 2007, 16. 55f. 155-157. R. Veness argues that Persian clothing was viewed as feminine, since there is evidence for Greek women wearing it in the 5th century BCE; it follows that the "Persian" Amazons exhibit commonalities with Greek women, Veness 2002, 102. It is important to note, however, that the Persians/"Persian" Amazons only share select articles of dress in common with Greek women (for discussion on foreign dress adopted by the Greeks, see Lee 2015, 120-126). For instance, the Persians/"Persian" Amazons wear items like a "Phrygian" bonnet or *anaxyrides*, but Greek women do not. Moreover, the Persians/"Persian" Amazons and Greek women wear the same articles of dress in a completely different manner (e.g. Persians/"Persian" Amazons wear an *ependytes* over a short *chiton*, *anaxyrides*, etc., whereas Greek women wear an *ependytes* over a long *chiton*). As such, the Persian clothing is not strictly feminine, but more so gender-bending (i.e. effeminate) from a Greek perspective.

these masculine roles.¹⁸²⁶ It was possible for women to excel in other matters (e.g. managing the household, raising children), but acts of war should be left to “real” men.¹⁸²⁷

5.1.1.1.1.3 Greek Garments, Eastern Accessories

In freestanding statuary and sculptural reliefs of the High Classical Period, however, the situation was much different. “Greek” Amazons were favoured for the most celebrated Athenian monuments, such as the west metopes of the Parthenon and the shield of Athena Parthenos (pl. 154b).¹⁸²⁸ Here, the Amazons tend to wear short *chitones*, occasionally combined with *chlamydes* and boots (*embades*), and use the same arms as the Greeks (e.g. helmets, spears, round shields); it is, however, possible to add a smattering of eastern accessories (e.g. “Phrygian” cap, battle-axe, *pelta*)¹⁸²⁹ The Attic model was generally followed in freestanding statuary and sculptural reliefs to come, such as the Amazonomachies from the Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Phigaleia, the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros (pl. 155a), and the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos (pl. 155b).¹⁸³⁰ Also particularly notable are the statues of Wounded Amazons (pl. 156a) mentioned by Pliny the Elder, which were created by Phidias and other artists of the High Classical Period in a contest for the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos.¹⁸³¹ The Amazons wear a short *chiton* detached on one shoulder (i.e. *heteromaschalos*), occasionally combined with a *chlamys*, and bear a mixture of Greek and Amazonian arms (e.g. spears, quivers). It has been argued that the Wounded Amazon at Ephesos warned the viewers against committing hubris in general,¹⁸³² or women against behaving like Amazons in particular, due to their inevitable downfall.¹⁸³³ It is, however, equally possible that the image of the Amazon in combat attire and tending to her wounds called to mind the previous battle and the courage that she showed there.¹⁸³⁴

5.1.1.1.1.4 Bare Breast

¹⁸²⁶ R. Veness and B. Kaeser offer a slightly different interpretation: the Amazon’s takeover of foreign dress is a symbolic expression of their “otherness” as women, Kaeser 2008a, 70; Veness 2002, 99.

¹⁸²⁷ For discussion on the “symmetry” of husbands and wives in Greek thought (e.g. Xenophon), see chap. 7.5.2.5.1.

¹⁸²⁸ Krauskopf 2010, 43; Veness 2002, 103f.

¹⁸²⁹ For the west metopes of the Parthenon, Brommer 1967, 3-21. The monument is poorly preserved, but it is clear that the Amazons wear short *chitones* (and perhaps *chlamydes*), Veness 2002, 103. It seems that foreign dress was included here as well (e.g. *peltai*, perhaps “Phrygian” caps), Krauskopf 2010, 43. For a reconstruction of the Shield of Athena Parthenos, Harrison 1981. Here, the Amazons are dressed like the Greek warriors (but never nude), but some foreign elements are included as well (e.g. battle-axes, perhaps *peltai*); on the other hand, the Greeks also use weapons typically associated with the Amazons (e.g. bows, battle-axes), Veness 2002, 103. K.D. Morrow notes that the boots (*embades*) are taken over by the Amazons “to clarify the male role of the female warriors in fifth-century sculpture,” Morrow 1985, 67; for further discussion on the *embades* of the Amazons in ancient Greek visual culture, Goette 1988, 438-440.

¹⁸³⁰ Krauskopf 2010, 45. For the Amazonomachies, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 593 nos. 101. 102; 613 no. 421. In exceptional cases, the Amazons are still shown in dress with eastern influence (e.g. *anaxyrides*), e.g. Cook 2005, 44 no. 4 pl. 6 fig. D; Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 593 no. 96; Madigan - Cooper 1992, 114f. no. BM 541 pl. 49 fig. 150.

¹⁸³¹ Plin. nat. 34, 53. For the wounded Amazons, Bol 1998; Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 625 nos. 602-605; 643; Stupperich 2010; Wünsche 2008a, 140-144.

¹⁸³² Bol 1998, 117

¹⁸³³ Havelock 1982, 47.

¹⁸³⁴ Wünsche 2008a, 143f. He argues that the monument was directed towards the asylum seekers at Ephesos.

There is still the lingering issue of the exposed breast. The earliest identified instance of a bare-breasted Amazon is on an Attic red-figure volute-krater from ca. 460 BCE (pl. 156b).¹⁸³⁵ Here, a Greek thrusts his spear towards an axe-swinging Amazon, who wears a short *chiton* over patterned leggings. Her tunic is, however, detached on the right shoulder (i.e. *heteromaschalos*) to reveal a breast, as indicated by a loose swathe of fabric hanging down at the front. While the exposed breast is rare in vase painting, the motif was rather enthusiastically adopted in sculpture. Amazons in short, breast-revealing tunics are first attested on Attic monuments of the High Classical Period - including the west metopes of the Parthenon¹⁸³⁶ and the Shield of Athena Parthenos¹⁸³⁷ (pl. 157a) - and then on Amazonomachies outside of Attica in the centuries to come.¹⁸³⁸

The significance of the exposed breast is heavily disputed.¹⁸³⁹ In the Classical Period, the motif is polysemous and the precise evocation ultimately depends on the context.¹⁸⁴⁰ The breast is bared deliberately in some cases (e.g. female athletes), but unintentionally in others, due to rapid movement (e.g. dancers).¹⁸⁴¹ Otherwise, the motif tends to denote female victims of violence, whether physical (e.g. Niobids) or sexual (e.g. Lapiths) (pl. 157b).¹⁸⁴² Here, the “female breasts [are] exposed by garments violently ripped open or loosened on account of violent interaction with others.”¹⁸⁴³

It has been argued that the Amazons with an exposed breast fall under the category of female victims.¹⁸⁴⁴ This is to some extent reasonable, insofar as bare-breasted Amazons of the Classical Period are typically on the brink of defeat, if not already fallen. On the Shield of Athena Parthenos (pl. 154b), the short *chitones* of the vanquished Amazons are frequently torn open on one shoulder (*heteromaschalos*), whereas those of their battling companions remains intact (*amphimaschalos*).¹⁸⁴⁵ Furthermore, the Wounded Amazons created for the Sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos are invariably

¹⁸³⁵ Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 606 no. 295; 642. Note that an Amazon from an bronze tripod from the Akropolis in Athens, dating to the third quarter of the 6th century BCE, already wears an outfit that leaves her shoulder bare, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 629 no. 676; Von Bothmer 1957, 122 cat. 8.

¹⁸³⁶ Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 613 no. 417; 642.

¹⁸³⁷ Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 602f. no. 246; 642.

¹⁸³⁸ For examples, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 593 no. 100 (Tholos at Delphi); 593 no. 101 (Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Phigaleia); 593f. no. 102 (Mausoleum of Halikarnassos); 594 no. 104 (Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander).

¹⁸³⁹ For discussion on the exposed breast of the Amazons, Cohen 1997, 74-79; Kaeser 2008b, 158f.; Krauskopf 2010, 43; Serwint 1993, 411-414; Veness 2002, 102, 105.

¹⁸⁴⁰ Cohen 1997.

¹⁸⁴¹ Cohen 1997, 68-72.

¹⁸⁴² Cohen 1997, 72-77

¹⁸⁴³ Cohen 1997, 72.

¹⁸⁴⁴ Cohen 1997, 79. R. Veness leaves open that the possibility that the bare breasts of the Amazons can express vulnerability, Veness 2002, 105.

¹⁸⁴⁵ Cohen 1997, 74. For a reconstruction of the Shield of Athena Parthenos, Harrison 1981. Given the reliance on Roman copies for the reconstruction, which are often poorly preserved or merely isolated motifs, perhaps the differences in dress between the defeated and battling Amazons are not so clear-cut. For instance, the Copenhagen relief shows the so-called “Climbing Amazon” in a short *chiton* attached on both shoulders, but the Vatican fragment shows her in a short *chiton* detached on one shoulder, see Harrison 1981, 293.

shown with an exposed breast (pl. 156a).¹⁸⁴⁶ The disarray of their dress, torn open at the shoulder, is surely reflective of their violent defeat in these instances.¹⁸⁴⁷

It does not seem justified, however, to conflate female victims of violence like the Niobids or the Lapiths with the Amazons. In the former cases, the women are completely vulnerable, with no conceivable chance of defending themselves.¹⁸⁴⁸ Their breasts are forcibly exposed in an unequal struggle, with a stronger, aggressive party inflicting violence on a weaker and unsuspecting one - that is, with deities victimizing mortals; adults, children; and males, females. In the case of the Greeks versus the Amazons, on the other hand, the playing field is to some extent leveled, which is clear from the dress itself: the Amazons dress and arm themselves like warriors and fearlessly head into battle against them, as their "evenly matched" opponents. The first bare-breasted Amazon is imminently threatened by a Greek warrior, whose spear is aimed directly at her breast (pl. 156b), but there is no indication that she turns to flee:¹⁸⁴⁹ her feet are firmly planted on the ground, and she continues to swing the axe and hold the shield. The short *chiton* becomes inadvertently detached on one shoulder due to her own offensive stance,¹⁸⁵⁰ with the disorder of her dress merely reflecting the intensity of the action.¹⁸⁵¹ It is true that the Greeks ultimately prevail to reaffirm cultural notions of male superiority, but the Amazons are by no means fearful or defenseless victims.¹⁸⁵²

Furthermore, by the late Classical Period, the association between barebreastedness and defeat already starts to break down. In the Amazonomachies of the Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Phigaleia and the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, for instance, the bare-breasted Amazons are not as a rule fallen or even imminently threatened; rather, a few of them are still on the offensive, with the combat still undecided (pl. 158a).¹⁸⁵³ In such cases, the motif of the bare breast is merely indicative of strenuous action in battle, not of grueling defeat. It is also possible that the Amazons begin to deliberately detach the short *chiton* on one shoulder, in order to maximize their freedom of movement.¹⁸⁵⁴

¹⁸⁴⁶ Cohen 1997, 75-77. For the wounded Amazons, Bol 1998; Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 625 nos. 602-605; 643; Stupperich 2010; Wünsche 2008a, 140-144.

¹⁸⁴⁷ Cohen 1997, 75-77.

¹⁸⁴⁸ The Niobids can only flee rather than fight, as these children are ruthlessly hunted down by Apollo and Artemis; for the Niobids in the textual and visual sources, Geominy 1992. The Lapiths are invariably portrayed as victims rather than contestants in the Centauromachies, with their kinsmen always fighting on their behalf, Havelock 1982, 46; for the Lapiths in the textual and visual sources, Manakidou 1994, 232-234 nos. 1-20.

¹⁸⁴⁹ For the image, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 606 no. 295; 642. It is suggested that she flees here, Von Bothmer 1957, 168; Cohen 1997, 74. While the left foot is turned back, the stance is merely practical for fighting and employed among the Greek warriors in Amazonomachies as well; for examples, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 602 nos. 240. 242. 243.

¹⁸⁵⁰ B. Cohen, on the other hand, claims that it detaches as the Amazon turns to defend herself, Cohen 1997, 74.

¹⁸⁵¹ Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 642.

¹⁸⁵² It is therefore difficult to classify the bare breasts of the Amazons as a sign of female victimization, at least in a sense comparable to the Niobids or the Lapiths.

¹⁸⁵³ For examples, Kenner 1946, 44 pl. 12; 46 pl. 18; Cook 2005, 46f. no. 8 pl. 9 fig. G; 45 no. 6 pl. 7 fig. F; 48 no. 10 pl. 9 fig. A; 49f. no. 13 pl. 12 fig. F (note that in these cases, the *chiton* is not sewn completely down one side, thus producing long slits for greater freedom of movement).

¹⁸⁵⁴ It is difficult to assess whether the short *chiton* is deliberately or accidentally detached, Kaeser 2002b, 158.

It perhaps seems counterintuitive, but the bare-breasted Amazons have far less to do with female victims of violence (e.g. Niobids, Lapiths) than with the Greek warriors themselves.¹⁸⁵⁵ Indeed, it is possible for warriors to appear in the short *chiton* (*heteromaschalos*) in the Classical Period. In some cases, the tunic presumably comes undone in the course of battle. The motif is selected for both active¹⁸⁵⁶ and fallen¹⁸⁵⁷ warriors (pl. 158b). Quite strikingly, on the Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Phigaleia, a Greek warrior and an Amazon face each other in the short *chiton* (*heteromaschalos*), both of which seem to have come undone in the fray (pl. 165a).¹⁸⁵⁸ For neither the Greeks nor the Amazons is the unintentional exposure strictly a sign of victimization, but rather of fighting to the limit, to the extent that the wearer no longer heeds any attention to his or her dress. In a sense, this state of disarray is the result of their own actions, that is, of mutual violence in warfare.

The Greeks are nevertheless differentiated from the Amazons of the Classical Period in a significant way: it is certain that the Greeks went into battle with deliberately bared chests, but it is not clear whether the Amazons followed their lead. The Greeks presumably loosen their short *chiton* (*heteromaschalos*),¹⁸⁵⁹ but also enter into battle in an *exomis* (pl. 159a). Already in the first image with a bare-breasted Amazon, the warrior wears an *exomis*: indeed, his tunic is attached on one side with a patterned shoulder strap, which is not discernible on the loose side (pl. 156b).¹⁸⁶⁰ The warrior, however, wears a short *chiton* (*heteromaschalos*) that has come undone. As such, only the chest of the warrior is intentionally revealed from the outset. In other Amazonomachies of the Classical Period as well, Greek warriors are occasionally bare-chested due to donning an *exomis*.¹⁸⁶¹ Whether this garment was extended to the Amazons as well in the Classical Period is not so clear.¹⁸⁶²

¹⁸⁵⁵ R. Veness and B. Kaeser argue that draping the *chiton* in a manner that leaves the upper body exposed in principle comes from the world of men, Kaeser 2008b, 158; Veness 2002, 105.

¹⁸⁵⁶ This is certainly the case with a rider on the Ionic Frieze of the Parthenon, whose short *chiton* slips so far down the front of his body that his chest is uncovered on both sides, Bieber 1928, 53 pl. XXI.2. It is difficult to establish whether the short *chiton* (*heteromaschalos*) is deliberately or accidentally loosened elsewhere. For some examples of active warriors in loosened tunics (whether accidentally or purposely), Childs - Demargne 1989, 61f. no. BM 864, pls. 27.1; 66f. no. BM 854L pl. 30.1. B. Shefton notes that a similar motif was created for the Greeks in the Centauromachy on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia: here, the mantles of the men fall to the ground as a sign of strenuous action, whereas the female garments are violently torn as a sign of victimization, Shefton 1962, 356-360.

¹⁸⁵⁷ For some examples of fallen warriors in loosened tunics (whether accidentally or purposely), Childs - Demargne 1989, 64f. no. BM 853 pls. 29.1; 69f. no. BM 857 pls. 32.1; Cook 2005, 49 no. 12 pl. 13 fig. C; 51 no. 15 pl. 14 fig C.

¹⁸⁵⁸ Kenner 1946, 44 pl. 12.

¹⁸⁵⁹ For possible examples, see footnotes 1843. 1844. 1845.

¹⁸⁶⁰ For the image, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 606 no. 295; 642. It is nevertheless possible to argue that the tunic of the Greek warrior is actually a short *chiton* (*heteromaschalos*). For instance, another Greek and Amazon on the vase wear the exact same kind of tunic with a shoulder strap in varying degrees of disarray (with the Amazon's tunic still fitted to the body, but the Greek's tunic at least slipping at the front); as such, perhaps the tunic in question has finally come undone in the throes of battle, but the broken shoulder strap is simply not visible for some reason.

¹⁸⁶¹ For examples, Cook 2005, 44 no. 4 pl. 7 fig. K; Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 606 nos. 298. 299; 607 no. 315a. For the possibility that a warrior (Perikles?) on the shield of Athena Parthenos originally wore an *exomis*, Harrison 1981, 294.

¹⁸⁶² It is possible that some Amazons wear the *exomis* in the Amazonomachy of the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, Cook 2005, 46f. no. 8 pl. 9 fig. G; 49f. no. 13 pl. 12 fig. F. It seems more likely, however, that the *chiton* is not

The Greek and Amazons nevertheless share a notable commonality in bodily exposure on the pottery from Megale Hellas: at times, the warriors and warrioresses alike wear nothing but a knee-length “skirt”, which is belted at the waist (pl. 160a).¹⁸⁶³ This outfit leaves their chest (or breasts) deliberately exposed, in order to allow for greater freedom of movement.

In summary, the strict categorization of the bare-breasted Amazons in the Classical Period as victims is dubious at best: the motif is actually taken over from the world of warriors.¹⁸⁶⁴ Both the Greeks and the Amazons are portrayed in chest-exposing garments. It is difficult to determine whether the short *chiton* is deliberately or accidentally detached on one shoulder,¹⁸⁶⁵ but in either case, the motif serves to highlight their vigour and courage. The inadvertently loosened tunic is not a sign of weakness or inadequacy, but rather of fearless, violent action, taken even to the brink of defeat. The intentionally loosened tunic is practical, allowing for greater dynamism in battle.¹⁸⁶⁶ It is highly symbolic that the Amazons willingly enter into situations that allow their bodies to be put on display: these warrioresses “... once again forgo the usual form of female appearance; their need to fight is more important to them, and therefore their ethos as manlike heroines.”¹⁸⁶⁷ There is, however, seemingly a notable difference between the Greeks and Amazons. From the beginning, the warriors occasionally wear an *exomis*, so that the chest is intentionally revealed from the outset of battle. For the warrioresses, however, the bodily display was not necessarily deliberate. This distinction nevertheless starts to break down: it becomes increasingly common to portray the Amazons with an exposed breast, irrespective of their precise activity. By the Hellenistic Period at the latest, the short *chiton* (*heteromaschalos*) is even transformed into the standard “costume” of the warrioresses.¹⁸⁶⁸ As such, the exposure of the breast initially occurs in a passive and sporadic manner, due to bravely fighting to the death, but then in a more active and consistent manner, as a constituent part of their pugnacious identity.

5.1.1.1.1.5 Summary

The full wardrobe of the Amazons was established by the end of the Classical Period. It is true that the collection of garments and weaponry exhibits considerable variety, with innumerable permutations. There is, however, a unifying trend: after an initial period of experimentation, the Amazons are invariably modelled after male fighters, whether Greek or foreign (e.g. Skythian, Thrakian, Persian,

sewn down the entire side, in order to produce long slits for greater freedom of movement (which might even become ripped open).

¹⁸⁶³ For an example of an Amazon wearing this outfit (combined with cross-bands), Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 593 no. 92.

¹⁸⁶⁴ R. Veness and B. Kaeser argue that draping the *chiton* in a manner that leaves the upper body exposed in principle comes from the world of men, Kaeser 2008b, 158; Veness 2002, 105.

¹⁸⁶⁵ Kaeser 2008b, 158.

¹⁸⁶⁶ Kaeser 2008b, 159.

¹⁸⁶⁷ Kaeser 2008b, 159 (translation by the author). Quite similarly, R. Veness claims that the bared breast is not merely a sign of vulnerability, but also of power: “... Amazons may be seen as the equals of men, who are regularly allowed to expose naked flesh,” Veness 2002, 105.

¹⁸⁶⁸ Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 650; Kaeser 2008, 158f.

African).¹⁸⁶⁹ Patterning the dress of the Amazons after that of Greek hoplites underscores the warrioresses status as *antianeirai* - that is, as “evenly matched” opponents of men.¹⁸⁷⁰ The significance of their eastern dress is a bit more ambiguous.¹⁸⁷¹ On the one hand, the women are compared once again to male fighters, mastering other styles of warfare. On the other hand, the barbarian dress not only calls their technical and ethical equality with the Greeks into question, but also serves to feminize the Amazons and therefore to mark them as insufficiently “manly”. In the end, the “Greek” Amazon with a selection of eastern attributes - such as the battle-axe, *pelta* shield, or the occasional “Phrygian” cap - was generally favoured in visual culture, or at least in the freestanding statuary and sculptural reliefs of the Classical and Hellenistic Periods.¹⁸⁷²

5.1.1.1.2 Feminization of the Dress

It has been demonstrated that the Amazons typically adopted the dress of male fighters. Quite interestingly, however, the masculine dress of the Amazons was progressively transformed and modified between the Archaic and Hellenistic Periods, in order to bring about a more “feminine look”.¹⁸⁷³ It is worth exploring this phenomenon in terms of their body styling, garments, accessories, as well as the interaction between their masculine dress and female bodies.

5.1.1.1.2.1 Body Styling

It is possible to mark the Amazons as female through their body styling. The skin of warriors is left in the default glaze on black-figure pottery, whereas the skin of warrioresses is painted white (e.g. pl. 147b).¹⁸⁷⁴ The difference in complexion is unrealistic: the Greeks and the Amazons both enter onto battlefield and so their skin ought to be equally tanned. Instead, the warrioresses are portrayed exactly like proper, sequestered women. The visual contrast - black vs. white - seems to imply that fighting men are essentially different from fighting women.

The Greeks tend to have short haircuts.¹⁸⁷⁵ The Amazons, on the other hand, are always portrayed with long, gorgeous hair, which is similar to elite women.¹⁸⁷⁶ In some cases, the warrioresses wear their hair down.¹⁸⁷⁷ This is inconvenient for warfare, but effectively puts their femininity on display: indeed, the long, loosely hanging locks of hair are perfectly visible under their helmets and bonnets (e.g. pl. 87a).

¹⁸⁶⁹ For discussion, see chap. 5.1.1.1.1.

¹⁸⁷⁰ For discussion, see chap. 5.1.1.1.1.1.

¹⁸⁷¹ For discussion, see chap. 5.1.1.1.1.2.

¹⁸⁷² For discussion, see chap. 5.1.1.1.1.3.

¹⁸⁷³ R. Veness and especially B. Kaeser have addressed some of the feminine features of the Amazons, primarily in Attic ceramics, Kaeser 2008b; Veness 2002. It is worthwhile summarizing and building on these examinations here, especially by considering not just what these women wear, but also how they wear it (e.g. draping, folding, fastening), as well as the interaction between their female bodies and masculine dress.

¹⁸⁷⁴ Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 637; Veness 2002, 96. For discussion on the tanned complexion of men and the pale complexion of women, see chap. 3.2.1.1.

¹⁸⁷⁵ It is true that both Greeks and Amazons are shown with long strands of hair, but the feature is more often attested among women than men, Kaeser 2008b, 149.

¹⁸⁷⁶ Kaeser 2008b, 149f.

¹⁸⁷⁷ Female figures, however, tend to wear their long hair bound up or covered, Lee 2015, 72.

In other cases, the warriorresses wear their hair pinned up (e.g. pl. 153b). The coiffures are not necessarily practical though, but rather beautiful and elaborate.¹⁸⁷⁸ The expenditure of time and resources for maintaining long, gorgeous locks is obviously counterintuitive to the violent tasks at hand, as epitomized by the motif of the Greeks pulling the Amazons by their hair (e.g. pl. 160a).¹⁸⁷⁹ In any case, the long hair of the Amazons - connoting luxury and femininity - was borrowed from women in order to signify their essential difference from men.

5.1.1.1.2.2 Garments

It is true that the Amazons trade in their longer, “ladylike” tunics by the end of the 7th century BCE for short, masculine tunics.¹⁸⁸⁰ Nevertheless, the precise appearance and draping of their garments increasingly differs from their male counterparts. This trend is already detectable in the Archaic Period. On Attic ceramics produced in the second quarter of the 6th century BCE, their tunics often feature a wide, embroidered field down the front, containing various designs (e.g. mythical creatures, diamond-shaped patterns) (pl. 161a),¹⁸⁸¹ which closely follows women’s fashions at the time.¹⁸⁸² The Amazons are essentially “manly”, but their lingering association with luxurious decor continues to establish them as different from men.¹⁸⁸³ The sculptural representations of the Amazons were surely painted as well, but the colour is poorly preserved, which makes it difficult to assess whether their garments featured particularly feminine colours or decorations. An analysis of several copies of the Wounded Amazons, originally dating to about the middle of the 5th century BCE, has nevertheless provided valuable insight into their dress: all of the women wear a *chiton* with mostly red, but also yellow hues, as well as decorative bands in various colours (i.e. red, green, blue).¹⁸⁸⁴ The saffron-coloured fabrics, at least, surely lent the garments a feminine touch.¹⁸⁸⁵

Another notable feature is the overfold, which requires a bit of background information. The tunics of both men and women are generally cut longer than actually worn on the body. One means of shortening the garment is to create an overfold: that is, a second layer of fabric hanging around the torso, produced by folding excess material downward from the shoulder-line of the tunic towards the exterior.¹⁸⁸⁶ It is of varying lengths, consisting of anything from a short flap, to a longer one, which can even reach below the waist and thus resemble an additional overtunic.¹⁸⁸⁷ The overfold is

¹⁸⁷⁸ Kaeser 2008b, 150.

¹⁸⁷⁹ For examples, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 593 no. 92; 594 no. 104; 602 no. 242.

¹⁸⁸⁰ For discussion, see chap. 5.1.1.1.1.1.

¹⁸⁸¹ Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 637; Kaeser 2008b, 156f; Veness 2002, 96. For examples of the pattern, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 588 nos. 6. 8. 9. 12; 604 no. 257; 636 no. 809.

¹⁸⁸² Kaeser 2008b, 156f; Veness 2002, 96.

¹⁸⁸³ Kaeser 2008b, 156f.

¹⁸⁸⁴ Østergaard et al. 2014.

¹⁸⁸⁵ For the connotations of saffron-coloured garments, Olson 2017, 141; see also chap. 3.3.1.1.2

¹⁸⁸⁶ For discussion on the overfold, Bieber 1928, 17f.; Cleland et al. 2007, 133f.; Lee 2015, 100. The overfold is often referred to as an *apoptygma*. It seems, however, that the terms *apoptygma* (as well as *kolpos*) in modern scholarship has no basis in ancient Greek nomenclature, Lee 2004.

¹⁸⁸⁷ Cleland et al. 2007, 133. The material is either girded to the body or hangs loosely.

overwhelmingly associated with women in ancient Greek visual culture.¹⁸⁸⁸ Between 700-550 BCE, it is already a standard feature of the *peplos*, a pinned garment worn exclusively by female figures (pl. 161b).¹⁸⁸⁹ Between 550-480 BCE, it is occasionally attested on the *chiton* as well, both the long and short versions.¹⁸⁹⁰ By the Classical Period, however, the overfold practically disappears from the tunics worn by men.¹⁸⁹¹ Moreover, it is not as long and extravagant for men as for women.¹⁸⁹²

The overfold is almost exclusively connected to women due to its luxurious but modest connotations. This additional layer of fabric might provide more warmth, as well as reduce damage and fraying caused by attaching the tunic at the shoulders.¹⁸⁹³ It seems, however, that it was primarily decorative: it is possible to arrange the excess fabric into complex folds for aesthetic effect, which at the same time flaunts the wearer's wealth and status.¹⁸⁹⁴ This sartorial feature simultaneously draws attention to the breasts and obscures them, thus signifying the containment of female sexuality.¹⁸⁹⁵ Moreover, women can use the overfold as a veil, by pulling the fabric in front of them or over their heads.¹⁸⁹⁶

Quite significantly, the overfold is occasionally added to the short tunics of the Amazons in the Classical Period, precisely when the sartorial feature becomes more or less exclusive to women.¹⁸⁹⁷ This is first attested on Attic ceramics. On an Attic red-figure cup dating to ca. 450 BCE, Achilles is shown tragically slaying Queen Penthesilea at the same moment he falls in love with her (pl. 162a).¹⁸⁹⁸ The focus is not on the battle, but on the loss of a beautiful woman. Quite strikingly, she has layered a short *peplos* with a long, overgirt overfold on top of her short *chiton*, presumably due to its capacity to foreground her femininity.¹⁸⁹⁹ Moreover, the Amazons occasionally don a short *peplos* with a loosely hanging overfold in battle (pls. 162b. 163a).¹⁹⁰⁰ This is an imaginary garment, which underscores the paradox of the fighting woman: indeed, it allows the warriorresses to behave in a manly way, without completely renouncing their femininity. In other cases, a short, decorative overfold is simply added to the short *chiton* (pls. 163b. 164a).¹⁹⁰¹ The same trends are attested in the sculptural reliefs of the late Classical Period as well.¹⁹⁰² The majority of the Amazons on the Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Phigaleia wear a normal short *chiton*, just like their male opponents.¹⁹⁰³ Nevertheless, a few of the Amazons wear a

¹⁸⁸⁸ Kühnel 1992, 48.

¹⁸⁸⁹ Bieber 1967, 27f. For the *peplos*, Bieber 1928, 17-18; Cleland et al. 2007, 143; Lee 2005; Lee 2015, 100-106.

¹⁸⁹⁰ Bieber 1928, 20f.; Bieber 1967, 29.

¹⁸⁹¹ Bieber 1967, 32.

¹⁸⁹² Bieber 1967, 32. 34.

¹⁸⁹³ Bieber 1928, 17.

¹⁸⁹⁴ Cleland et al. 2007, 133f.

¹⁸⁹⁵ Cleland et al. 2007, 133f.; Lee 2005, 60-62; Lee 2015, 106.

¹⁸⁹⁶ Bieber 1928, 18; Lee 2015, 105.

¹⁸⁹⁷ It is possible that the overfold was added to the tunic of the Amazons slightly earlier. For instance, a bronze statuette dated ca. 500 BCE shows an Amazon in a *peplos* with a short overfold, Hill 1949, 104 cat. 236 pl. 44.

¹⁸⁹⁸ For the cup, Berger 1994, 298 no. 34; Steinhart 2008, 179. 183-185.

¹⁸⁹⁹ Her Hellenic and feminine dress stands out all the more, since her fellow warriorress is dressed like a Persian.

¹⁹⁰⁰ For examples, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 598 no. 179; 606 no. 297; Thomsen 2011, 182 fig. 76.

¹⁹⁰¹ For examples, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 592 no. 83; 606 no. 293; 633 no. 765; 606 no. 293.

¹⁹⁰² For examples, Cook 2005, 42f. no. 2 pl. 5 fig. F; Kenner 1946. 45 pl. 14.

¹⁹⁰³ Madigan - Cooper 1992, 70-78.

peplos with a long, overgirt overfold (pls. 164b. 165a),¹⁹⁰⁴ or else a short *chiton* with a short, loose overfold (pl. 164b).¹⁹⁰⁵ It seems that the inclusion of this sartorial feature aimed to preserve sexual difference despite the exchange of gendered dress, to hint that the warrioresses are in some sense different or even inferior to their male opponents.

It is also necessary to consider how their tunics are belted and bloused, which requires some background information. A belt is any band of flexible material that binds a garment to the body.¹⁹⁰⁶ It is possible to shorten a belted tunic by blousing the garment around the level of the waist: that is, by pulling any excess fabric through the belt to create an overfall.¹⁹⁰⁷ The belting and blousing practices among men and women exhibit similarities, but also differences.

The trends vary according to garment type. First of all, the *peplos* is worn exclusively by female figures and in several ways.¹⁹⁰⁸ It might remain ungirdled (e.g. young girls, pregnant women) (pl. 165b).¹⁹⁰⁹ Otherwise, it is girdled at the waist. Sometimes the belt is placed over a long overfold (e.g. goddesses like Athena Parthenos, marriageable girls), in which case the garment is lightly bloused at the sides so that the belt remains visible (pl. 166a).¹⁹¹⁰ In addition, by the 4th century BCE, marriageable girls wear a *kestos*, which consists of narrow cross-bands and an apotropaic amulet at the centre (e.g. Herakles knot) (pl. 166b).¹⁹¹¹ Other times the *peplos* is girdled below a mid-length overfold, and then bloused to create an overfall that obscures the belt (e.g. married women) (pl. 167a).¹⁹¹²

The *chiton* is worn by both men and women alike, but the majority of men trade in the long tunic for the short version by the 5th century BCE.¹⁹¹³ When worn by female figures, the *chiton* is sometimes ungirdled.¹⁹¹⁴ Otherwise, the garment is belted at the waist or even lower (pl. 167b).¹⁹¹⁵ It is most common to use one belt, in which case the fabric is either left unbloused to keep the belt on display, or else bloused to create a potentially long overfall that obscures the belt.¹⁹¹⁶ At times a second belt is included as well, running directly over or else slightly above the first belt, in which case the fabric is not bloused, thus leaving the second belt fully visible.¹⁹¹⁷ By the Hellenistic Period, the *chiton* of female

¹⁹⁰⁴ Madigan - Cooper 1992, 74f. 114 no. BM 533 pl. 46 fig. 142; 75f. no. BM 531 pl. 45 fig. 146. These are identified as full-length *peploi*, since there is no compelling evidence that the robes were shorter. In the case of Antiope, at least, it is possible that the *peplos* reaches below the knee, but not all the way to the ground.

¹⁹⁰⁵ For examples, Cook 2005, 42f. no. 2 pl. 5 fig. F; Madigan - Cooper 1992, 114 no. BM 533 pl. 46 fig. 142.

¹⁹⁰⁶ For discussion on belts, Lee 2015, 134-137.

¹⁹⁰⁷ The overfall is often referred to as a *kolpos*. It seems, however, that the terms *kolpos* (and *apoptygma*) in modern scholarship has no basis in ancient Greek nomenclature, Lee 2004.

¹⁹⁰⁸ For the *peplos*, Bieber 1928, 17f.; Lee 2005; Lee 2015, 100-106.

¹⁹⁰⁹ Bieber 1928, 18; Lee 2015, 135f.

¹⁹¹⁰ Bieber 1928, 18; Lee 2015, 135f.

¹⁹¹¹ For discussion on the *kestos*, Lee 2015, 137-139.

¹⁹¹² Bieber 1928, 18; Lee 2015, 136.

¹⁹¹³ For discussion on the *chiton*, see chap. 3.2.2.1.

¹⁹¹⁴ Bieber 1928, 19. Perhaps the *chiton* is belted in a way that reflects the female life course, see Lee 2015, 135f.

¹⁹¹⁵ Bieber 1928, 19. As demonstrated by H. Winkler, female figures belt their *chiton* low on their hips to signify their virginity (before marriage) or their chastity (after marriage), Winkler 1996, 115.

¹⁹¹⁶ Bieber 1928, 19.

¹⁹¹⁷ Bieber 1928, 19.

figures is no longer girdled at the waist, but rather directly under the breasts (pl. 168).¹⁹¹⁸ Since the fabric is never bloused in this case, the belt is extremely conspicuous.

The *chiton* of male figures is girdled in a similar manner, but with key differences. Both the long and short versions are either left unbelted (e.g. boys, priests, cuirassed warriors) or belted at the waist (e.g. pl. 49b).¹⁹¹⁹ The garment is typically belted once, at times left unbloused but more commonly bloused just enough to cover the belt.¹⁹²⁰ There is also the possibility of adding a second overlying belt.¹⁹²¹ These belts primarily secure their garments to their bodies, with the second belt serving as extra reinforcement, especially for active men. The *exomis* of male figures is belted once at the waist in a similar manner.¹⁹²² It is also possible for male athletes, charioteers and warriors to wear additional belts for primarily functional reasons (e.g. for infibulation, to prevent their tunics from blowing in the wind, as a baldric for weapons).¹⁹²³

To summarize, belts are worn by both men and women, but with some notable differences. The belts of men primarily serve a practical purpose, whereas the belts of women also serve an aesthetic purpose.¹⁹²⁴ Men do not have gender-specific belting practices, whereas women can wear feminine belts (e.g. *kestos*) as well as girdling themselves in a feminine manner (e.g. directly under the breasts, low on the hips). It is true that both men and women blouse their garments, but the overfall is generally more pronounced among the latter - this paradoxically covers the belt and yet draws attention to it. Men tend to have a relatively short overfall at the waist,¹⁹²⁵ whereas women often wear a long overfall, falling even over the buttocks, thus lending the tunic a voluptuous and flouncy appearance.¹⁹²⁶ The creation of elaborate folds requires a considerable amount of excess fabric, which evokes luxury and

¹⁹¹⁸ Bieber 1967, 35. At times, however, the *chiton* is belted low on the hips.

¹⁹¹⁹ Bieber 1928, 21. Moreover, the belt remains around the waist with the transition to the Hellenistic Period, rather than migrating upward. One notable exception is the charioteer: he always wears a wide and obvious belt at the chest, in order to prevent his long robes from flapping in the wind, Lee 2015, 137.

¹⁹²⁰ M. Bieber notes that the *chitones* of men are bloused, Bieber 1928, 21. It is certainly more common for men to blouse their tunics, but unbloused tunics are possible as well, e.g. Clairmont 1993b, 103f. cat. 2.155; 185f. cat. 2.254; 64f. cat. 3.141.

¹⁹²¹ Bieber 1928, 21. M. Bieber claims that the second belt is less common for men than for women.

¹⁹²² Lee 2015, 112.

¹⁹²³ For the belts of athletes, Scanlon 2002, 235. For the belts of charioteers, Lee 2015, 112. 137. For the belts of warriors, Schmitt Pantel 2012, 29; it seems, however, that warriors (and "Greek" Amazons) in visual culture tend to wear their weapons on a separate baldric over the shoulder. Note also that Herakles often wears an extra belt to secure his lion skin, see Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 587-597 nos. 1-167.

¹⁹²⁴ It seems that this difference was established from the beginning: already in the Homeric epics, the *zoster* (heroic warrior's belt) and the *zoma* (inner backing for the heroic warrior's belt) carried heroic connotations, and the *mitre* (bronze guard, attached to the hoplite bell-corslet) was seemingly the functional replacement or improvement on the *zoster* and *zoma*; in contrast, the *zone* was associated with female sexuality, including sexual desirability and chastity, Bennett 1997, 61-175.

¹⁹²⁵ For examples, Richter 1936, 95 cat. 67; 107 cat. 77; 111f. cat. 81; 116f. cat. 86; 120 cat. 89; 151-163 cat. 118; 160f. cat. 127; 163-165 cat. 130; 168-171 cat. 135; 183f. cat. 146; 187 cat. 152; Clairmont 1993a, 232 cat. 1.030; 241f. cat. 1.153; 516f. cat. 1.981; Clairmont 1993b, 103f. 2.155.

¹⁹²⁶ For examples, Richter 1936, 53f. cat. 31; 70 cat. 49; 72-75 cat. 52; 115f. cat. 85; 116f. cat. 86; 120 cat. 89; 123 cat. 94; 151-153 cat. 118; Clairmont 1993a, 309f. cat. 1.315; 482f. cat. 1.883; 491f. cat. 1.905; Clairmont 1993b, 129f. cat. 2.196.

restricts movement, features both typical of feminine dress.¹⁹²⁷ Quite notably, the inverse trends are attested among barbarians, which outline these sartorial norms all the more.¹⁹²⁸

Belting practices were also integral to the construction of femininity. The girdle is a sign of feminine beauty.¹⁹²⁹ For instance, Hera attempts to seduce Zeus by wearing not only a hundred-tasseled belt,¹⁹³⁰ but also the *kestos* of Aphrodite, which is described as a “broidered zone, curiously wrought, wherein are fashioned all manner of allurements; therein is love, therein desire, therein dalliance - beguilement that steals the wits even of the wise”.¹⁹³¹ Furthermore, belts indicate the sexual status of females throughout their lives.¹⁹³² The young girl remains ungirdled.¹⁹³³ She ties on a belt (as well as the *kestos*) upon reaching menarche,¹⁹³⁴ and in a rather conspicuous manner, to signify her marriageability.¹⁹³⁵ After her betrothal, she dedicates her childhood belt to divinities like Athena or Artemis,¹⁹³⁶ which foreshadows her husband’s removal of her girdle.¹⁹³⁷ While a married woman continues to wear a girdled, full-length tunic,¹⁹³⁸ the belt is not so visible anymore, but often indicated by the conspicuous overfall.¹⁹³⁹ This accessory is removed once again during pregnancy,¹⁹⁴⁰ perhaps not merely out of convenience, but also to signify her sexual unavailability.¹⁹⁴¹ Such distinctions break down, however, after the switch to high-girdled tunics in the Hellenistic Period: by this point, female figures wear a highly visible belt at various stages of their lives.¹⁹⁴² Overall, the act of binding the female body with a girdle reflects the patriarchal nature of this society: it symbolizes the containment of female sexuality, as well as its release for socially constructive ends (e.g. marriage, childbirth).¹⁹⁴³

Quite significantly, the Amazons adopt not only the belting and blousing practices of men, but also increasingly those of women over time. To start, the “Greek” Amazons of the Archaic and Classical Period are generally belted just like their male counterparts.¹⁹⁴⁴ The warriorresses wearing the cuirass

¹⁹²⁷ Cleland et al. 2007, 73.

¹⁹²⁸ M.M. Lee notes that the sartorial norms of the Greeks often contrasts with barbarians, Lee 2015, 136. 139. The trends for Greek men and women outlined here are completely turned on their head in the case of Bousiris, who is dressed in a long *chiton* with an overfold, belted at the waist and bloused to create a long overfall, as well as a *kestos*; for Bousiris in the textual and visual sources, Laurens 1986.

¹⁹²⁹ Lee 2015, 135. Pandora is beautified with a girdle from Athena, Hes. theog. 575-576.

¹⁹³⁰ Hom. Il. 14, 181.

¹⁹³¹ Hom. Il. 14, 214-217 (translation in Murray 1963, 83).

¹⁹³² For discussion, Blundell 2002, 156-158; Lee 2015, 134-139; Schmitt Pantel 2012, 28f.

¹⁹³³ Blundell 2002, 156; Lee 2015, 135; Schmitt Pantel 2012, 28.

¹⁹³⁴ Lee 2015, 135f.; Schmitt Pantel 2012, 28.

¹⁹³⁵ Lee 2015, 135f.

¹⁹³⁶ Blundell 2002, 156; Schmitt Pantel 2012, 28.

¹⁹³⁷ Blundell 2002, 156; for discussion on removing the girdle for consummation, Schmitt Pantel 2012, 28f.

¹⁹³⁸ Lee 2015, 136; Schmitt Pantel 2012, 29.

¹⁹³⁹ This is relevant for both the *peplos* and the *chiton*, see Bieber 1928, 18f.

¹⁹⁴⁰ Lee 2015, 136; Schmitt Pantel 2012, 29

¹⁹⁴¹ Lee 2015, 136.

¹⁹⁴² Bieber 1967, 35.

¹⁹⁴³ Lee 2015, 136. 139.

¹⁹⁴⁴ For examples of warriors wearing a *chiton* or *exomis* on Attic ceramics featuring Amazonomachies, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 592 no. 89; 606 no. 295; 606 no. 303; 607 no. 315a; 633 no. 765. For examples of warriors wearing a *chiton* or *exomis* in Greek sculptural reliefs featuring Amazonomachies, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 593 nos. 101. 102.

are unbelted.¹⁹⁴⁵ The warriorresses wearing a short *chiton* alone receive a belt at the waist, which is either left unbloused or bloused to create a short overfall, with the possibility of layering a second belt on top for more security.¹⁹⁴⁶ It has been argued that these belts function like a baldric for both sexes, but the attachment of a scabbard is not evident here.¹⁹⁴⁷ Rather, Greeks and Amazons alike tend to wear a baldric over their shoulder. As such, belting practices of the “Greek” Amazons are essentially borrowed from the world of men. It is, however, perhaps no coincidence that there is an overwhelming preference to put the girdle of the Amazons on display: this is a common feature of marriageable women, which fits well into their identities as desirable, but wild and undomesticated women.¹⁹⁴⁸ Moreover, it is possible for the Amazons to wear a *kestos*, or even a “built-in” bra. This distinctly feminine belting practice is attested in sculpture from the Greek mainland (e.g. Tholos at Delphi (pl. 169a), Temple of Asklepios at Epidaurus, Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Phigaleia (pl. 169b)),¹⁹⁴⁹ but is especially popular among the eastern-looking Amazons on ceramics from Megale Hellas (pl. 170a).¹⁹⁵⁰ The cross-bands are not only draped over the breasts in an erotically appealing manner, but also expressed the virgin status of the wearer and her potential marriageability.¹⁹⁵¹ The chaste, man-hating warriorresses are therefore recast as objects of sexual desire. The overall result is a mishmash of Greek and eastern fashions, of masculine and feminine sartorial traits, which precludes a straightforward categorization of the Amazons.¹⁹⁵² This deliberately plays with the (a)sexuality of the Amazons.

¹⁹⁴⁵ This style of belting is especially abundant in Attic black-figure ceramics; for a few examples, see Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 589 nos. 28. 33. 35.

¹⁹⁴⁶ All of these options are attested in Attic red-figure ceramics; for examples, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 592 nos. 83. 89; 601f. no. 232; 602 no. 243; 606 no. 293; 606 no. 303; 606 nos. 296. 295. 302.; 607 no. 319. Images of the Amazons in freestanding statuary and sculptural relief from the Late Archaic to High Classical Period are poorly preserved or only in copies, so the details of the dress are not clear, see Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 602 no. 245; 602f. no. 246; 613 no. 417; 625 nos. 602-605. The Amazons in sculptural relief are more abundant and better preserved in the late Classical Period: here, the belting practices just outlined are more evident, see Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 593 nos. 100-102; 613f. no. 421.

¹⁹⁴⁷ Schmitt Pantel 2012, 31. The two examples provided by P. Schmitt Pantel do not convincingly demonstrate that the Amazons use the belts around their waists to support their scabbards (in one case, the Amazons clearly have baldrics over their shoulders or in their hands; in another case, the poor preservation of the white paint could account for the absence of baldrics). Perhaps there are better examples of this usage elsewhere.

¹⁹⁴⁸ P. Schmitt Pantel demonstrates that the literary sources about Herakles retrieving the belt of Hippolyta mix themes of masculinity and femininity, as well as marriage and war, in order to highlight the ambiguous position of the Amazon in the ancient world; she assumes that the belts of the Amazons are polysemous in the visual sources as well, but bases this on the overall thematic rather than concrete features of the belts (besides in the corpus of images of Hippolyta giving her belt to Herakles), Schmitt Pantel 2012, 31-37. It seems that the key point of overlap between the belts of warriors and the belts of maidens is the strong tendency to put them on display, which shows their practical function for men in warfare but the marriageability of women in society.

¹⁹⁴⁹ For examples, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 593 no. 100; 614f. no. 421; Madigan - Cooper 1992, 114f. no. BM 541 pl. 49 fig. 150.

¹⁹⁵⁰ For examples, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 610 no. 369; 611 nos. 376. 381. 384; 612 nos. 390. 392.

¹⁹⁵¹ For discussion on the *kestos*, Lee 2015, 137-139.

¹⁹⁵² Note that the Amazons modeled after the Persians on Attic and Italiot Greek ceramics of the Classical Period wear a broad and decorative belt over their eastern outfits (e.g. *ependytes*, *chiton cheirotodos*); for examples, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 593 no. 92; 598 no. 186; 602 no. 243. This is, however, comparable to men as well: the Greeks sometimes wear the same broad, decorative belts (on Attic ceramics over decorative tunics, but on Greek Italiot ceramic as a rule); for examples (in Amazonomachies), Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 606 nos. 298. 302.; 610 no. 369; 611 no. 376.

The shift toward distinctly feminine belting and blousing practices is clearly discernible in the Hellenistic Period. Most significantly, the Amazons start to belt their *chitones* directly under the breasts.¹⁹⁵³ In doing so, the warriorresses follow the same new fashion attested among other women at this time. The frieze of the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander clearly reveals the gender-specific nature of this belting practice.¹⁹⁵⁴ Here, the Greeks occasionally wear a short tunic, which is belted at the waist and bloused to create a short overfall. The Amazons, on the other hand, belt their tunics twice: once at the waist and bloused to create an overfall - sometimes relatively short, other times relatively long - and the second time directly under the breasts (pl. 170b).¹⁹⁵⁵ The high girding feminizes their short, masculine tunics. Moreover, the tunics with long overfalls are actually quite long, but significantly shortened through blousing.¹⁹⁵⁶ In these cases, the warriorresses effectively transform robes that would be suitable for women into tunics suitable for active, “manly” pursuits, but the transformation is neither completed nor disguised: indeed, the long overfall is not only characteristic of female dress in general, but also clearly references the drastic alterations to their garments. Besides that, the elaborate folds are a sign of luxury associated with women in particular¹⁹⁵⁷ - the care required to maintain them obviously inconsistent with their violent actions. In rare cases, the *kestos* is added to the mix as well (pl. 170b).¹⁹⁵⁸ The result is an indeterminate dress, which is not clearly associated with either sex.

5.1.1.1.2.3 Accessories

The Amazons are occasionally adorned with feminine accessories. It is possible for them to wear jewellery (e.g. necklaces, earrings, anklets) (e.g. pl. 171a).¹⁹⁵⁹ The ornaments are completely illogical for battle, but serve to mark the Amazons as beautiful women.¹⁹⁶⁰ For instance, when Achilles tragically slays the beautiful Queen Penthesilea, it is fitting that she is richly adorned with an exquisite headband, dangling earrings and bracelets (pl. 162a).¹⁹⁶¹ Moreover, the Amazons occasionally pin up their hair with feminine accessories (e.g. *kekryphalos*) (pl. 153b).¹⁹⁶²

¹⁹⁵³ For examples in freestanding statuary and sculptural relief, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 594 no. 104; 614 nos. 425. 428. 434. 436. 437. 439; 615 no. 443. For some examples in the minor arts, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 594 no. 109; 615 no. 446; 617 nos. 468. 471.

¹⁹⁵⁴ For the frieze, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 594 no. 104; Yaylali 1976.

¹⁹⁵⁵ It is, however, possible that some of the Amazons actually wear a tunic with a long overfold. (The distinction between the overfold and overfall on the dress of the Amazons seems to break down over time, perhaps due to an increasing stylization of the dress; this is especially pronounced in Roman art.)

¹⁹⁵⁶ M. Bieber recognizes that the *chiton* of Artemis is shortened as well, Bieber 1977, 71f.

¹⁹⁵⁷ For the symbolic connection between elaborate folds and femininity, Cleland et al. 2007, 73.

¹⁹⁵⁸ For an example, Yaylali 1976, pl. 9, fig. 3.

¹⁹⁵⁹ Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 637; Kaeser 2008b, 150f.; Veness 2002, 97. 105. For discussion on the importance of jewellery for constructing feminine identity in ancient Athens, Cohen 2012. It is also possible for the Amazons to wear feminine headgear (e.g. *sakkos*), but this is uncommon.

¹⁹⁶⁰ Kaeser 2008b, 150f.

¹⁹⁶¹ For the cup, Berger 1994, 298 no. 34 (dated to 450 BCE); Steinhart 2008, 179. 183-185. Kaeser 2008b, 151.

¹⁹⁶² For an example (i.e. Amazons wearing a *kekryphalos*, a haircut that still reveals their hair at the back), Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 606 no. 298. For discussion on bindings of the head and hair in general, Lee 2015, 158-160.

It is also possible to equip them with imaginary, “feminine” arms, which underscores the paradox of the fighting woman. For instance, the warriorresses wear a helmet adorned with leaf-shaped designs, characteristic of the diadems of brides and female deities.¹⁹⁶³ It is even possible for their armour to serve as an extension of their bodies. Herakles is often shown grasping the panache of an Amazon, as a substitute for her own hair beneath the helmet (pl. 147b).¹⁹⁶⁴ The Greeks and Amazons wear the exact same cuirasses in the late Archaic Period, with stylized spirals to represent their chests. With the introduction of anatomical cuirasses in the Classical Period, however, the ideal musculature of the warriors is clearly indicated, as well as the breasts of the warriorresses (pls. 171b. 172a).¹⁹⁶⁵

5.1.1.1.2.4 Interactions between Body and Dress

It has been demonstrated that the masculine dress of the Amazons is feminized to some extent, in order to maintain overt markers of sexual distinction. The Greeks and Amazons are set apart in another way as well: namely, through their physical bodies, as well as the interaction between their bodies and their dress. It is striking that the Greeks are increasingly portrayed in a state of agonal nudity, whereas the fair-skinned Amazons are as a rule clothed.¹⁹⁶⁶ The warriorresses are therefore excluded from the defining costume of their male counterparts. Moreover, the Greeks and Amazons tend to wear their garments and accessories in a manner that draws attention back to their bodies. It is worth evaluating how the dress of the Amazons strikes a careful balance between their female bodies and “manly” social identities, as well as the significance of this negotiation.

The Greeks tend to battle in the nude, whereas the Amazons remain clothed and generally avoid transparent garments (cf. pls. 172b. 173a).¹⁹⁶⁷ The main issue is not their status as barbarians, who are as a rule clothed,¹⁹⁶⁸ but rather their status as women, due to the different connotations of undress for each sex.¹⁹⁶⁹ Women dressing up like warriors present the viewer with a striking paradox: “the more the image of a mythical Amazon approximates that of a ‘real’, that is to say male warrior, the more her feminine body comes to the fore.”¹⁹⁷⁰ In other words, the Greeks are shown in varying states of undress

¹⁹⁶³ Kaeser 2008b, 151.

¹⁹⁶⁴ For examples, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 588 no. 18; 589 nos. 23. 35.

¹⁹⁶⁵ Kaeser 2008b, 152f.; Veness 2002, 102. B. Kaeser notes, however, that anatomical cuirasses for the Amazons were rare; the artists avoided the issue of revealing their bodies by providing them with linen cuirasses.

¹⁹⁶⁶ Kaeser 2008a, 71; Kaeser 2008b, 155f.; Veness 2002, 95f. 97.

¹⁹⁶⁷ Kaeser 2008a, 71. 157. The unique exceptions ultimately prove the rule, e.g. Mayor 2014, 118. fig. 7.1.

¹⁹⁶⁸ It is possible that the Amazons are clothed in part due to their status as barbarians. For the Greeks, “their view of the ‘other’... was obviously mediated through their own self-image...”, which “... served as a foundation on which specific deviations were built,” Sparkes 1997, 135. It is therefore hardly surprising that the Greeks are portrayed “naked and perfectly shaped”, whereas the Thracians, Skythians and Persians are never shown undressed, Sparkes 1997, 133. 142. It is true that Amazons are likened to the Greeks in terms of dress and behaviour, but their exclusion from their defining costume still marked them as different and even inferior.

¹⁹⁶⁹ For discussion, see chap. 3.2.1.2.

¹⁹⁷⁰ Kaeser 2008b, 156 (translation by the author). The same trend is attested for female athletes and huntresses, see chaps. 3.3.2.4; 6.1.1.1.2.4.

to display their powerful, muscular bodies, but for Amazons - as beautiful, sexually developed women - the same outfits ultimately reveal their soft, erotic bodies.¹⁹⁷¹

In fact, the Amazons are only portrayed completely nude to express their weakness and desirability. By the Hellenistic Period, these warriorresses are sporadically represented on the brink of death, with the drapery fallen from their bodies. In some cases, they are being torn by the hair from their horses (pl. 173b).¹⁹⁷² In other cases, they are being supported by their fellow combatants in a more sympathetic manner.¹⁹⁷³ The same theme was extended to Achilles and Penthesilea: the nude warriorress is tenderly propped up by her admirer (pl. 174a).¹⁹⁷⁴ The full state of undress - or nakedness - attested among dying Amazons is in no sense related to the agonal nudity of Greek warriors. It is a visual convention drawing attention to the female nature of the combatant, suddenly rendered completely harmless. In the case of Achilles and Penthesilea especially, the nudity takes on erotic connotations as well: the warriorress is effectively recast as a physically attractive woman, whose fierce and bellicose characteristics are almost completely suppressed.

The female sex is excluded from agonal nudity by nature; this is at least valid for women with fully developed bodies, if not their younger counterparts.¹⁹⁷⁵ The full state of undress of the Amazons - with its connotations of vulnerability and sexual desirability - would be irreconcilable with their reputation as strong, courageous fighters. The Amazons therefore required an alternate dress to convincingly convey their “manly” qualities. The search landed on other garments and accessories from Greek warriors. It is true that masculine dress, in contrast to feminine dress, generally leaves more skin uncovered. The short tunics of Greek warriors show off their muscular chests and limbs; moreover, the anatomical cuirass is like a second skin, indicating their impressive pectoral muscles. By adopting these same articles of dress, the Amazons still put their erotic bodies on display.¹⁹⁷⁶ This trend is beautifully demonstrated by a battling Amazon from the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos: her short tunic has not only slipped off her breast, but also reveals her shapely buttocks and long legs due to the slit at the side (pl.

¹⁹⁷¹ Kaeser 2008b, 156; Veness 2002, 102. 105 (noted for the breasts in particular). Note, however, that the Amazons portrayed on black-figured pottery have exceptionally trained, muscular bodies, which are still comparable to the bodies of Greek warriors; for a few examples, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 588 no. 9; 590 nos. 51. 58. The Amazons are portrayed with softer, more erotic bodies in the course of time.

¹⁹⁷² For examples, Berger 1994, 301 nos. 55a-b; Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 615 nos. 449. 450.

¹⁹⁷³ For a possible example dating to ca. 200 BCE, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 631 no. 733. The theme is definitely attested in the Roman Imperial Period, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 631f. nos. 734-738.

¹⁹⁷⁴ The image of Achilles supporting the dying Penthesilea emerged in the Classical Period, in a no longer extant painting by Panainos (ca. 440/430 BCE), Paus. 5, 11, 6; Berger 1994, 300 no. 51; 305. The exact dress of Penthesilea is uncertain here. Achilles supports the nude Penthesilea in Roman copies of sculptural types dating to roughly the same time as this painting, Berger 1994, 300 nos. 52. 53. The earliest extant image of Achilles supporting the nude Penthesilea dates to ca. 200 BCE, Berger 1994, 300 no. 53c. For an early example of Achilles supporting the nude Penthesilea in Roman visual culture (i.e. a fragment from Arretine ware, dated to the 1st century BCE), Berger 1994, 300 nos. 53. 54; Raepsaet 1985. For other examples from the Roman Imperial Period, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 600 no. 195; 601 nos. 223a. 225.

¹⁹⁷⁵ For discussion, see chaps. 3.2.1.2; 3.3.2.4.

¹⁹⁷⁶ Kaeser 2008b, 156; Veness 2002, 102. 105 (noted for the breasts in particular).

174b).¹⁹⁷⁷ It is nevertheless clear, due to the lack of nude warrioresses in combat scenes, that the need to portray the Amazons as convincing fighters ultimately overrode any impulse to highlight their sexual desirability. The Amazons are certainly beautiful, but the view of their erotic bodies is primarily incidental. Indeed, their sole concern is to fight like men, not to beautify themselves for men.¹⁹⁷⁸

The Greeks and Amazons tend to wear their garments and accessories in a manner that draws attention back to their bodies. The Amazons are certainly perceived as “monstrous” women, as transgressors against the natural order. Nevertheless, these warrioresses always have beautiful faces.¹⁹⁷⁹ The Greek warriors often wear helmets that obscure their faces (e.g. Corinthian, Chalcidian).¹⁹⁸⁰ The Amazons, on the other hand, prefer helmets that show off their faces, such as Attic types without cheek guards (pl. 175a) or even imaginary designs, consisting of nothing more than a crested “cap” (pl. 175b).¹⁹⁸¹ Moreover, the Amazons increasingly set their helmets (and other headgear) aside from the 5th century BCE onward, in order to show off their beautiful hair.¹⁹⁸²

Turning to the tunics of the Greeks and Amazons, it is significant that the garments are cut, draped and secured in a manner that not only puts their bodies on display, but also exaggerates their different physiques. This trend is especially pronounced by the Hellenistic Period, as exemplified by the Amazonomachy on the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander.¹⁹⁸³ The frieze features hundreds of extant combatants, with the Greeks on foot and the Amazons on horseback. The dress of the Greeks and Amazons exhibits notable commonalities.¹⁹⁸⁴ The majority of the Greeks are nude, but, quite significantly, a number of them wear a tunic attached on only one shoulder (pl. 176a).¹⁹⁸⁵ The display of their powerful chests is surely deliberate here. The Amazons are likewise dressed in short tunics, which are practically always detached on one shoulder.¹⁹⁸⁶ The detached tunic of the Amazons at times connotes strenuous action, or even battling to the death, as is likewise testified for men in the visual record.¹⁹⁸⁷ In fact, some of their tunics were clearly torn under extreme duress (pl. 176b).¹⁹⁸⁸ Considering the relative uniformity of the dress of the Amazons, however, their breast-exposing tunics are better viewed as a costume, which is deliberately “... unpinned on the right shoulder to allow freer movement in using a weapon.”¹⁹⁸⁹ The Amazons therefore wear a tunic that is

¹⁹⁷⁷ For the image of the Amazon, Cook 2005, 46f. no. 8 pl. 9 fig. G.

¹⁹⁷⁸ Kaeser 2008b, 155. 157. 159.

¹⁹⁷⁹ Kaeser 2008b, 147f.

¹⁹⁸⁰ Knaus 2008b, 82.

¹⁹⁸¹ Kaeser 2008b, 148; Knaus 2008b, 82; Veness 2002, 97; Wünsche 2008b, 106.

¹⁹⁸² Kaeser 2008b, 149.

¹⁹⁸³ For the frieze, Yaylali 1976.

¹⁹⁸⁴ For a detailed summary of the dress of the Greek and Amazons here, Webb 1996, 90-92.

¹⁹⁸⁵ See Yaylali 1976.

¹⁹⁸⁶ For exceptions, Yaylali 1976, pl. 4 fig. 1; pl. 7 fig. 2; pl. 15 fig. 1; pl. 21 fig. 4.

¹⁹⁸⁷ For discussion, see chap. 5.1.1.1.1.4

¹⁹⁸⁸ For examples, Yaylali 1976, pl. 7 figs. 1. 3.

¹⁹⁸⁹ Webb 1996, 90.

strikingly similar to their male opponents, not merely in terms of its basic form, but also in terms of the sartorial agency and bodily display of its wearer.

There are, however, some notable differences. The most obvious point is that contrasting physical features are exposed in the process: the tunic attached on only one shoulder reveals the muscular torsos of the Greeks, but the soft breasts of the Amazons, which ultimately highlights the incongruity of the masculine dress on their female bodies. The bare breast - though intended to be “manly” by the Amazons - was in all likelihood viewed erotically as well.¹⁹⁹⁰ Furthermore, the original pattern of the tunic for the Greeks is relatively short. It is draped over their left shoulder, typically forming a short sleeve there, and then belted to form a short, flat overfall at the hips, which cinches and outlines the underside of their abdominal muscles (pls. 176a. 177a). The arrangement of the garment exaggerates their broad, V-shaped physique. In contrast, the original pattern of the tunic for the Amazons is generally longer, perhaps even falling to their feet in some instances, and thus significantly shortened. The tunics are fastened at the shoulder(s) and fitted with a belt directly under the breasts, in order to accentuate their shapeliness (pls. 170b. 176. 177). This is typically combined with a relatively long and puffy overfold hanging around the hips (or even the buttocks) (pls. 170b. 177).¹⁹⁹¹ Taken as a whole, the addition of these feminine sartorial traits exaggerates their hourglass figure.

5.1.1.1.2.5 Summary

The prioritization of the Amazon’s warriorhood over their womanhood is confirmed by their careful, selective emulation of the Greeks. The warriors are frequently shown in agonal nudity. For the warrioresses, however, the same state of undress is not a sign of strength or bravery, but rather of their fragility and sexual desirability.¹⁹⁹² It follows that the Amazons battling like the Greeks in a short *chiton*, cuirass and other arms is essentially a compromise: indeed, the dress is sufficiently “manly”, without revealing too much of their vulnerable, erotic bodies.

There is, however, a notable caveat here, namely, that the Greek dress of the Amazons is increasingly feminized between the Archaic and Hellenistic Period. This effect is achieved in a variety of ways. First of all, the bodies of the warrioresses are beautified in a manner comparable to elite women (e.g. white skin, long hair).¹⁹⁹³ Secondly, the Amazons eventually wear a long *chiton*, which is suitable for their sex, but hitched up to suit their “manly” lifestyle.¹⁹⁹⁴ The warrioresses are also marked out as women through the addition of feminine sartorial features (e.g. overfold, high girding) and other accessories (e.g. jewellery, anatomical cuirasses). Thirdly, the Greeks and Amazons essentially wear the same kinds

¹⁹⁹⁰ Kaeser 2008b, 159.

¹⁹⁹¹ It is, however, possible that some of the Amazons actually wear a tunic with a long overfold. (The distinction between the overfold and overfall on the dress of the Amazons seems to break down over time, perhaps due to an increasing stylization of the dress; this is especially pronounced in Roman art.)

¹⁹⁹² For discussion, see chap. 5.1.1.1.2.4.

¹⁹⁹³ For discussion, see chap. 5.1.1.1.2.1.

¹⁹⁹⁴ For discussion, see chaps. 5.1.1.1.2.2; 5.1.1.1.2.3.

of dress, but the garments and accessories interact with their bodies in a manner that not only displays their diverse physical features, but also retraces and embellishes them.¹⁹⁹⁵ The interaction between the masculine dress and female bodies of the Amazons shows off their lovely faces and exaggerates their hourglass figures. The result is an indeterminate dress, which is not easily ascribable to either sex, but simultaneously expresses their female nature and masculine behaviour.

This feminization of the Amazons - which is attested from their first appearance, but comes more into the forefront over time - indicates the continued need to establish sexual difference between “real” male warriors and females in battle contexts. It was generally agreed that gender, even as a slippery construction, ought to be predicated on anatomy.¹⁹⁹⁶ It therefore seems probable that overt references to the female bodies of the Amazons, as well as their inclination for feminine adornment, aided in preserving a binary system of gender based on sexual difference (i.e. male/masculine vs. female/feminine). On the one hand, the Amazons are dressed like men and strive to act like them, thus transgressing the boundaries of their sex; on the other hand, the focus on their physical bodies and womanly sartorial features makes it clear that these “warriors” are, in fact, not “real” men and presumably fall short of this ideal. This is exactly what is confirmed in ancient Greek mythology and imagery: in the end, the Amazons are vanquished by the Greeks, despite their exceptional strength and courage. Overall, the Amazons are permitted to “break the rules” in an imaginary setting, in order to reinforce the proper gender roles of males and females in Greek society.¹⁹⁹⁷

5.1.1.2 Reception of the Dress in Roman Visual Culture

It is finally time to consider the dress of Amazons in Roman visual culture. This brief examination seeks to assess the Roman engagement with Greek models, by determining which kinds of dress were adopted, adapted or even outright rejected.

Between the Archaic and Hellenistic Period, the Amazons are shown in various costumes, closely modeled after male combatants: that is, as heavily-armed Greek hoplites, as eastern fighters (i.e. Skythians, Thracians, Persians, Africans), or else some mixture, appearing in countless permutations. The dress is, however, progressively feminized. The representations of Amazons in Roman visual culture borrow heavily from Greek models, especially from the freestanding statuary and sculptural reliefs of

¹⁹⁹⁵ For discussion, see chaps. 5.1.1.1.2.4.

¹⁹⁹⁶ For discussion on conceptions of gender in antiquity, see chaps. 2.1.2.1; 2.2.2.

¹⁹⁹⁷ Images of extremely “manly” Amazons (in body styling, garments and accessories), with the capacity to perform just as well as their male counterparts in the same roles, would be far more transgressive: it would call into question the widespread notion that males and females naturally possess certain qualities and capacities to help them fulfill their respective gendered roles. It does not seem, however, that “manly” Amazons would present a major challenge to the gender hierarchy, in which men are placed above women (there would have been the possibility of treating them as aberrations). In contrast, these images of “womanly” Amazons suggest that a division of tasks and roles based on sexual difference is not necessarily inevitable, but natural and ideal. On the other hand, it could be argued that these “womanly” Amazons might call the gender hierarchy into question: it suggests that males and female are equal in virtue in principle, even if this manifests itself differently in practice.

the Classical and Hellenistic Period.¹⁹⁹⁸ As such, the “Greek” Amazon - that is, in a short *chiton*, but with a mixture of Hellenic accessories (e.g. helmets, spears, fur boots) and eastern accessories (e.g. battle-axe, *pelta*, “Phrygian” cap) - was overwhelmingly favoured in Roman visual culture.¹⁹⁹⁹ Moreover, the dress of the Amazons is consistently feminized: indeed, the various markers of womanhood introduced in ancient Greek visual culture and culminating in the Amazonomachy on the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander, for instance, are clearly preferred here, with the majority of the warriorresses exhibiting several of them.²⁰⁰⁰ In this sense, the dress of the Amazons is remarkably uniform in Roman visual culture, although never completely standardized.

It is possible to compare the dress of the Greeks and Amazons on the earliest Roman Amazonomachy Sarcophagus, dating to 140/150 CE, which was discovered near Rome along the Via Collatina (pl. 91a. 178. 179).²⁰⁰¹ The Greeks and Amazons are shown with ideal faces. The warriors have short haircuts, whereas the Amazons have long hair, bound up with hairbands in practical but beautiful hairstyles. The Greek warriors usually wear short *chitones* that are only attached on one shoulder, which reveal their well-defined pectoral muscles. Two of them, however, wear their short *chitones* under a cuirass, and the trumpeter wears a normal *chiton* in combination with a *chlamys*. The Amazons also wear short *chitones*. Half of them are dressed in a tunic attached on both shoulders, in one instance under a chest protector made of thicker material, which nevertheless leaves one breast vulnerable. The other half are dressed in a tunic attached on one shoulder.²⁰⁰²

The manner in which the Greeks wear their short *chitones* is, however, strikingly different from the Amazons. The tunics of the warriors feature a short and flat overfall at the waist. The folds are relatively heavy and stiff. The tunics of the warriorresses feature high girding in about half of the cases. Moreover, the tunics usually have either a long overfold or overfall, which are often difficult to differentiate due to the overt stylization of the dress - in any case, the fabric tends to lightly billow around the hips. The lower hem of the tunic tends to billow in a similar manner. The same traits are attested on the Victories at the corners of the sarcophagus, but not among the Greek warriors, indicating that these sartorial features are in fact characteristic of women here. Overall, the short tunics of the Greek warriors and Amazons are rather similar in form, but manipulated in a gender-specific manner to exaggerate their diverse sexual features: that is, the broad, V-shaped physique of the men, versus the busty, hourglass shape of the women.

¹⁹⁹⁸ Krauskopf 2010, 45. 47. For discussion of the dress, see chap. 5.1.1.1.1.3.

¹⁹⁹⁹ This is their standard dress in Roman visual culture, see Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981. Note that the *embades* of the Amazons take on a slightly altered form here, due to the addition of an animal scalp and paws, Goette 1988, 422. Quite notably, the fitted outfits of eastern fighters basically fall out of their wardrobes.

²⁰⁰⁰ This is their standard dress in Roman visual culture, see Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981.

²⁰⁰¹ For the sarcophagus, Grassinger 1999b, 237 cat. 94.

²⁰⁰² For the chest protector, Grassinger 1999, 144.

The arms of the Greeks and Amazons also exhibit similarities and differences. The Greeks always wear a helmet. The majority of them wear an Attic helmet, but one of them wears a Corinthian helmet, which is unrealistically propped up on his head. The majority of the Amazons have completely dispensed of their helmets, in order to show off their elaborate coiffures, but two of them wear an Attic helmet just like the Greeks. The warriors tend to fight with swords, whereas the warrioresses wield a battle-axe. There is, however, evidence for mixing: one of the warriors is equipped with both a sword and a battle axe.²⁰⁰³ Otherwise, the two sides are at least distinguished by their shields: the Greeks carry a round shield, but the Amazons their distinctive *pelta*. The Greeks are frequently barefoot, but also wear boots, whereas the Amazons wear fur boots as a rule.

Overall, it is clear that the trends established by the Greeks were carried over into the Roman visual culture. The dress of the Amazons is designed to establish their likeness to Greek warriors, while clearly marking them off as women and barbarians.

The bodies of the Amazons are more exposed than ever in Roman visual culture. The breast-baring tunic is firmly established as Amazonian costume. Tunics attached on only one shoulder are extremely common among the warrioresses by this time (but without entirely supplanting the other tunics), and even selected irrespective of context. Indeed, bare-breasted Amazons are shown not only in bloody combat, whether still battling or already vanquished,²⁰⁰⁴ but also in more tranquil contexts.²⁰⁰⁵ For instance, on mythological sarcophagi featuring the arrival of the Amazons at Priam's court, the Amazons are usually bare breasted, including in scenes of arming themselves for battle (pl. 180a).²⁰⁰⁶ As such, the original connotations of bared breast - that is, vigorous action and fighting to the death - had clearly faded into the background in Roman visual culture. Rather, the breast-baring tunic is transformed into Amazonian costume: the bodily display is certainly deliberate and therefore comparable to their male opponents, but also highlights their female nature.

Furthermore, the images of nude Amazons increase in popularity in Roman visual culture. Amazons being dragged from their horses and losing their garments are uncommon.²⁰⁰⁷ In contrast, images of nude, dying Amazons supported by their fellow warrioress (pl. 180b), but especially of Penthesilea

²⁰⁰³ Moreover, one of the Amazons holds a spear.

²⁰⁰⁴ It is clear from the sarcophagi featuring Amazonomachies that barebreastedness was a feature of both battling and fallen Amazons; on the other hand, fallen Amazons virtually always have an exposed breast, so the associations between barebreastedness and battling to the death were not entirely lost. For the sarcophagi, Grassinger 1999b, 237-258 cat. 94-146.

²⁰⁰⁵ A cameo shows a bare-breasted Amazon in a bucolic scene with Paris and Helen, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 635 no. 791. On a mosaic portraying the Amazons sacrificing to Artemis, the women approach the altar bare-breasted, see Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 635 no. 793. Moreover, the Amazons are commonly depicted with an exposed breast on coins, where the warrioresses are simply sitting or standing; for examples, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 629f. nos. 696. 698. 701. 703. 705.

²⁰⁰⁶ For some examples of bare-breasted Amazons arriving at Priam's court on Roman sarcophagi, Grassinger 1999b, 235 cat. 88; 235f. cat. 89; 236 cat. 90; 236 cat. 91.

²⁰⁰⁷ For examples, Berger 1994, 301 no. 55d; Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 615 no. 546.

supported by Achilles, are more prevalent (pl. 181).²⁰⁰⁸ As such, the Amazons are increasingly eroticized in Roman visual culture, especially in the case of the dying queen.

5.1.1.3 Conclusions

The Amazons appear in wide variety of dress in ancient Greek visual culture, which places different degrees of emphasis on their identities as warriors, barbarians and women.²⁰⁰⁹ By the time the warrioresses enter into Roman visual culture, however, their dress is remarkably uniform.²⁰¹⁰ Indeed, the “Greek” Amazon, with select eastern and feminine features, is overwhelmingly preferred. The result is a constantly replicated and hence easily comprehensible visual code: the Amazons are instantly recognizable, but with the possibility to adjust their (un)dress to a certain degree, in order to produce different effects in different contexts (e.g. battling, dying).

The most obvious observation is that the warrioress costume of the Amazons in Roman visual culture primarily consists of masculine garments and accessories, including the short *chiton*, boots and lethal arms.²⁰¹¹ It is not merely practical, but articulates a specific lifestyle and identity for the women who choose to wear it.²⁰¹² By dressing up like active men, the Amazons present themselves as fiercely opposed to marriage and domestic life as a whole - these women prefer to lead a strenuous, violent life outdoors.²⁰¹³ This was probably viewed with fascination, but also with apprehension. Indeed, the warrioress costume marks them off as a manlike, monstrous or otherwise abnormal women, starkly opposed to traditional gender roles and institutions.²⁰¹⁴ It illustrates the potential threat posed by women, as well as the need to domesticate them.²⁰¹⁵ Moreover, “the suggestion that women might be equal to men raises issues about the status of women and their role in society.”²⁰¹⁶

A closer look at the dress, however, clearly reveals that gender distinctions are never completely abolished - in fact, the standard warrioress costume in Roman visual culture is more feminized than ever.²⁰¹⁷ The women wear *chitones* essentially suited to their sex, but drastically shortened to suit their active, “manly” lifestyle. These tunics are draped on their bodies in a distinctly feminine way (e.g. high girding, long overfold), which also draws attention back to their hourglass figures. The women are also portrayed in various states of undress - whether due to their imitation of men, or for erotic effect -

²⁰⁰⁸ For examples of an Amazon supporting her nude comrade in Roman visual culture, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 631 no. 734; 632 nos. 735. 735a. 736. 737. 738. For some examples of Achilles supporting the nude Penthesilea in Roman visual culture (including copies of Greek originals), Berger 1994, 300 nos. 52a. 52b. 52c. 52d. 53a. 53b. 53d. 53f. 53g; Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 600 no. 195; 601 nos. 223a. 225.

²⁰⁰⁹ For discussion, see chap. 5.1.1.1.

²⁰¹⁰ For discussion, see chap. 5.1.1.2.

²⁰¹¹ For discussion, see chap. 5.1.1.2.

²⁰¹² Veness 2002, 97. This is argued specifically in relation to Amazons in ancient Greek visual culture, but is valid for the warrioresses in Roman visual culture as well.

²⁰¹³ Parisinou 2002, 61. This is argued specifically in relation to huntresses in ancient Greek visual culture, but is valid for huntresses and other “untamed” women in Roman visual culture as well.

²⁰¹⁴ Veness 2002, 97.

²⁰¹⁵ Veness 2002, 104-106.

²⁰¹⁶ Veness 2002, 97.

²⁰¹⁷ For discussion, see chap. 5.1.1.2; see also chap. 5.1.1.1.2.

which ultimately puts their female bodies on display. It seems that the inclusion of feminine features serves to mark sexual difference at the same moment the warrioresses “cross-dress”, in order to demonstrate that these women are essentially different, or perhaps even inferior to their male counterparts. Moreover, the barbarian identity of the Amazons is never entirely suppressed.²⁰¹⁸ It is true that the fitted, eastern outfits completely fall out of their wardrobes, but vestiges of their foreign origins remain, such as the battle-axe and the *pelta*, as well as the occasional “Phrygian” cap. Since the Amazons are primarily shown as “Greeks”, it seems that their retention of barbarian arms contributes to their overall feminization and casts them as intruders in these masculine roles.

The incorporation of warrior, eastern and feminine dress into Amazonian costume seemingly opened up a “third term” or a “space of possibility” for these unique, fighting women, which likened them to, but still rendered them distinct from warriors, barbarians and women.²⁰¹⁹ The result is an indeterminate dress, presenting the warrioresses as “masculine” women in particular, since the warrioresses are comparable to men yet still defined in opposition to them. The dress successfully bridges two normally irreconcilable categories, namely, the strong, courageous man, and the beautiful, sexually desirable woman. These virtues are, however, weighted to various degrees, depending on the precise manipulation of the dress. It seems that masculine qualities are foregrounded in the majority of cases: indeed, Greek warriors are typically depicted in a state of undress, but an alternate masculine costume was selected for the Amazons instead, precisely to minimize their overt sexualization. The erotic bodies of the warrioresses are only incidentally revealed and rarely pushed into the foreground. Furthermore, any barbarian features that might suggest their relative inferiority are generally minimized. In the final analysis, however, the Amazons are still seen to fall short of “real” men - due to their inferiority in battle - in order to reinforce the traditional division of gender roles.

5.1.2 Towards a Visual Code - The Dress of the Goddess Virtus in Roman Visual Culture

The warrioress costume in Roman visual culture is not the result of mindless copying of Greek forms, but a convenient means of marking out “masculine” women. It is notable that the Amazons strongly influenced the dress of Virtus, the goddess of “manliness” in the Roman world, who has no clear precursor in Greek visual culture. This transfer clearly demonstrates the capacity of the warrioress costume to signify a woman with masculine qualities in its own right.²⁰²⁰

²⁰¹⁸ For discussion, see chap. 5.1.1.2; see also chap. 5.1.1.1.3.

²⁰¹⁹ As shown by M. Garber, the cross-dresser challenges the idea that the body provides a stable basis for gender identification and exposes the artificiality of binary gender categories by constituting a “third term” or a “space of possibility”, Garber 1992, 1-17. This seems to be the case here as well. For a similar argument (specifically in relation to Amazons in ancient Greek visual culture), see Veness 2002, 99.

²⁰²⁰ There are numerous other newly-created city, territory and quality goddesses in Roman visual culture that engage with this sartorial code, which cannot be considered in detail here; it seems plausible that these women were intended to be viewed as “manly” as well.

Virtus - from *vir*, or “man” - is broadly defined as manliness or manhood, encompassing a variety of qualities associated with adult male citizens in particular (e.g. strength, bravery, capacity).²⁰²¹ Despite the etymology of *virtus*, the grammatical gender of this abstract quality is actually feminine: as such, the divine embodiment thereof is visualized as a woman.²⁰²² The iconography of *Virtus* includes several essential features (pl. 182).²⁰²³ First of all, she is almost invariably dressed in a short *chiton*.²⁰²⁴ Her left breast is usually bared, and certainly deliberately.²⁰²⁵ Indeed, since *Virtus*’ breast is revealed whether resting or swiftly moving, the feature is clearly integral to her costume. The short *chiton* is belted twice: once just under the breasts and a second time at the waist, where the fabric is generally bloused to produce a long overfall.²⁰²⁶ Moreover, *Virtus* often wears a *chlamys*, either attached at the right shoulder or else bunched on the left one.²⁰²⁷ She is outfitted for battle, consistently wearing a helmet and boots, although the other arms - i.e. spear, baldric/sword, round shield - are variable.²⁰²⁸ Finally, *Virtus* often wields the *parazonium*, a short triangular sword; this is her most distinctive attribute, even if it is not exclusive to her.²⁰²⁹ *Virtus* is usually either standing or running. She serves as an emblem of “manliness” in her own right,²⁰³⁰ leads forth a chariot,²⁰³¹ accompanies a man into battle or the hunt,²⁰³² or even crowns him.²⁰³³ She is also frequently accompanied by *Honos* (pl. 183a).²⁰³⁴ Her militaristic character is probably due to the strong connection between *virtus* and courage during the Republican Period, when the iconography of the goddess first developed at Rome.²⁰³⁵

The iconography of *Virtus* was invented by the Romans. She was worshipped by the Republican Period in temples at Rome, which presumably required cult statues.²⁰³⁶ Cassius Dio reports that the statue of

²⁰²¹ C.T. Lewis - C. Short 1879, 1997 (s.v. *virtus*). For the significance of *virtus* (as well as the shifting semantics), see chap. 7.5.1.

²⁰²² The visual representations of abstract qualities depended on grammatical gender, Stafford 1998. It is interesting that the rare descriptions of *Virtus* in Latin literature characterize certain aspects of her physical body as that of a man, Stat. Theb. 10, 632-649; Sil. 15, 20-31; for discussion on the gender-blending descriptions of *Virtus* in these passages, Agri 2020. There is, however, no obvious indication that the body of *Virtus* is particularly “manly” in the visual record; for the images of *Virtus*, Ganschow 1997.

²⁰²³ For the images of *Virtus*, Ganschow 1997. It is difficult to distinguish *Virtus* from *Roma*; for the iconography of *Roma* in general, Di Filippo Balestrazzi 1997; Vermeule 1959. It has been suggested that *Roma* is more likely to be seated than *Virtus*, Ganschow 1997, 281; McDonnell 2006, 149. Moreover, *Roma* is generally shown as an independent woman, as the equal of men in visual culture, whereas *Virtus* is generally shown as the subordinate to men in art, Bol 1998, 150f.; Ganschow 1997, 280; Pfanner 1983, 68.

²⁰²⁴ In rare cases, she has a full-length tunic, see Ganschow 1997, 274 nos. 10c. 11; 276 nos. 29a. 30; 281.

²⁰²⁵ In rare cases, she has a tunic attached on both sides, see Ganschow 1997, 276 no. 32; 277 no. 48.

²⁰²⁶ The inclusion of an overfold seems unlikely, although the feature is not always easily distinguishable from the overfall; for examples possibly featuring an overfold, Ganschow 1997, 277f. nos. 48, 50, 58, 61.

²⁰²⁷ For examples, Ganschow 1997, 276 nos. 28. 32. 34; 277 nos. 43. 49; 278 nos. 51. 57. 58; 279 no. 64.

²⁰²⁸ For discussion on the arms of *Virtus* in general, Ganschow 1997, 281.

²⁰²⁹ Ganschow 1997, 281.

²⁰³⁰ For examples, Ganschow 1997, 274 no. 9a. 9b. 10d.

²⁰³¹ For examples, Ganschow 1997, 276 nos. 32-36; 277 no. 37.

²⁰³² For examples, Ganschow 1997, 277f. nos. 38-54.

²⁰³³ For an example of *Virtus* crowning a man, Ganschow 1997, 279 no. 65a.

²⁰³⁴ For examples, Ganschow 1997, 278 nos. 57-59.

²⁰³⁵ For the earliest secure images of *Virtus*, Welkenhuysen 2004.

²⁰³⁶ It seems that a sanctuary of *Honos* and *Virtus* existed at the Porta Collina in the 3rd century BCE. M. Marcellus Claudius dedicated a temple to *Virtus* at the Porta Capena in 208 BCE, in order to immortalize his military victories at Clastidium (222 BCE) and Syracuse (212 BCE); it was deliberately positioned next to an older temple of *Honos*.

Virtus just before the city gates collapsed in 38 BCE, which was taken as a bad omen, but no further details about the monument are offered.²⁰³⁷ It is possible that the statue of Virtus for the temple at the Porta Capena (from 208 BCE) features on a *denarius* minted around 100 BCE by Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, since he was a descendant of its dedicant: here, there is a female figure with the standard dress of Virtus (i.e. short tunic, helmet, boots, spear) being crowned by a male figure similar to Honos (i.e. hip mantle, cornucopia).²⁰³⁸ However, the earliest securely identified images of Virtus are attested on two issues of *denarii* dating to 71-70 BCE, as confirmed by the presence of the legend VIRTVS: here, she is in bust format with a helmet, in one case accompanied by Honos (pl. 183b. 184a).²⁰³⁹ The goddess first appears in her full dress on the late-Augustan Boscoreale Cup (pl. 184b).²⁰⁴⁰ Her popularity in visual culture greatly increased during the Roman Imperial Period.²⁰⁴¹

In contrast, it seems that Andreia (“Manliness”) – the Greek equivalent of Virtus – is hardly of visual interest. The earliest extant image of Andreia appears on the Monument of C. Julius Zoilos at Aphrodisias, a tomb built in honour of a local nobleman and freedman of Augustus after his death in 28 BCE.²⁰⁴² The scene with Zoilos flanked by Andreia (“Manliness”) awarding him a shield, and Time (Honour) crowning him, exhibits considerable Roman influence (pl. 185a) – in fact, the twin deities of military virtue at Rome were hardly recognizable in a Greek setting, hence the inclusion of labels.²⁰⁴³

Quite interestingly, however, the iconography of Andreia is hardly inspired by Virtus.²⁰⁴⁴ She is primarily an adaption of the Aphrodite of Capua (pl. 134b), which had been transformed into a fully clothed victory goddess bearing a shield – perhaps this occurred under the influence of the *gens Iulia*, to signify its military success under the auspices of its divine patroness Venus (pl. 143a).²⁰⁴⁵ Similar to Venus-Victoria, Andreia wears a long *chiton* with an overfold falling to her waist,²⁰⁴⁶ as well as a *himation* over the left shoulder.²⁰⁴⁷ She also holds the shield in a similar manner. The connection to Virtus is limited to

Around 100 BCE, C. Marius built a temple to Virtus and Honos on the summit of one of the hills of Rome, funded by the spoils just won from the Teutones and Cimbri. For discussion on these temples (also as a sign of military *virtus*), Ganschow 1997, 273; Mutschler 2003, 377f.; Welkenhuysen 2004, 78-81.

²⁰³⁷ Cassius Dio, 48, 43, 4; Welkenhuysen 2004, 79 (suggested to be the statue from the Porta Collina).

²⁰³⁸ For discussion of the coins, McDonnell 2006, 147f.

²⁰³⁹ For discussion of the coins, McDonnell 2006, 146f.; Welkenhuysen 2004, 81-85.

²⁰⁴⁰ Ganschow 1997, 278 no. 57; for discussion, 280.

²⁰⁴¹ See Ganschow 1997.

²⁰⁴² Erim 1981, 764 no. 1. For the monument of C. Julius Zoilos in general, Smith 1993.

²⁰⁴³ For discussion on the scene and commentary (including the Roman influence), Smith 1993, 24-32. For instance, Zoilos is dressed in a *toga* to signify his Roman citizenship, and Andreia’s conferral of a shield on Zoilos seems to echo the Senate’s award of the *clipeus virtutis* to Augustus.

²⁰⁴⁴ For the iconography, Erim 1981, 764 no. 1; Smith 1993, 24-26. 29f.

²⁰⁴⁵ Smith 1993, 30. For the Aphrodite of Capua in general, as well as its various transformations in ancient visual culture (including its transformation into Venus-Victoria), Kousser 2008, esp. 58-74.

²⁰⁴⁶ K. Erim identifies the garment as a *peplos*, but the claim is difficult to substantiate, due to the lack of pins at the shoulders and the seams sewn together at the side of the garment, Erim 1981, 764 no. 1. R.R.R. Smith rightly identifies this garment as a *chiton*, Smith 1993, 24.

²⁰⁴⁷ Smith 1993, 26. R.R.R. Smith wonders, however, if the mantle was possibly conceived of as a *chlamys* here.

her arms, including the helmet on her head and the baldric on her right shoulder.²⁰⁴⁸ In short, the iconography of Andreia is a Roman fusion “of Venus-Victory combined with the helmet and baldric of Roma-Virtus.”²⁰⁴⁹ It is highly unlikely that the iconography of Andreia is reflective of an earlier Greek formulation for the goddess; rather, it is a Graeco-Roman synthesis, produced for the commemoration of an Augustan freedman in his Greek hometown.²⁰⁵⁰

The only other images of Andreia - which are few in number - pop up well into the Roman Imperial Period.²⁰⁵¹ Overall, there is no evidence that her iconography was invented in ancient Greece and then later transferred to Virtus at Rome. In fact, the influence flowed in the other direction: the only images of Andreia were produced in a Greek context, but under Roman influence, by drawing on the iconography of Venus-Victoria, Roma-Virtus, or else some eclectic combination.

This not to claim that there is absolutely no Greek influence on the iconography of Virtus. Rather, the Romans employ a Greek “language of images” for her iconography, in order to produce a specific evocation. Visual convention demands that *virtus* (f.) be embodied by a female figure.²⁰⁵² In order to convincingly signify “manliness” through a woman, it seems that Virtus needed to be visibly masculinized. There was already a suitable Greek model at hand: the overall outfit - i.e. the short, but feminized tunic, boots, as well as various arms - situates Virtus within a broader semantic code developed by the Greeks and adopted by the Romans to signify a “masculine” woman in particular. Indeed, this unconventional outfit for women bears “direct reference to the outfit and behaviour of men when performing their traditional roles as hunter, warrior or athlete,” and hence evokes their man-like behaviour, “full of energy and aggression”.²⁰⁵³ On the other hand, the outfit does not entirely suppress their femaleness, but actually draws attention back to it. In particular, Virtus most closely resembles a “Greek” Amazon,²⁰⁵⁴ who is exceptionally heavily armed (e.g. helmet, sword, spear, shield) but still feminine (e.g. bare breast, high girding). There are, however, some notable differences. The eastern accessories of the Amazons - that is, the *pelta*, the battle-axe and the “Phrygian” cap - are completely rejected, despite being the standard for the warriorresses in the Roman Imperial Period.²⁰⁵⁵

²⁰⁴⁸ Smith 1993, 30. The garments of Andreia are distinct from Virtus, who wears a short *chiton* and *chlamys*. It is true that Virtus can also have a shield, but she bears it in a different manner.

²⁰⁴⁹ Smith 1993, 30.

²⁰⁵⁰ Perhaps Andreia is not directly modeled after Virtus in order to differentiate her from Roma on the monument, or else to downplay her military characteristics in favour of more civilian ones, Smith 1993, 29f.

²⁰⁵¹ The first case is mentioned in the *Pinax of Kebes*, dating to the 2nd century CE: she is portrayed alongside various other quality gods, *Pinax of Kebes* 20.3. The iconography is not described here. Andreia is also identified by a label in the *scaenae frons* of the theatre at Hierapolis, which dates to the Severan Period, see Ritti 1985, 68f. She is virtually indistinguishable from Virtus. This is the first image of Andreia to emerge for centuries. It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that Andreia is merely Virtus presented in Greek terms.

²⁰⁵² See Stafford 1998.

²⁰⁵³ Parisinou 2002, 55. 59.

²⁰⁵⁴ For discussion on the Amazons as models for Virtus, Bol 1999, 149-159; Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 650; McDonnell 2006, 146-149. A. Fendt rightly argues that it was possible to bring the costume of the Amazons into connection with strength and bravery in a positive way (e.g. as a visual code for Roma and Virtus), Fendt 2005, 83f. 91; see also Hansen 2007, 112.

²⁰⁵⁵ Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 650.

Moreover, particular attributes set Virtus apart from the Amazons entirely, such as the *parazonium* (pl. 185b) and the *chlamys* bunched on the shoulder (pl. 186a).

The image of the Amazon is complex and ambiguous. There was always the awareness that the union of their masculine, martial virtues with their female bodies constituted a violation of the natural order.²⁰⁵⁶ Virtus, however, is in no sense cast as a threatening aberration; rather, she embodies one of the most praiseworthy qualities at Rome,²⁰⁵⁷ which is properly seen to belong to men.²⁰⁵⁸ This is confirmed by the iconography itself. First of all, Virtus typically accompanies a prominent man (e.g. emperor, military officer, hunter). She signifies his *virtus*, but the expression of strength and courage is by no means contingent on her presence. Indeed, men performing heroic deeds evokes *virtus* in its own right,²⁰⁵⁹ and so the inclusion of the goddess of “manliness” is a matter of visual reinforcement. Secondly, the doppelgänger function of Virtus is bolstered by the fact that her attributes are borrowed not merely from the Amazons, but also from Roman men. Her arms are closer in line with classical than eastern standards. Moreover, the *parazonium* - the most distinctive attribute of Virtus - was a sword of honour at Rome, worn by senior military officers as a sign of their authority.²⁰⁶⁰ The *chlamys* was adopted by the Romans and transformed into various military cloaks, including the ordinary *sagum* of the lower ranks and the more elegant *paludamentum* of the higher ranks.²⁰⁶¹ This cloak is rarely worn by the Amazons; moreover, the practice of bunching the fabric on the shoulder is not characteristic of the warriorresses, but rather of Roman men (e.g. nude, cuirassed statues). The non-essential attributes of Virtus tend to evoke military valour in a Roman fashion as well, such as the legionary eagle or trophies with captives.²⁰⁶² Thirdly, it is true that Virtus takes on a far more masculinized form than the Amazons, but she is instantly recognizable as a woman, due to her high-girdled *chiton*, her exposed breast and so on. She is therefore exceptional in every sense.

To summarize, Virtus is not attested in the visual record until roughly the turn of the 2nd century BCE at Rome. It seems that Andreia - the Greek incarnation of “manliness” - only appears as an anthropomorphic figure after the fact, by drawing on the iconography of Venus-Victoria and Roma-Virtus. As such, Greek models for Virtus were entirely lacking. Nevertheless, the Romans obviously engaged with a Greek “language of images” to create an iconography for Virtus that adequately reflected her masculine and militaristic character. The dress of the Amazons - i.e. short tunic, boots, weapons - was perfectly suitable for evoking “manly” qualities. The additional attributes (e.g. *parazonium*, military cloaks, legionary eagle) were taken over from Roman honorific and military

²⁰⁵⁶ Bol 1998, 151.

²⁰⁵⁷ Bol 1998, 151.

²⁰⁵⁸ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.

²⁰⁵⁹ Grashow 1997, 280; Hölscher 1980, 288-290; McDonnell 2006, 149-158; Noreña 2011, 80f.

²⁰⁶⁰ Lambertz 1949, 1416f.

²⁰⁶¹ For discussion on Roman military cloaks (e.g. *sagum*, *paludamentum*) in general, Cleland et al. 2007, 124f. 137f.; Goldman 1994, 231-233; Kühnel 1992, 186; Scharf 1994, 44-49.

²⁰⁶² Noreña 2011, 81f.

iconography, in order to reflect the *virtus* of Roman men in particular. The rejection of eastern dress (e.g. *pelta*, battle-axe, Phrygian” cap) surely reflects these same concerns. The fact that a woman embodies the virtue of “manliness” is hardly a threat to the natural order, since her presence typically aims to celebrate the strength and courage of dignified men.

5.2 Portraits of Women as Penthesilea

5.2.1 Introduction

The Amazonian Queen Penthesilea is renowned for her tragic combat with Achilles in the Trojan War: in a cruel twist of fate, the Greek warrior fell in love with this beautiful warriorress just after slaying her.²⁰⁶³ Penthesilea was a relatively popular role model for women in the funerary context at Rome and its environs during the first half of the 3rd century CE. Portraits of married couples as Achilles and Penthesilea appear on the front side of at least nine Amazonomachy Sarcophagi (Group VI),²⁰⁶⁴ produced in workshops at Rome (pls. 6-9)²⁰⁶⁵ and then imitated in Campanian workshops (pls. 10. 11).²⁰⁶⁶ The overall format of these portrait groups is generally the same: Achilles has already slain Penthesilea and is supporting her.²⁰⁶⁷ This was selected from an array of possibilities for representing Achilles and Penthesilea, ranging from their single combat in the Trojan War (e.g. pls. 186b. 187a), to the tragic moment when Achilles slayed Penthesilea (e.g. pls. 162a. 175a), to the bitter aftermath, full of pain and regret (e.g. pls. 187b. 188a).²⁰⁶⁸ It is generally assumed, based on the preference for this scenario, that the husband selected this monument for his late wife; however, other possibilities cannot be excluded (e.g. the married couple selecting the monument during their lifetime).²⁰⁶⁹

The following analysis will evaluate how Penthesilea and Achilles became beloved role models in private portraiture. It will start by considering why the identification of women with Amazons seems astonishing. It will then offer an overview of the monuments. Were there perhaps imperial models for this kind of portraiture? And if not, how did the mythological imagery resonate with the emotions of the patrons and viewers, and which sort of virtues did it confer on the deceased and their kin?

²⁰⁶³ For Achilles and Penthesilea in the textual sources, Kossatz-Deißmann 1981, 161f. For a summary of the myth, Börner 2010b, 27; Fornasier 2007, 37-39; Schmuhl 2010, 10f.; Steinhart 2008, 179-181.

²⁰⁶⁴ For the Amazonomachy Sarcophagi (Group VI), Grassinger 1999b, 179-187; 247-257 cat. 118-142.

²⁰⁶⁵ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

²⁰⁶⁶ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, PEN6. 7. 8. 9. It is plausible that more instances of the mythological portrait group exist in the series, but are simply not preserved well enough to detect the individualized features. For another possible example of an Amazonomachy Sarcophagi (Group VI) with a portrait group, Grassinger 1999b, 256 cat. 142. Idealized versions certainly exist as well (for example, Grassinger 1999, 247f. cat. 120; 248f. 122).

²⁰⁶⁷ For the figural group (Achilles Penthesilea Support Group), Grassinger 1999b, 153f.

²⁰⁶⁸ For discussion on the images of Achilles and Penthesilea in general, Berger 1994, 304f.; Berger 1999, 113-115; Glynn 1982, 169-171; Steinhart 2008, 181-185.

²⁰⁶⁹ For discussion on the possibilities, Fendt 2005, 88; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 287. If the monuments were in fact typically selected by husbands for their late wives, then this could account for the relatively few examples (since husbands tend to pass away before their wives).

The identification of the women with Penthesilea seems surprising at first glance. The Amazons are not only heroes (i.e. Greek dress),²⁰⁷⁰ breaking out of traditional gender roles, but also intruders (i.e. eastern dress) and hence the “other”.²⁰⁷¹ At the same time, they are always recognizably women (e.g. female bodies, feminine sartorial features).²⁰⁷² Penthesilea herself – the daughter of Ares – exhibits a mixture of masculine and feminine characteristics.²⁰⁷³ She is a mythical queen in a gynaeocracy: her predecessor assigned women the tasks of war, as well as the administration of the state, “... but to the men she assigned the spinning of wool and such other domestic duties...”²⁰⁷⁴ The literary sources are preoccupied with Penthesilea’s participation in the Trojan War, fighting on the side of King Priam.²⁰⁷⁵ She is described as a bellicose woman, armed for battle with the assistance of her father Ares and effortlessly slaying the Greeks.²⁰⁷⁶ She is considered a worthy opponent of the Greek warriors;²⁰⁷⁷ her man-like behaviour is occasionally met with praise.²⁰⁷⁸ Nevertheless, her sense of self-confidence and violent actions are seen as bold and reckless for a woman. In Quintus Smyrnaeus’ *Posthomerica*, Achilles slays Penthesilea and rails against her attempt to arrogate the roles of men and to conquer the mightiest of heroes.²⁰⁷⁹ A similar rebuke is attested in Dictys Cretensis’ *Ephemeridos Belli Troiani Libri*.²⁰⁸⁰ Here, Penthesilea is not mortally wounded by Achilles and so the Greeks deliberated her fate: she needed to be punished for transgressing the bounds of nature and her sex. Penthesilea is not, however, strictly described as a warlike and audacious woman. She is also extremely beautiful. This feminine virtue is particularly stressed in the *Posthomerica*. She outshone all of the other Amazons entering Troy, due to her lovely face, shining eyes, bright cheeks and ravishing smile.²⁰⁸¹ In combining a host of transgressive and praiseworthy qualities for Roman women, Penthesilea would initially seem like a problematic role model for the female deceased on their funerary monuments.

There is another complicating factor, namely, the identification of men with Achilles on the same monuments. The portrait group was almost certainly intended to commemorate a married couple.²⁰⁸²

²⁰⁷⁰ For discussion, see chap. 5.1.1.1.1.1.

²⁰⁷¹ For discussion, see chap. 5.1.1.1.1.2.

²⁰⁷² Their female nature is occasionally brought to the forefront with themes like sexual attractiveness, abduction and even “womanish” behaviour. Penthesilea is shown in a state of erotic nudity with Achilles (see Berger 1994, 300 nos. 51-54). Antiope is abducted by Theseus (see Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 858f. nos. 1-14). Other Amazons beg for their lives or flee (see Devambez – Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 592 no. 86; 606 no. 298).

²⁰⁷³ A. Fendt identifies strength and beauty as the two primary virtues of the Amazons, Fendt 2005.

²⁰⁷⁴ Diod. 2, 45, 3 (translation in Oldfather 1935, 33); see also Diod. 3, 52-53.

²⁰⁷⁵ For Achilles and Penthesilea in the textual sources, Kossatz-Deißman 1981, 161f.

²⁰⁷⁶ Q. Smyrn. 1, 138-181; 1, 227-232.

²⁰⁷⁷ Sen. Tro. 243.

²⁰⁷⁸ Diod. 2, 46, 5-6; Q. Smyrn. 1, 353-372.

²⁰⁷⁹ “Wretched woman, lie in the dust as carrion for the dogs and birds! Who tricked you into confronting me? Did you think you would return from battle and be given countless gifts by old Priam as reward for killing the Argives? The gods put paid to that idea of yours. We are far the best of the heroes; we bring light to the Danaans, suffering to the Trojans—and to you, now that the grim spirits of doom and your own inclination have roused you to leave women’s work and engage in war, a fearful business even for men,” Q. Smyrn. 1, 643-653 (translation in Hopkins 2018, 61).

²⁰⁸⁰ Dict. Cret. 4, 3.

²⁰⁸¹ Q. Smyrn. 1, 18-61.

²⁰⁸² Fendt 2005, 82; Grassinger 1999a, 322; Russenberger 2015, 384f.; Zanker – Ewald 2004, 287.

The tragedy of the myth is that Achilles fell in love with Penthesilea immediately after mortally wounding her.²⁰⁸³ The casting of husband and wife as bitter foes, as well as the regrettable situation which ensued, would seem difficult to square away with any expression of marital harmony. Moreover, the mythical episode is connected with a host of irrational emotions. Achilles is criticized by Thersites for lusting after his own enemy, especially considering how unmatronly she is.²⁰⁸⁴ He reacts to Thersites' tirade by slaying him in a frenzy.²⁰⁸⁵ Excessive passion and anger indicates a lack of self-control.²⁰⁸⁶ As such, the identification of men with Achilles in this emotional state seemingly had the potential to call their masculinity into question.

In addition, women appearing in the guise of Amazons at Rome were typically viewed with a mixture of awe and fear. It is possible that the Amazons were still understood as "real threat". For instance, Plutarch mentions that the Amazons fought on the side of the Albanoi in their revolt against Rome during the Third Mithridatic War, which was suppressed by Pompey the Great.²⁰⁸⁷ The warriorresses were apparently led in triumph at Rome.²⁰⁸⁸ Moreover, female *gladiatores* in the Roman arena - who were occasionally compared to Amazons - were viewed not only with fascination, but also with apprehension, leading to their banishment from the arena under Septimius Severus.²⁰⁸⁹

Several women connected to "bad emperors" allegedly dressed up like Amazons as well. The cross-dressing motif is clearly intended as slander here. Suetonius claims that Caligula was hopelessly in love with a woman named Milonia Caesonia, who was neither young nor beautiful, but extravagant and promiscuous.²⁰⁹⁰ The emperor allegedly "... exhibited her to the soldiers riding at his side, decked with cloak [*chlamys*], helmet and shield [*pelta*]..." on a regular basis.²⁰⁹¹ Suetonius also maintains that Nero trimmed the hair of his concubines like men and then equipped them with the axes and shields of the Amazons, in preparation for his campaign to suppress the revolt in Gaul in 68 CE.²⁰⁹² The *Historia Augusta* reveals that Commodus loved to show his mistress Marcia as an Amazon.²⁰⁹³ The rhetorical purpose of the cross-dressing motif is basically the same in all of these cases. The masculinized

²⁰⁸³ Achilles' love for Penthesilea is already attested in the *Aithiopsis* (according to Suda, s.v. "Homeros"). For other ancient texts that refer to Achilles' love for Penthesilea, Apollod. Epitome 5, 1; Prop. 3, 11, 15-16; Q. Smyrn. 1, 654-674; Sch. Hom. Il. 24, 804.

²⁰⁸⁴ "What folly, Achilles! Some god, it seems, has beguiled your mind and heart for this wretched Amazon... You take too much delight in women: the mere sight of one has made your cruel heart care nothing for fame or virtuous conduct. Wretched man, where now are your valor, your prudence, your noble and kingly power? Have you no idea what grief was caused the Trojans by their love of women? No human passion is more pernicious than that sexual desire which makes even wise men foolish. Fame comes with hard work: a spearman should desire a reputation for victory in the works of war. Sleeping with women is for cowards!," Q. Smyrn. 1, 722-740 (translation in Hopkinson 2018, 67f.).

²⁰⁸⁵ Q. Smyrn. 1, 741-742.

²⁰⁸⁶ For discussion, see chap. 2.1.2.1. Achilles has trouble managing his emotions in general, also in this scenario.

²⁰⁸⁷ Plut. Pompeius 35.

²⁰⁸⁸ App. Mithr. 12, 103.

²⁰⁸⁹ For discussion, see chap. 2.1.2.2.3.

²⁰⁹⁰ Suet. Cal. 4, 25, 3.

²⁰⁹¹ Suet. Cal. 4, 25, 3 (translation in Rolfe - Bradley 1920, 443).

²⁰⁹² Suet. Nero 6, 44, 1.

²⁰⁹³ SHA Comm. 11, 9.

concubines are treated as aberrations against the natural order, which contributes to their negative reputations as whores, witches or murderesses. On the other hand, the fact that these women were dressed up by the reigning emperors suggests their limited agency in this matter. These scandalous remarks are therefore directed toward the emperors: the blatant disregard Caligula, Nero and Commodus show for social and sartorial conventions is yet another means of casting them as “bad emperors” in the historical record. Overall, the act of masquerading as Amazons at Rome not only cast women in a negative light, but especially their male partners.²⁰⁹⁴

5.2.2 Overview of the Monuments

5.2.2.1 Overview of the Iconography

The overall iconography of the Amazonomachy Sarcophagi under consideration (from Group VI) is relatively uniform. As such, it is sufficient to briefly describe the well-preserved casket in the Cortile del Belvedere (Vatican), which was produced in a Roman workshop around 230/240 CE.²⁰⁹⁵ The front side of the casket (pl. 7) features an Amazonomachy, that is, the battle between the Greeks and Amazons. At each end of the relief is an Amazon holding a *tropaeum* and a horse by the reins. Between them are scenes of one-on-one combat, in which the Greeks clearly have the upper hand: one of the warriors pulls an Amazon from her horse by the hair; another pursues a mounted warrior on horseback; and yet another chokes an Amazon on horseback, with two other warrioresses trying to come to her rescue.²⁰⁹⁶ The supremacy of the Greek warriors is confirmed by the multitude of wounded and slain Amazons lying on the ground.²⁰⁹⁷

The majority of the other sarcophagi under consideration allude to the inevitable triumph of the warriors in the same manner.²⁰⁹⁸ This forms a striking contrast to the Roman Amazonomachy Sarcophagi produced beforehand during the second half of 2nd century CE (Groups I-V) (e.g. pls. 91a. 178. 179), where the fight between the Greeks and the Amazons is still relatively equal,²⁰⁹⁹ and “the emphasis is laid on those elements which undermine a clear dichotomy between victor and vanquished.”²¹⁰⁰ This does not, however, exclude the possibility of highlighting female strength on the later sarcophagi under consideration (Group VI) as well.²¹⁰¹ All of the reliefs include a single combat between an Amazon on horseback and an Amazon on foot, whose outcome is not entirely clear: the Amazon rears above the

²⁰⁹⁴ If there is any truth to these stories, then the emperors liked to see these women in this guise or assumed that someone else would. In the end though, these events were used to reaffirm their deranged state of mind.

²⁰⁹⁵ PEN3. For the dating, Grassinger 1999b, 250f. cat. 127. The main similarities and differences with the other monuments will be noted here as well, and the dress on the monuments as a whole will receive detailed consideration at the end.

²⁰⁹⁶ In the background is a Greek trumpet player.

²⁰⁹⁷ The fallen Amazons fit into the scheme of the hopeless barbarians conquered by the Romans on Battle Sarcophagi, Fendt 2005, 85f. Note, however, that a severely injured warrior lies among them as well.

²⁰⁹⁸ On one of these sarcophagi (PEN2), the superiority of the Greek warriors is not nearly as pronounced. The men and women are relatively equally matched (with the exception of a warrior pulling the hair of a warrior), with just as many casualties on the battlefield.

²⁰⁹⁹ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 287f.

²¹⁰⁰ Russenberger 2015, 455.

²¹⁰¹ Their strength and bravery has been noted in general, Borg 2013, 170; Hansen 2007, 115.

warrior, threatening him from a superior position.²¹⁰² Nevertheless, he does not shirk from the battle and even grabs his female opponent (usually by the reins of her horse). The Amazons have managed to severely wound or slay Greeks as well. Finally, it is striking that Amazons bearing *tropaea* - i.e. signs of military victory - were always selected to frame the battle scene.²¹⁰³

The main focus, however, is not on the battle itself, but on Achilles supporting the dying Penthesilea at the middle of the relief.²¹⁰⁴ Achilles stands in three-quarter view, resting Penthesilea on his left knee and wrapping his right arm (and possibly left arm) around her waist. He slouches a bit under the weight. Penthesilea is shown in frontal view, still relatively upright, but with both legs giving out and practically dangling beneath her. She rests her right arm over the left shoulder of Achilles. Notable here is the sheer size of Achilles. He is almost the same height as the relief, towering well above the rest. Moreover, Penthesilea is significantly smaller than Achilles, but at least the same size as the tallest of the combatants around them. Both Achilles and Penthesilea exhibit individualized features, presumably of a married couple.²¹⁰⁵ The portrait of the beardless man with full and fleshy facial features as well as a short haircut is reminiscent of that of Emperor Maximinus Thrax or his son Gaius Julius Verus Maximus. The portrait of the woman exhibits a coiffure similar to that of Iulia Maesa: the hair is parted at the middle and waved to the back, leaving the ears exposed. On all of the other sarcophagi, the image of Achilles supporting Penthesilea is placed at the middle as well, but with minor variations in the iconography (e.g. Achilles might support himself on a spear in the left hand). The portraits are usually finished, but at times not, which can occur for practical or personal reasons.²¹⁰⁶

The left side of the casket (pl. 8a) features an Amazon - probably Penthesilea - touching the head of a beardless figure kneeling before her, who is dressed in a "Phrygian" cap, a short *chiton* detached on one shoulder and boots.²¹⁰⁷ The exact nature of the scene is disputed. It has been identified as the arrival of Penthesilea in Troy, with the people greeting her as their liberator and one of the Trojans kneeling down to touch her knees in supplication.²¹⁰⁸ This would fit well into the narrative on the front of the casket, as an event preceding the death of Penthesilea at the hands of Achilles. The issue with this interpretation, however, is that the dress of the kneeling figure is not necessarily characteristic of a Trojan in particular, but suitable for an Amazon as well.²¹⁰⁹ Perhaps the scene portrays an Amazon subordinating herself to Penthesilea, as part of a mythological episode unknown from the literary sources. It seems more plausible though that the kneeling figure is merely tending to a wound on her

²¹⁰² For this figural group (Version H2), Grassinger 1999b, 146f.

²¹⁰³ For an exception, PEN4.

²¹⁰⁴ For the figural group (Achilles Penthesilea Support Group), Grassinger 1999b, 153f.

²¹⁰⁵ For the portrait features, Grassinger 1999a, 323; Grassinger 1999b, 180.

²¹⁰⁶ For finished portraits, PEN2. 5. 6. 7; for unfinished portraits, PEN1. 8. 9. In one case (PEN4), the bosses were first carved out in the 17th century CE, Grassinger 1999b, 251-252 cat. 130. For general discussion on unfinished portrait heads on sarcophagi, see Andrae 1984; Huskinson 1996, 81f.; Huskinson 1998.

²¹⁰⁷ For the left side, Grassinger 1999b, 182f.; Robert 1980, 114. The kneeling figure is fairly worn, and so the precise appearance of the dress is not entirely clear.

²¹⁰⁸ For the interpretation, Robert 1980, 114.

²¹⁰⁹ D. Grassinger argues that the dress is not of a Trojan, but rather an Amazon, Grassinger 1999b, 183.

right leg.²¹¹⁰ The motif is attested elsewhere in Roman visual culture as well (e.g. Aeneas, Adonis (pl. 188b)).²¹¹¹ In the background is another Amazon standing behind a wall, holding a *pelta* and battle-axe. The right side of the casket (pl. 8b) merely features an Amazon holding a battle-axe and the reins of a rearing horse.²¹¹² The short sides of the other sarcophagi are no longer extant.

5.2.2.2 Overview of the Dress

5.2.2.2.1 The Dress of the Ideal Figures - Warriors and Amazons

On the Amazonomachy Sarcophagi under consideration (from Group VI), the Greek warriors are usually dressed in heroic costume (i.e. nude but armed), but occasionally in “realistic” military dress (i.e. cuirassed and armed). Garments like the short *chiton* or *exomis* are not attested for men here. Possible arms include the helmet (normally Corinthian, but occasionally Attic), the sword/baldric and the rounded shield. The Greek in the corner typically blows a trumpet. Most of them are barefoot, but some wear boots instead.²¹¹³ The Amazons, on the other hand, all wear a short *chiton*, which is usually only attached on one shoulder and high-girdled.²¹¹⁴ The Amazons at times wrap a *himation* just under their breasts:²¹¹⁵ this is limited to the trophy-bearing Amazon on some caskets,²¹¹⁶ but attested for the warriorresses as a whole on other caskets.²¹¹⁷ The Amazons that are armed wield their distinctive *pelta* and double-axe. Moreover, a few of the caskets also show them with Attic helmets.²¹¹⁸ All of the warriorresses wear fur boots.²¹¹⁹ As such, there is hardly any overlap in the dress of the Greek warriors and Amazons on the sarcophagi under consideration.

This is quite unlike the Amazonomachy Sarcophagi produced beforehand in the second half of the 2nd century CE (Groups I-V).²¹²⁰ It is true that heroic costume was overwhelmingly preferred for the Greek warriors on these earlier monuments - in fact, its selection increased over time, to the virtual exclusion of other outfits by the outset of the 3rd century CE.²¹²¹ It is nevertheless notable that approximately one-fifth of the Greeks were still dressed in the same core garments as the Amazons, that is, the short

²¹¹⁰ Grassinger 1999b, 183.

²¹¹¹ For an example of Adonis receiving treatment, Grassinger 1999, 217f. cat. 62; for an example of Aeneas receiving treatment, Canciani 1981, 391 no. 174.

²¹¹² For the right side, Grassinger 1999b, 182; Robert 1980, 114f.

²¹¹³ For caskets featuring men with boots, PEN1. 3. 9.

²¹¹⁴ It has been suggested that a fallen Amazon on PEN3 is portrayed with the drapery slipping off the shoulder, Fendt 2005, 85. It seems, however, that the short *chiton* is not attached on this shoulder (the feature that looks like slipping drapery is the flap of the fur boot of the Amazon standing next to her).

²¹¹⁵ For further discussion on this sartorial feature (which is more common among huntresses), see chaps. 6.1.1.1.2.2.

²¹¹⁶ PEN4. 5.

²¹¹⁷ PEN6. 7. 8. 9.

²¹¹⁸ For examples, PEN1. 7. 8.

²¹¹⁹ For discussion on the fur boots of the Amazons in Roman visual culture, Goette 1988, 422.

²¹²⁰ The Amazonomachy Sarcophagi (Groups I-V) form the basis of this examination, Grassinger 1999b, 237-247 cat. 94-117. Earlier drawings were consulted for extant, but poorly preserved sarcophagi, i.e. Grassinger 1999b, 239f. cat. 100; 241 no. 102. Missing or extremely fragmentary sarcophagi were excluded, i.e. Grassinger 1999b, 238 cat. 96; 239 cat. 99; 243f. cat. 106; 246f. cat. 117; the fragments listed on 258f.

²¹²¹ Heroic costume was already overwhelmingly favoured for Greek warriors by the time that Amazonomachy Sarcophagi from Group III were being produced.

chiton (or *exomis*). Moreover, some of the Greek warriors wore a cuirass, which is at least comparable to the chest protector made of thick material worn by the Amazons. If this armour is taken into consideration as well, then approximately two-fifths of the Greek warriors were dressed similarly to Amazons. Finally, the Greek warriors were more heavily armed than the Amazons, but almost none of their arms were exclusive to a certain side.²¹²² It is true that the Amazons continue to wear masculine dress on the sarcophagi under consideration (from Group VI). By this point, however, the men and women are starkly differentiated in the details of their masculine dress (e.g. nude vs. clothed bodies, Hellenic arms vs. eastern arms, bare feet vs. fur boots, etc.)

5.2.2.2.2 The Dress of the Portrait Figures - Achilles and Penthesilea

The dress of the portrait figures is fairly similar on the monuments. Achilles is normally portrayed in heroic costume: that is, in a state of undress which reveals his powerful body, but at the same time armed for battle.²¹²³ He typically wears a Corinthian helmet, a *chlamys* (which is secured on his right shoulder, bunched on the left shoulder, or unrealistically waving behind him), and a round shield (which is pushed into the background).²¹²⁴ Less often, Achilles supports himself on a spear or wears a baldric over the shoulder.²¹²⁵ He is barefoot, but wears fur boots in rare cases.²¹²⁶ One of the monuments exhibits different dress (pl. 11b).²¹²⁷ Here, Achilles is not in heroic costume, but in “realistic” military attire: he wears a cuirass over a short tunic, a *chlamys* (secured on the right shoulder) and fur boots. He is also heavily armed here (i.e. Corinthian helmet, baldric, spear).

Overall, Achilles is dressed much like the Greek warriors around him, either in heroic costume or more rarely in “realistic” military dress. The manner in which Achilles is armed, however, is completely different. His fellow warriors actively fight with swords. Achilles, on the other hand, is primarily shown with defensive arms (e.g. helmet, shield, cuirass). If he has offensive weapons at all, then these are hardly indicated and borne in an entirely passive manner: the sword is presumably still in its sheath, and the spear primarily functions as a support.

Penthesilea normally wears a sleeveless *chiton*, which is hitched up to above the knees (or even as high as the middle of the thigh). In most of the cases, the short *chiton* is detached on one shoulder, thus exposing one of her breasts. Otherwise, the tunic is either still attached on both sides or merely slips

²¹²² The Greeks and Amazons use the same kinds of helmets (e.g. Attic, Corinthian), as well as weapons (e.g. sword, axe, spear). The only distinctive attributes for the Greeks are the round shield, and for the Amazons the *pelta* shield and, more rarely, the bow/quiver. Certain arms are nevertheless favoured by a certain side (e.g. Greeks prefer the sword to the axe, whereas the Amazons slightly favour the axe over sword).

²¹²³ For examples, PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. For discussion on agonal nudity and heroic costume, see chaps. 3.2.1.2; 3.2.3.1.

²¹²⁴ For examples of Achilles with a helmet, PEN1. 2. 3. 6. 7. 8. For examples of Achilles with a *chlamys*, PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. For examples of Achilles with a shield, PEN2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.

²¹²⁵ For some examples of Achilles with a spear, PEN1. 5. 6. 7. For examples of Achilles with a baldric, PEN4. 7. 8.

²¹²⁶ PEN8.

²¹²⁷ PEN9.

off one shoulder.²¹²⁸ There is hardly any trace of high girding, but the feature is probably obscured by the right arm of Achilles.²¹²⁹ The garment is shortened by relatively deep blousing, which is always visible on at least the left side of the body. Moreover, the garment is occasionally draped in an idiosyncratic manner, with the lower hem drawn up the right side of the body and fastened on the hip.²¹³⁰ This sartorial feature is completely unrealistic,²¹³¹ but probably draws greater attention to the fact that the tunic, if left unbelted, would have reached down to her feet. Besides this, she usually wears a *chlamys*.²¹³² This is typically fastened over the breasts with a brooch and then draped over her left arm.²¹³³ If the feet are actually visible, then she wears fur boots.²¹³⁴ She often holds the *pelta* over the left arm.²¹³⁵ In contrast, she holds the double-axe in her left hand in only a couple of instances.²¹³⁶ There is a fallen horse at her feet, indicating that she had been mounted.²¹³⁷

Overall, Penthesilea is dressed similarly to her fellow Amazons, but is sartorially distinct from them in several respects. Most significantly, she wears a *chlamys*, which on the one hand indicates her military²¹³⁸ and especially leadership role among the Amazons,²¹³⁹ but on the other hand demonstrates her affinities with the Greek warriors. It is also possible for Penthesilea to drape her short *chiton* in a different manner than her fellow warrioresses. The drapery slipping off of her shoulder, as well as the swathe of fabric pulled up the side of her body in a peculiar manner, are completely unique to her. She occasionally appears with both breasts covered, which is certainly attested among her fellow warrioresses, but not so commonly. The other Amazons, if not already fallen, actively fight with double-axes. Penthesilea, on the other hand, is usually only equipped with defensive arms (i.e. the *pelta*), whereas the double-axe is rarely included.

²¹²⁸ For some examples of Penthesilea with covered breasts, PEN1. 5.

²¹²⁹ For an example where the high girding is clearly visible, PEN4. Since the surrounding Amazon typically wear a high-girdled *chiton*, it seems likely that this was well understood.

²¹³⁰ A. Fendt identifies and discusses this unique style of draping of the *chiton*, Fendt 2005, 83f. 87. 89. For examples, PEN3. 4. 5. 6. 8.

²¹³¹ The idiosyncratic draping would have only worked if the length of the garment had been asymmetrical to start with. In other words, since the tunic is already bloused so that the lower hem reaches to just above the knee (visible on the left side), it would have only been possible to pull up an additional swathe of fabric on the right side if the garment had been exceptionally long on this side.

²¹³² For examples, PEN2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.

²¹³³ In one case, the *chlamys* is wrapped around the neck, with no brooch visible, PEN4. In another case, the *chlamys* is merely draped over the left arm, PEN8. It therefore possible (but unlikely) that these garments were perceived as *himatia* instead.

²¹³⁴ For examples, PEN3. 4. 8. 9.

²¹³⁵ For examples of Penthesilea with the *pelta*, PEN1. 3. 8. 9.

²¹³⁶ For examples, PEN1. 9. Note, however, that the lack of offensive arms could have resulted from the poor state of preservation in some cases.

²¹³⁷ For some examples of Penthesilea with a horse at her feet, PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 6.

²¹³⁸ For cloaks (i.e. *sagum*, *paludamentum*) as a sign of military service, Olson 2017, 78f.

²¹³⁹ Russenberger 2015, 388.

5.2.3 Interpretation

5.2.3.1 State of the Question

The traditional view of the Amazonomachy Sarcophagi produced in Roman workshops during the second half of the 2nd century CE (Groups I-V) (e.g. pls. 91a. 178. 179) is that the imagery offers a symbol of military *virtus*.²¹⁴⁰ The monuments are comparable to other battle sarcophagi, which indirectly identify the male deceased with the victorious side or even show him as a triumphant commander. It has been convincingly argued, however, that the imagery likewise offers a mythical paradigm for the cruelty of death – as such, the monuments were suitable for the female deceased as well.²¹⁴¹ This fits well into the trends of the time: “there are a whole number of mythological images in the repertoire of the early Roman sarcophagus production that were primarily used because of their tragic aspects pertaining to mourning and death...”²¹⁴² The tragedy of death was expressed in a similar manner on caskets featuring Princess Kreousa, the Leukippides and the Niobids, which fits well into the emotionally charged atmosphere of the tomb. On the Amazonomachy Sarcophagi, the formulation of virtuous role models for women only played a subordinate role. This is evident from the focus on the battle narrative and the lack of direct connections drawn with the female deceased. Furthermore, “the images of the[se earlier] sarcophagi continuously bring figures into focus whose postures can certainly not be construed as conveying positive values,”²¹⁴³ such as warrioresses suffering a gruesome death.

The Amazonomachy Sarcophagi produced in Roman workshops, as well as their local imitations, during the first half of the 3rd century CE (Group VI) demand an entirely different interpretation. Here, Achilles and Penthesilea have been significantly enlarged and singled out from the fray, as well as pushed into the centre of the composition; moreover, the combatants have both been furnished with portrait features.²¹⁴⁴ As such, the mythical paradigm expressed the private emotions and personal qualities of the deceased and their kin in a direct manner.²¹⁴⁵ On sarcophagi from Roman workshops, the shift away from mythical themes primarily occupied with violence and death (i.e. *exemplum mortalitatis*) to the portrayal of unequivocally virtuous role models (e.g. *exemplum virtutum*) is a common occurrence in the 3rd century CE, probably due to the increased desire for self-representation.²¹⁴⁶ The capacity for Achilles and Penthesilea to convey positive messages about the deceased has received a lot of attention, more so than any other category of mythological portraiture analyzed here. The essential virtues have been identified,²¹⁴⁷ but there is still considerable

²¹⁴⁰ e.g. Ferris 2009, 144; Newby 2007, 234; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 52. For discussion on this traditional view, Russenberger 2015, 67-69.

²¹⁴¹ Russenberger 2015, 453-458; Russenberger 2016, 30. For a similar opinion, Borg 2013, 170.

²¹⁴² Russenberger 2015, 455.

²¹⁴³ Russenberger 2015, 455.

²¹⁴⁴ Borg 2013, 170; Newby 2011a, 213f.; Russenberger 2015, 383f.; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 287f.

²¹⁴⁵ Borg 2013, 170; Russenberger 2015, 384f.; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 285-287.

²¹⁴⁶ Borg 2013, 177f.; see also Zanker - Ewald 2004. For further discussion on this shift (which acknowledges the potential for these themes to nevertheless imbricate, as is the case here), Russenberger 2015, 396-412.

²¹⁴⁷ Traditional interpretations of the portraiture focus on Penthesilea's beauty, but also her weakness. S.C. Humphreys notes that she possesses masculine qualities, in spite of her female nature, Humphreys 1983, 49. A.

disagreement on the matter. It is therefore worthwhile conducting a comprehensive and hence more nuanced assessment of the monuments, which focuses on the iconography and especially the dress in its own right. The observations on the dress of the Greeks and Amazons outlined in the previous section will serve as a valuable interpretative key for the portraiture here.²¹⁴⁸

5.2.3.2 Imperial Models?

Mythological portraiture was introduced to Rome for the purpose of honouring members of the imperial family, at first as privately dedicated monuments, and then as official monuments.²¹⁴⁹ Until the Claudian-Neronian Period, mythological portraiture was exclusive to the members of the imperial family. Afterward, this form of commemoration was adopted by imperial freedpersons especially, mimicking the trends of the imperial court. As such, the portraits of imperial women as warrioresses will be briefly considered here, as a point of comparison for the private portraits.

Imperial women are rarely portrayed in the guise of military goddesses.²¹⁵⁰ Portraits of empresses as divine warrioresses are particularly uncommon.²¹⁵¹ The Gemma Claudia features two imperial couples facing each other: to the left are Claudius and Agrippina Minor, to the right are Germanicus and Agrippina Maior (pl. 189a).²¹⁵² The latter woman wears a helmet with a laurel wreath, which identifies her as Minerva, Roma or Virtus.²¹⁵³ Iulia Domna is honoured as Minerva in a monumental acrolithic statue from Thessaloniki (pl. 189b).²¹⁵⁴ She is closely modeled after the Athena Medici, wearing a helmet, an *aegis* over her *peplos*, and holding a spear.²¹⁵⁵ It seems that portraits of empresses as Victoria - the messenger of military triumph - are slightly more popular.²¹⁵⁶ On the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, Agrippina Minor is portrayed in a manner akin to Victoria, insofar as she crowns her son Nero with a laurel wreath.²¹⁵⁷ Furthermore, Poppaea and Domitia appear as the goddess on the coinage

Fendt, in her detailed examination of a portrait group of a man and woman as Achilles and Penthesilea (PEN3), shifts the focus to her matronly and “manly” virtues (e.g. strength, courage), Fendt 2005, 89. 93. Moreover, I.L. Hansen argues that the same couple (PEN3) is praised for both *concordia* and *virtus*, Hansen 2007, 112-115.

²¹⁴⁸ For discussion, see chap. 5.1.1.

²¹⁴⁹ For discussion on the mythological portraits of members of the imperial family and their takeover by freedpersons, Alexandridis 2004, 82f.; Wrede 1981, 159-170. For discussion on the portraits of imperial women as goddesses, Alexandridis 2004, 82-92; Matheson 1996, 182-188.

²¹⁵⁰ Alexandridis 2004, 91f., Mikocki 1995b, 105f. 110f. 115f.

²¹⁵¹ For discussion on the portraits of imperial women as helmeted goddesses (e.g. Minerva, Roma), Alexandridis 2004, 91f.; Mikocki 1995b, 105f. 110f.

²¹⁵² For the cameo, Alexandridis 2004, 147f. cat. 74; Mikocki 1995b, 182 cat. 214; Megow 1987, 200f. cat. A 81; Zwieler-Diehl 2008, 158-165 cat. 13.

²¹⁵³ For the identification as Minerva, Charbonneau 1957, 141. For the identification as Roma, Jucker 1961, 154. For the identification as Virtus, Mikocki 1995b, 110 cat. 214. It has been suggested that Agrippina Maior appears as a helmeted goddess on other cameos as well (alongside her daughter Agrippina Minor), Mikocki 1995b, 177 cat. 182; 177f. cat. 183. These identifications are, however, less certain.

²¹⁵⁴ For the statue, Alexandridis 2004, 203 cat. 226; Despinis et al. 1997, 99-101 cat. 72; Lichtenberger 2011, 372-375; Mikocki 1995b, 215 cat. 439. For a possible portrait of Iulia Domna in the guise of the Athena Medici from the Athenian Akropolis, see Lichtenberger 2011, 373-375.

²¹⁵⁵ For the Athena Medici, Canciani 1984, 1085 no. 144.

²¹⁵⁶ For discussion on the portraits, Alexandridis 2004, 91f.; Lichtenberger 2011, 357-359; Mikocki 1995b, 115f.

²¹⁵⁷ For the relief, Alexandridis 2004, 158 cat. 105; Mikocki 1995b, 181 cat. 210. T. Mikocki identifies her as Fortuna/Victoria, Mikocki 1995b, 181 cat. 210. A. Alexandridis notes that she resembles Victoria due to the crowning motif, Alexandridis 2004, 91. For a possible parallel example, Mikocki 1995b, 182 cat. 213.

of Smyrna and Rhodes respectively.²¹⁵⁸ Iulia Domna is also portrayed as Victoria on several occasions.²¹⁵⁹ A cameo shows her as a winged figure in long robes, holding a palm branch and a laurel wreath, and sitting on a pile of weapons (pl. 190a).²¹⁶⁰ She is portrayed as Victoria on at least two honorific monuments: she leads a chariot with Virtus on the Arch of Septimius Severus at Leptis Magna,²¹⁶¹ and crowns her son Caracalla on another monument (pl. 190b).²¹⁶²

There is also the possibility of establishing an indirect connection between imperial women and military goddesses on the so-called “ladies’ mintages” from Rome – that is, coins with portraits of the imperial women on the obverse, paired with goddesses conveying certain messages about them on the reverse.²¹⁶³ Faustina Minor and Iulia Domna are particularly notable: the former is associated with Minerva,²¹⁶⁴ whereas the latter is associated with Roma.²¹⁶⁵ Moreover, the majority of imperial women are paired with Venus bearing arms (e.g. helmet, lance, shield), as the manifestation of Venus Genetrix, Venus Victrix or Venus Felix.²¹⁶⁶ On the medallions minted at Rome, the association between imperial women and military goddesses is hardly attested.

The significance of the portraits of empresses as divine warriorresses probably differs from case to case. There is a clear historical context for Agrippina Maior’s portrayal as Minerva, Roma or Virtus on the Gemma Claudia. She accompanied her husband Germanicus to Germania, in order to suppress a mutiny.²¹⁶⁷ Her presence in the military camps was apparently valued by the soldiers due to her matronly and motherly qualities, as well as her good will towards them, so much so that she instilled shame among the rebelling troops.²¹⁶⁸ She also proved her courage during the campaign:

“In the meantime a rumour had spread that the army had been trapped and the German columns were on the march for Gaul; and had not Agrippina prevented the demolition of the Rhine bridge, there were those who in their panic would have braved that infamy [to prevent the Germans from crossing behind them – this would have led to the death of Roman soldiers trapped on the other side]. But it was a great-hearted woman who assumed the duties of a general throughout those days; who, if a soldier was

²¹⁵⁸ For the coins, Mikocki 1995b, 189 cat. 262; 192 cat. 285.

²¹⁵⁹ For discussion, Lichtenberger 2011, 357-359.

²¹⁶⁰ For the cameo, Alexandridis 2004, 205f. cat. 233; Lichtenberger 2011, 458; Megow 1987, 270f. cat. B 52; Mikocki 1995b, 216 cat. 447. The portrait was probably recarved from that of Faustina Minor, Megow 1987, 270.

²¹⁶¹ For the relief, Alexandridis 2004, 204 cat. 228; Lichtenberger 2011, 357; Mikocki 1995b, 216 cat. 446.

²¹⁶² For the relief, Alexandridis 2004, 205 cat. 230; Lichtenberger 2011, 358; Mikocki 1995b, 216 cat. 445; Sadurska 1972, 55f. cat. 57. The identification with Victoria is not entirely complete here, due to the lack of wings. It is possible that a cameo shows Iulia Domna crowning Septimius Severus as well, Mikocki 1995b, 215 cat. 440.

²¹⁶³ The following analysis is based on A. Alexandridis’ examination of the so-called “ladies’ mintages” (with coin issues spanning from Livia to Iulia Domna), see Alexandridis 2004, 19-28; 307-378 tab. 15-29c.

²¹⁶⁴ Alexandridis 2004, 330f. table 23e. Note that Plotina is already associated with Minerva before this, Alexandridis 200, 309 table 20.

²¹⁶⁵ Alexandridis 2004, 363f. table 28g.

²¹⁶⁶ Alexandridis 2004, 307 table 16; 308 table 17; 314 table 21c; 317 table 22f; 336f table 23h; 345 table 24d; 329 table 25c; 365f. table 28h.

²¹⁶⁷ For a short biography of Agrippina Maior, Chrystal 2015, 124-132.

²¹⁶⁸ Tac. ann. 1, 41; Chrystal 2015, 125f. For general information on the perspectives of women in the military camps, Langford 2013, 24-31.

in need, clothed him, and, if he was wounded, gave him dressings... She stood at the head of the bridge, offering her praises and her thanks to the returning legions.”²¹⁶⁹

Agrippina Maior herself is not a soldier, but exhibits her fortitude in a supportive role: indeed, she braves the dangers of the military camp to ensure that the Roman men are fit to fulfill their duties, both physically and mentally. She is probably commemorated as a warrioress in order to present her as a fitting partner to her husband Germanicus, himself wearing the *corona civica* and *paludamentum*. The monumental portrait of Iulia Domna as Minerva in Thessaloniki is anomalous: it is probably the result of local traditions, which found no acceptance among Roman audiences.²¹⁷⁰ As such, it seems that the warlike and masculine character of goddesses like Minerva, Roma and Virtus was hardly appreciated among imperial women.²¹⁷¹ It was presumably more suitable for them to fill the role of Victoria or Venus Victrix, since it allowed them to proclaim the victory of their husbands or sons, as well as to symbolize the peace and prosperity brought about by their rule.²¹⁷²

The association between imperial women and military goddesses increased in popularity under Faustina Minor and especially Iulia Domna, due to being awarded the title *mater castrorum* (Mother of the Military Camps).²¹⁷³ The empresses are portrayed on coins as the MATER CASTRORVM with a row of military standards in front of them, either sitting with a scepter and a phoenix on a globe, or else standing and making an offering on an altar (pl. 191a).²¹⁷⁴ The image of the *mater castrorum* served a propagandistic function.²¹⁷⁵ It intimated that the connection between the imperial family and the military was so close that the empress herself was viewed as the “mother” of the Roman armies, to whom their unconditional loyalty was due. As such, the *mater castrorum* primarily stood as a symbol of peace and dynastic continuity, but also as a deterrent to rebellion and hence civil strife.

The portraits of imperial women as military goddesses were not employed as direct models for the private portraiture under consideration, since the identification with the deities is established in a different manner.²¹⁷⁶ Empresses in the guise of divine warrioresses (i.e. Minerva, possibly Roma/Virtus) are certainly armed, but otherwise dressed like proper women.²¹⁷⁷ Moreover, Victoria is not a

²¹⁶⁹ Tac. ann. 1, 69 (translation in Moore - Jackson 1931, 361); Zwiernlein-Diehl 2008, 165. Note, however, that Tiberius disapproved of her actions, which shows the multitude of reactions to women appropriating “masculine” roles. In a similar case, Livia urged on soldiers to extinguish a fire near the Temple of Vesta, Suet. Tib. 50, 2-3.

²¹⁷⁰ Alexandridis 2004, 91f.

²¹⁷¹ Mikocki 1995b, 106. 110.

²¹⁷² Mikocki 1995b, 110. 116.

²¹⁷³ Alexandridis 2004, 91. A. Lichtenberger also connects the images of Iulia Domna as *mater castrorum* on coins to her portraits in the guise of military goddesses, Lichtenberger 2011, 359. 363. 374.

²¹⁷⁴ Alexandridis 2004, 330f. table 23e; 361f. table 28f.

²¹⁷⁵ Langford 2013, 36-38. For another view, see Lichtenberger 2011, 359-365.

²¹⁷⁶ This is true not only for the portraits of women as Penthesilea discussed here, but also for the portraits of women as Virtus discussed below, see chap. 5.3. The possible exception to the rule is the portrait of Agrippina Maior as Minerva/Roma/Virtus on the Gemma Claudia (there is at least some overlap in the iconography and content); for the cameo, Mikocki 1995b, 182 cat. 214.

²¹⁷⁷ The Gemma Claudia shows Agrippina Maior with a helmet and laurel wreath, but the rest of the dress is not indicated due to the bust format; for the cameo, Mikocki 1995b, 182 cat. 214. The statue of Iulia Domna as Minerva

warrioress, but merely a purveyor of victory, as reflected by her dress as well. The portraits of empresses as Victoria not only wear long, flowing robes, but are also unarmed. They are instead responsible for announcing the military triumph - and hence *virtus* - of the emperors, especially by crowning them with a laurel wreath. Moreover, the identification with Victoria is only partially carried out in some cases.²¹⁷⁸ Agrippina Minor crowns Nero like Victoria, but her other attributes (i.e. wingless, cornucopia) are characteristic of Fortuna.²¹⁷⁹ Likewise, Iulia Domna crowns Caracalla like Victoria, but her other attributes (i.e. wingless, slipping drapery, palm branch) are characteristic of Venus Victrix.²¹⁸⁰ This peculiar formulation of the iconography distances these empresses even more from the military sphere. As such, the full-fledged warrioress costume is seemingly unattested in imperial portraits of women as military goddesses, but then favoured in the private portraiture.²¹⁸¹

The military themes on the “ladies’ mintages” also exhibit notable differences from the private portraiture. The military goddesses associated with the empresses - Minerva, Roma, Venus Victrix - exhibit a mixture of feminine garments and masculine arms. Moreover, the empress in her role as *mater castrorum* is certainly placed in a military setting, due to the presence of standards, yet there is nothing particularly masculine about her dress: she is shown as either a regal or pious woman. The opposite is true of the private portraits of women with short tunics, cloaks and arms.²¹⁸² The lack of direct imperial models for the private portraiture suggests that it tended to fulfill different needs for self-representation and commemoration.

5.2.3.3 *Concordia*

It is time to consider the capacity of the imagery to encode social values, fitting for the commemoration of a married couple.²¹⁸³ In general, the visual code employed for sarcophagi with portrait figures is multidimensional.²¹⁸⁴ The same virtues are repeatedly evoked by constantly replicated scenes, as the main focus of the commemoration; on the other hand, the praise of the deceased is frequently embellished by additional dress, motifs or even quality gods, allowing for a well-rounded celebration of the deceased. The wedding scenes on the Vita Romana Sarcophagi provide an excellent example of this phenomenon (e.g. pl. 272b).²¹⁸⁵ The portrayal of the man and woman grasping each other’s hands (*dextrarum iunctio*) indicates their married status, as well as the feeling of *concordia* between them. It is possible to supplement the virtue of conjugal harmony in a number of

shows her with a helmet (and presumably an aegis and spear), but she wears long robes; for the statue, Mikocki 1995b, 215 cat. 439.

²¹⁷⁸ Alexandridis 2004, 91.

²¹⁷⁹ Alexandridis 2004, 91.

²¹⁸⁰ Mikocki 1995b, 216f. cat. 445. The main difference is that Venus Victrix is shown partly nude, so perhaps this was also avoided here; for the iconography of Venus Victrix, Schmidt 1997, 211f. nos. 192-207.

²¹⁸¹ For the warrioress costume, see chap. 5.1.

²¹⁸² This is true not only for the portraits of women as Pentheseia discussed here, but also for the portraits of women as Virtus discussed below, see chap. 5.3.

²¹⁸³ Whether married couples were always interred here remains uncertain. The unfinished portrait heads might point to an alternate use of the casket, but other explanations are possible, Huskinson 1996, 81f.

²¹⁸⁴ Reinsberg 2006, 174.

²¹⁸⁵ C. Reinsberg discusses this case in particular (which is slightly elaborated upon here), Reinsberg 2006, 174.

ways: the man might appear in a *toga (romanitas)*, in *velatio capitis (pietas)*, or with a scroll (*eruditio*)²¹⁸⁶; the wife might appear modestly veiled (*pudicitia*), with her drapery slipping from the shoulder (*pulchritudo*), or with an incense box (*pietas*). The wedding scene is also juxtaposed by other scenes, which expands on the celebration of the deceased all the more. It is therefore necessary to consider the potentially multifaceted visual code of these monuments.

The portrait group primarily focuses on the loving relationship between Achilles and Penthesilea²¹⁸⁷ in both life and death, presumably as a source of consolation (i.e. *exemplum mortalitatis*) for the surviving spouse and their families.²¹⁸⁸ The iconography was carefully manipulated in order to suppress the more problematic aspects of the myth, such as Achilles' responsibility for Penthesilea's death, as well as the horrific demise of the warriorress and the emotional outbursts of the hero. At the same time, a host of praiseworthy qualities is introduced here, such as mutual affection and partnership.

Achilles and Penthesilea are modeled after the Pasquino Group (pl. 191b): that is, a statuary group of the Hellenistic Period featuring a bearded, muscular warrior - with an *exomis*, helmet, shield and sword - supporting the naked, lifeless body of a younger man.²¹⁸⁹ These tragic figures have been identified as Menelaos with Patroklos, or as Aias with Achilles.²¹⁹⁰ The recourse to the Pasquino Group recasts Penthesilea as the comrade of Achilles, in a relatively symmetrical relationship with him.²¹⁹¹ She is presented not as a mortally wounded enemy, but as a tragically fallen companion dying in his arms, in order to persuasively express the hero's pain and suffering.²¹⁹² Other images of Achilles and Penthesilea focus on their conflict, including the Roman Amazonomachy Sarcophagi in Group V (pl. 187a): here, she is already on her knees begging for mercy, as he pulls her by the hair.²¹⁹³ On the monuments under consideration, however, Penthesilea is transformed from a hated outsider into a beloved woman.²¹⁹⁴ This drastic shift from fury to passion is confirmed by an inscribed canteen dated to the 3rd century CE (pl. 192).²¹⁹⁵ On the front side, Achilles and Penthesilea are engaged in single combat (ΑΧΙΛΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ

²¹⁸⁶ For discussion on the scroll as a sign of learnedness (*eruditio*), Birk 2013, 73-94. Note that C. Reinsberg ascribes the scroll a variety of functions, depending on the context, Reinsberg 2006, 176.

²¹⁸⁷ The focus on the commemoration of the couple is frequently acknowledged, e.g. Birk 2013, 104f.; Ewald 2003, 571; Hansen 2007, 112-115; Newby 2007, 234; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 286.

²¹⁸⁸ Birk 2013, 104f.

²¹⁸⁹ Robert 1890, 77. For the Pasquino Group, Grassinger 1999a, 324f.; Kahil 1997, 838 no. 32; Kiderlen 2006.

²¹⁹⁰ For the identification as Menelaos holding Patroklos, Schweitzer 1936, 51-53. For the identification as Aias and Achilles, Hausmann 1984.

²¹⁹¹ Grassinger 1999a, 327f. The Pasquino Group was favoured over the Achilles Penthesilea Group (see Berger 1967; Berger 1994, 303f. nos. 59-67) probably because the latter more strongly references the fact that Achilles has killed Penthesilea (due to the fact that he is armed, as well as the similarities to the statue group of a Gaul killing himself and his wife), Grassinger 1999a, 327. For further discussion on the significance of the Pasquino Group as a model here, Fendt 2005, 84; Russenberger 2015, 389f.; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 285f.

²¹⁹² See footnote 2191.

²¹⁹³ For the sarcophagi, Grassinger 1999b, 246f. cat. 116-117. For other examples, Berger 1994, 301f. nos. 55-56. The theme is obviously not suitable for commemorating a married couple, Grassinger 1999a, 326.

²¹⁹⁴ Hansen 2007, 115.

²¹⁹⁵ For the canteen, Kossatz-Deißmann 1981, 168 no. 785a; Mandel 1988, 266 cat. F 18. For the interpretation of the inscription and imagery, Grassinger 1999a, 326a.

AMAZONOS MAXH). The back side then features Achilles supporting the dying Amazon, which is described as ANEPEΣIZ KAI METANOIA - that is, lifting her up and feeling remorse for his actions.

There are, however, a few notable alterations to the Pasquino Group here.²¹⁹⁶ The mature warrior is portrayed with a furrowed brow, an open mouth and an expressive turn in the head, as a sign of despair.²¹⁹⁷ These features are not precisely replicated for Achilles, since this highly emotional state is presumably not appropriate for self-representation.²¹⁹⁸ The mature warrior is heavily armed.²¹⁹⁹ In contrast, Achilles tends to bear only defensive arms, in order to further distance himself from the death of Penthesilea.²²⁰⁰ If weapons happen to appear, then this is mitigated by various factors. The spear is typically favoured:²²⁰¹ this attribute assumes a non-combative function, namely, helping to support him in his time of distress. In the rare cases in which he wears a baldric, the sword is never visible. The fallen comrade in the Pasquino Group is already dead, and hence entirely powerless: his eyes are already closed and his body is completely limp, with his head falling to the side and limbs trailing lifelessly on the ground (pl. 193a).²²⁰² His gaping wounds are still bleeding. In contrast, Penthesilea is portrayed taking her final breaths in the arms of Achilles, to shift the focus towards their loving relationship.²²⁰³ He holds her upright,²²⁰⁴ parallel to his body, while she places her arm over his shoulders - this strengthens the feeling of partnership between them.²²⁰⁵ Besides this, there are no traces of lesions on her body.²²⁰⁶ The couple's bond is expressed in the most dignified way possible,²²⁰⁷ by presenting her as "a woman worthy and deserving of being loved",²²⁰⁸ as well as by softening the gruesome aspects of her death.²²⁰⁹ The juxtaposition between the dying queen and her comrades lying on the ground, with their trampled and disfigured bodies, is clear: she is not treated like an effortlessly and ruthlessly slaughtered enemy, but as a worthy and tragically fallen companion.²²¹⁰

²¹⁹⁶ Grassinger 1999a, 324. 326f. For further discussion, Russenberger 2015, 289f.

²¹⁹⁷ Grassinger 1999a, 324.

²¹⁹⁸ The turn in the head is attested, but the facial features expressing his despair are not.

²¹⁹⁹ Grassinger 1999a, 324.

²²⁰⁰ Grassinger 1999a, 324. 327.

²²⁰¹ Grassinger 1999a, 324.

²²⁰² Grassinger 1999a, 324.

²²⁰³ Grassinger 1999a, 326f.

²²⁰⁴ Grassinger 1999a, 326.

²²⁰⁵ Russenberger 2015, 389.

²²⁰⁶ Grassinger 1999a, 327.

²²⁰⁷ Grassinger 1999a, 327f. Russenberger 2015, 389f.; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 287.

²²⁰⁸ Hansen 2007, 115.

²²⁰⁹ Russenberger 2015, 389f.; he nevertheless states that she dies a violent death and the loss of control over her own body is clearly articulated, Russenberger 2015, 405. As demonstrated by F. de Angelis, placing images of death in a clear mythological narrative on sarcophagi allowed for the viewers to distance themselves from the precise circumstances of these characters, while identifying with their emotions; however, if the mythological protagonists are furnished with portrait figures of the deceased, then the gap between myth and reality diminishes and it is necessary to downplay scenes of violent death, de Angelis 2019; this is the case here as well.

²²¹⁰ A. Fendt notes that the defeated Amazons are similar to contemporary images of barbarians on Roman Battle Sarcophagi, Fendt 2005, 85f.

The sense of partnership between Achilles and Penthesilea is also strengthened by their dress.²²¹¹ The Amazon - with her short *chiton*, *chlamys* and fur boots - is primarily dressed like a Greek here, with only a few eastern attributes (e.g. *pelta*, battle-axe).²²¹² The outfit creates the false impression that Penthesilea is at home in the world of the Greeks: as such, it is much easier to understand her as an ally of Achilles, rather than his enemy. Moreover, she is directly likened to Achilles by her dress: she wears the exact same type of *chlamys* as him, presumably to express a certain degree of symmetry between the sexes. The overall outfit is more or less standard for the Amazons in Roman visual culture, but the inclusion of the military cloak is far less common²²¹³ - moreover, it is completely unattested for the warriorresses battling in the background here. This overlapping detail thus seems to confirm that the appeal of the Greek dress was its capacity to evoke a cooperative spirit and feeling of partnership between Achilles and Penthesilea, and by extension the husband and wife.²²¹⁴

By formulating the iconography in this manner, the portrait groups of spouses as Achilles and Penthesilea primarily signify *concordia* - that is, the sense of harmony between husband and wife.²²¹⁵ Conjugal harmony was initially evoked in the Late Republic Period through the *dextrarum iunctio*, but then by a host of other motifs from the Claudian-Neronian Period onward, such as the embrace.²²¹⁶ This is exactly the case here: the husband strongly wraps his arm(s) around his wife, who has reciprocated by placing one arm over his shoulders.²²¹⁷ It seems that part of the appeal of commemorating them not as contemporary spouses clasping their hands together (pl. 193b), but as legendary lovers locked in a passionate embrace, was the possibility to explore the affective side of martial life.²²¹⁸ Achilles and Penthesilea's union is, however, tragically cut short, which is a point of empathy explored in the *Posthomeric* as well: "Many men wished that when at last they returned home they could have such a wife to sleep by; and Achilles continued sore at heart because he had killed her instead of taking her back to Phthia, land of horses, as his wife..."²²¹⁹ It is remarkable that "starting by being a threat for Achilles, Penthesilea becomes a playmate, a lover, and the group paradoxically a symbol of hope, harmony and reconciliation" for husbands and wives.²²²⁰

²²¹¹ The similarities in dress ultimately point to their shared *virtus*, see chap. 5.3.3.2.

²²¹² Note, however, that the manner in which Penthesilea wears the *chlamys* (i.e. fastened at the front with a round clasp) is attested among barbarians in Roman visual culture as well.

²²¹³ For the dress of the Amazons in Roman visual culture, see chap. 5.1.1.2. For isolated cases of Amazons wearing a *chlamys* in Roman visual culture, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 600 no. 195; 624 no. 573; 625 no. 602.

²²¹⁴ C. Russenberger notes that the cloak makes Penthesilea a worthy partner for Achilles, Russenberger 2015, 388.

²²¹⁵ I.L. Hansen rightly argues that *concordia* played an key role in the portraiture here, Hansen 2007, 115. For similar views on the mythical portrait group as a positive expression of marital ideals (e.g. harmony, partnership, solidarity, etc.), Birk 2013, 104f.; Borg 2013, 170; Ewald 2003, 571; Newby 2011a, 213f.; Russenberger 2015, 388; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 286f.

²²¹⁶ For *concordia* in Roman iconography (especially among married couples), Alexandridis 2004, 95-98.

²²¹⁷ Hansen 2017, 113. She argues that *concordia* is evoked here by the calm around the group (despite their lack of eye contact), their embrace, and the viewer's knowledge of the literary narrative.

²²¹⁸ Kousser 2007, 685.

²²¹⁹ Q. Smyrn. 1, 669-673 (translation in Hopkinson 2018, 63); Fendt 2005, 87; Grassinger 1999a, 328.

²²²⁰ Stahre 1998, 161.

Quite interestingly, the expression of conjugal harmony between Achilles and Penthesilea hardly fits into gendered expectations.²²²¹ In *concordia* scenes in general, the interactions between the husband and wife are often mutual, in order to produce feelings of reciprocity and symmetry.²²²² In several cases, however, the man is portrayed as the independent figure, whereas his wife is predominantly cast as the supportive figure (e.g. strongly orienting herself towards him, touching him, etc.).²²²³ The result is that the love and devotion of the woman for her husband is more strongly expressed than *vice versa*. In the portraits of married couples as Achilles and Penthesilea, however, the supportive role is almost entirely assumed by the husband, which is extremely unusual. The wife at least returns his affection, so as not to completely invert the expected paradigm. Moreover, the potentially destabilizing or emasculating connotations are effectively downplayed here - indeed, a host of other factors ensure that the husband is not cast as particularly emotional or uxorious.

First of all, in spite of the heart-wrenching scenario, the expression of raw emotion is deliberately avoided. Neither Achilles nor Penthesilea is completely lacking in self-control - the warrior's relatively impassive demeanor glosses over his feeling of despair and the Amazon is granted a completely dignified death here. It is also notable that Achilles turns his head sharply away from Penthesilea.²²²⁴ The averted gaze is seemingly an expression of his pain and dismay at the tragic loss in general,²²²⁵ but without directly highlighting his emotional engagement with her.²²²⁶ It is also possible that the averted gaze serves a practical purpose here: Achilles is ensuring that no one is pursuing them, as he carries Penthesilea away from the battlefield.²²²⁷ The tragic aspects of the myth clearly resonated with the patrons, as an allegory for their own feelings of love and loss. Perhaps this was accompanied by feelings of remorse on the part of husbands, who should have naturally predeceased their wives. At the same time, the mythical episode is staged in an artificial manner, which guarded their decorum. Indeed, Achilles and Penthesilea are turned as far towards the viewer as possible, in an unnatural and theatrical stance,²²²⁸ which not only "establishes an interesting bond with the viewer by appealing to an empathetic response",²²²⁹ but also puts their shared quality of *concordia* on display.

²²²¹ For the evocation of *concordia* in Roman visual culture, see chap. 7.5.2.5.2.

²²²² The images of married couples in the wedding scenes of Vita Romana Sarcophagi are an excellent example of this, see Reinsberg 2006.

²²²³ Russenberger 2015, 394f.

²²²⁴ This lack of eye contact is frequently noted, since it diverges from the usual understanding of the mythical narrative. This iconographic feature is, however, only attested in a few images of Achilles and Penthesilea from ancient Greece anyway (see Berger 1994, 298 nos. 17. 34); moreover, the averted gaze is common in contemporary images of the couple, Hansen 2007, 113.

²²²⁵ Hansen 2007, 113; Russenberger 2015, 459; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 286. For parallel examples of the averted gaze as an expression of the pain and sorrow at the moment of death, Russenberger 2015, 395f.

²²²⁶ Hansen 2007, 115. She takes this a step further, however, by suggesting that "rather than regret and bemoan his personal loss, Achilles looks into the far distance as if accepting that the fate of the hero is to act for the greater good," Hansen 2007, 115. It does not seem that Achilles is already at the point of acceptance.

²²²⁷ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 286.

²²²⁸ Borg 2013, 170.

²²²⁹ Hansen 2007, 113.

Secondly, the “manliness” of Achilles is never doubted here. It is certainly unusual that the virtue of *concordia* is primarily directed towards the husband, since this quality is frequently expressed for both spouses in a symmetrical manner, or even more strongly for the wives in an asymmetrical manner.²²³⁰ Nevertheless, the motif is formulated in a unique manner that allows him the opportunity to show off his physical power and capabilities. He does not merely embrace his wife as women tend to do for their husbands, but basically supports the entire weight of her body. As such, the care and attention directed towards his wife is explicitly coupled with masculine qualities, to produce a gallant image.²²³¹ Moreover, Penthesilea is portrayed as the compromised party, in need of support, which reinforces the traditional dichotomies of active/male and female/passive.²²³²

The final potentially complicating factor is that Achilles is partially disarmed in this intimate moment. The theme of forsaking weapons or other tokens of manly honour for the sake of a woman is an emphatic expression of passion, and hence potentially feminizing. It is therefore avoided in other categories of mythological portraiture: Hercules, for instance, retains his club and lion skin in the company of Omphale.²²³³ The portrayal of Achilles would initially seem to counter this trend. In the *Posthomeric*, Achilles is so distraught by the loss of Penthesilea that he refrains from joining his fellow warriors in stripping the spoils from the bloody corpses of their enemies.²²³⁴ Moreover, on these monuments, he is hardly even portrayed with his own weapons.²²³⁵ This differs from the Achilles Penthesilea Group (pl. 187b), for instance, where both combatants are invariably portrayed with their swords on display.²²³⁶ There is, however, a perfectly logical explanation for this: it was essential to suppress the fact that their bitter combat led to this tragic moment.²²³⁷ As such, Achilles’ lack of weapons is completely unrelated to notions of inordinate passion or faltering masculinity. Moreover, the fact that Achilles and Penthesilea are portrayed with defensive arms at all strongly suggests that their combative roles are still relevant to the commemoration of the husband and wife.

²²³⁰ For the evocation of *concordia* in Roman visual culture, see chap. 7.5.2.5.2.

²²³¹ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 54. 215. 287; Zanker 2019, 23.

²²³² I.L. Hansen discusses the difficulties in attributing *virtus* to women in the portraits of spouses in general, and rightly suggests that the representation of the married couple on PEN3 follows a traditional format of active-male and passive-female; at the same time, however, she stresses the fact that Penthesilea “succumbs as a proper female to a masculine force,” Hansen 2007, Hansen 2007, 107f. 115. 117. The preceding conflict between Achilles and Penthesilea is almost completely suppressed here, and therefore did not clearly convey this message. As will be argued here, the battle of the sexes is instead “outsourced”; for discussion, see chap. 5.2.3.4.

²²³³ OMP4. 5; ATA1. For discussion, see chap. 7.6.2.

²²³⁴ Q. Smyrn. 1, 716-718.

²²³⁵ Achilles uses the spear to support himself. Likewise, the sword on his baldric is not visible.

²²³⁶ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 286. For the Achilles Penthesilea Group (and its reconstructions), Berger 1967; Berger 1994, 303f. nos. 59-67. Moreover, the older warrior in the Pasquino Group is armed with a sword, but Achilles is not here. For the Pasquino Group, Grassinger 1999a, 324f.; Kahil 1997, 838 no. 32; Kiderlen 2006.

²²³⁷ Grassinger 1999a, 324. 327. Furthermore, it is not even so obvious that his weapons are missing. Achilles wraps his arms around Penthesilea and his hands not fully visible; as such, his hands are not visibly empty as though he had dropped his weapons.

5.2.3.4 *Virtus*

The focus is undoubtedly on the loving relationship between Achilles and Penthesilea, as an expression of conjugal *concordia*. The allusion to their individual virtues is, however, also relevant here. The identification of men with Achilles is traditionally seen to evoke personal qualities like physical strength, youthful vigour and “manly” perfection.²²³⁸ This interpretation is easily supported by the iconography: the energetic turn of the head, the heroic costume, as well as the effortlessness in supporting his dying companion clearly point to this virtue.²²³⁹ The identification of women with Penthesilea allows for a similar interpretation as well, if the iconography is considered in its own right. The focus is not on her traditional feminine virtues, but rather on her role as a warriorress, possessing qualities like strength and courage.²²⁴⁰ Her identity is signified by her dress in particular: indeed, the short *chiton*, the *chlamys*, the fur boots and the arms (i.e. *pelta*, battle axe) cast her as an active, bellicose woman, which firmly situates her in the world of men.²²⁴¹ It is true that all of these items of dress stem from a mythical setting, but these were nevertheless recognizable as attributes of contemporary men in Roman visual culture as well.²²⁴² Moreover, her “manly” qualities remain an essential part of her identity, regardless of the fact that she has already fallen in battle.²²⁴³ The spouses are therefore presented in a strikingly similar manner: that is, as paragons of virtue in a military context, despite their obvious differences in bearing.

The military outfits of the men as Achilles and their wives as Penthesilea should be understood in the same manner: as a celebration of their *virtus* in particular.²²⁴⁴ This is supported by a broader look at Roman visual culture. The *virtus* of men was evoked on monuments through military iconography - including dress - by the Republican Period at the latest.²²⁴⁵ Equestrian statues were set-up in honour of emperors, senators, high-ranking equestrian officers and successful decurions, usually during their

²²³⁸ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 54. 215. 286; Newby 2011a, 213f.; Russenberger 2015, 385; Wrede 2001, 103.

²²³⁹ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 286.

²²⁴⁰ It has been argued that the portraits of women as Penthesilea evoke *virtus* (or at least qualities subsumed by *virtus*, e.g. strength, courage), Birk 2013, 137; Borg 2013, 170; Borg 2014, 246-249; Fendt 2005, 89. 93; Hansen 2007, 112f.; Humphreys 1983, 49. Nevertheless, the possibility that the portraits of women as Penthesilea evoke *virtus* (or related qualities) is still often excluded; instead, she is perceived as merely passive or even weak, or to stand for death in general, e.g. Russenberger 2015, 385. 460; Newby 2011a, 214. P. Zanker and B.C Ewald generally follow this latter view as well, but acknowledge that an implicit reference to strength and bravery, before this moment of dying, cannot be excluded here, Ewald 2005, 62; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 54. 215. (Note that S. Toso argues that the Amazons on gems of the Roman Imperial Period offer positive role models for the female wearers as well, due to their status as heroines and founders of cities, Toso 2003, 292-296.)

²²⁴¹ A. Fendt has made a notable contribution by acknowledging that the dress conveys virtue in its own right, Fendt 2005, 83f. She rightly recognizes that the military cloak, the shield and the fur boots come from a masculine context and signify qualities typically ascribed to men, like strength and courage, Fendt 2005, 83. She also notes that the short tunic constitutes an exchange of gendered dress (structurally similar to the Roman prostitute wearing the *toga*), which demands further consideration here. For the significance of the warriorress costume, see chap. 5.1. Elsewhere, the portraits of women as Penthesilea have been ascribed qualities related to *virtus* for other reasons (e.g. literary tradition, overall visual themes), which are of secondary importance.

²²⁴² For discussion (i.e. short tunic, military cloaks, fur boots), see chap. 3.4. It is possible to show barbarians in conjunction with *peltai* in Roman visual culture as well, e.g. Helbig 1966, 43 no. 2144.

²²⁴³ This is discussed in this section (i.e. chap. 5.2.3.4) below.

²²⁴⁴ See footnotes 2226 and 2227. *Virtus* is preferred to qualities like strength, courage, etc. here, as a more encompassing virtue; the connection between military dress and *virtus* is also supported by the visual record.

²²⁴⁵ For discussion on the imagery expressing *virtus* in the Roman Republic, McDonnell 2006, 142-158.

lifetimes.²²⁴⁶ The portrait subject nearly always wears military dress.²²⁴⁷ Coins with the emperor on horseback, riding into battle or charging over a prostrate enemy and accompanied by the legends VIRTVS or VIRTVS AVGVSTI were minted by 68 CE, which confirms the significance of the military imagery (pl. 194a).²²⁴⁸ The anthropomorphic representations of Virtus - with the appearance of a heavily-armed Amazon - emerged in the Republican Period as well, as a means of signifying this particular quality in her male protégés.²²⁴⁹ There is no reason that the *virtus* of women could not have been evoked with the same visual codes. There are, at least, rare glimpses of this in female portraiture. An equestrian statue of a young, virginal woman named Cloelia was allegedly set-up at Rome, precisely to honour her exceptional display of *virtus*.²²⁵⁰ Furthermore, the Roman Hunt Sarcophagus for Bera from the Catacombe di San Sebastiano along the Via Appia portrays the female deceased hunting a lion on horseback, accompanied by her own personal Virtus (pl. 29b).²²⁵¹

The *virtus* of men continued to be evoked by military iconography (including dress) on funerary monuments with contemporary themes during the Roman Imperial Period.²²⁵² The Roman Battle Sarcophagi are the premier examples of this.²²⁵³ On the Great Ludovisi Sarcophagus (ca. 260 CE), for instance, the military triumph of the deceased is completely foregrounded by portraying the male portrait figure in full armour, on horseback and making a gesture of victory, as he towers above the defeated barbarians (pl. 194b).²²⁵⁴ On the Roman General/Wedding Sarcophagi (160 - mid. 3rd century CE),²²⁵⁵ the *virtus* of the male deceased is occasionally expressed by an abbreviated battle scene at the edge of the casket,²²⁵⁶ by arming scenes at the side of the casket,²²⁵⁷ as well as by his military dress²²⁵⁸ and/or his accompaniment by Virtus in the other scenes (i.e. *clementia*, *pietas*).²²⁵⁹ The expression of *virtus* through military iconography was largely displaced by hunting themes by the middle of the

²²⁴⁶ Bergemann 1990, 14f.

²²⁴⁷ For an overview of the iconography of the different types of equestrian statues (including the dress), Bergemann 1990, 4.

²²⁴⁸ For mounted warriors (including equestrian statues) as a sign of *virtus* in Roman visual culture, Bergemann 1990, 4f.; McDonnell 2006, 149-158.

²²⁴⁹ For images of the goddess Virtus as a sign of *virtus* in Roman visual culture, McDonnell 2006, 146-149. For further discussion, see chaps. 5.1.2; 5.3.3.2.

²²⁵⁰ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.2.1.

²²⁵¹ For discussion, see chap. 7.3; app. C.

²²⁵² For discussion on Roman sarcophagi with contemporary military themes, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 227-230.

²²⁵³ For Roman Battle Sarcophagi in general, Andreae 1956.

²²⁵⁴ For the sarcophagus, Künzl 2010.

²²⁵⁵ For the General/Wedding Sarcophagi in general, Reinsberg 2006, 61-109. 170f.

²²⁵⁶ For discussion on the battle scenes on General/Wedding Sarcophagi, as well as the connection to *virtus*, Reinsberg 2006, 94-96; for examples, Reinsberg 2006, 196f. cat. 15; 200f. cat. 29. Note that one of the battle scenes is replaced by a hunting scene, Reinsberg 2006, 96; 194f. cat. 12.

²²⁵⁷ For discussion on the arming scenes on General/Wedding Sarcophagi, as well as the connection to *virtus*, Reinsberg 2006, 96-99; for examples, Reinsberg 2006, 194f. cat. 12; 200f. cat. 29; 212f. cat. 70.

²²⁵⁸ For discussion on the connection between the image of men in military dress and *virtus* on General/Wedding Sarcophagi, Reinsberg 2006, 175.

²²⁵⁹ For discussion on Virtus accompanying male portrait figures on General/Wedding Sarcophagi (in *clementia* scenes), Reinsberg 2006, 95f.; for examples, Reinsberg 2006, 194f. cat. 12; 200f. cat. 29; 202 cat. 33.

Severan Period.²²⁶⁰ It seems that the quality of *virtus* is hardly ascribed to women through military iconography on funerary monuments with “realistic” themes.²²⁶¹ It is nevertheless detectable: a perfect example of this is the so-called Balbinus Sarcophagus, where the female deceased is directly accompanied by Virtus, the heavily-armed embodiment of “manliness” (pl. 195a).²²⁶²

Quite significantly, the *virtus* of the male deceased is evoked by military iconography on funerary monuments with mythical themes as well. The sarcophagi from Attic workshops frequently feature legendary battles (e.g. Amazonomachy, Epinausimachy).²²⁶³ Mythical combats were, on the other hand, relatively uncommon on sarcophagi from Roman workshops: a few examples include Hercules vs. Hippolyta (pl. 135b), Meleager vs. the Thestiades (pl. 195b), and Orestes/Pylades vs. the Skythians.²²⁶⁴ The sarcophagi featuring the discovery of Achilles on Skyros certainly foreground the awakened *virtus* of the hero in a military context: indeed, he hears the call for battle and then leaps forward, grasping the spear and shield as the feminine drapery slips off of him (pl. 91b).²²⁶⁵ The hero nevertheless “fights his own battle” here, since the real conflict, still in the future, is merely envisioned on the helmet at his feet. As such, “the praise of the military virtue of the male deceased is transferred from the realistic mindscape of the *virī militares* into the mythological realm...”²²⁶⁶

Furthermore, the *virtus* of the male deceased is frequently evoked through military iconography outside of the context of battle, as a secondary concern for self-representation.²²⁶⁷ The freestanding portrait groups of spouses as Mars and Venus, as well as the idealized versions thereof on caskets, are an excellent case in point (pls. 140b. 196a): here, the mythical lovers primarily embody marital harmony, but also refer to the *virtus* of the husband (i.e. military dress) and the beauty of his wife (i.e. elegant garments, slipping drapery, erotic nudity).²²⁶⁸ It is even possible to add military iconography to

²²⁶⁰ Wrede 2001, 103; for discussion on the possible social background for this (e.g. perhaps the senatorial class broke away from the soldierly ideals of the Antonine Period), Borg 2013, 184.

²²⁶¹ For further discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.3.2.2.

²²⁶² For the sarcophagus (and the attribution of *virtus* to the woman), Reinsberg 2006, 107-109; 213f. cat. 213.

²²⁶³ For the Attic Amazonomachy Sarcophagi, Kintrup 2016, 49-104; for the Attic Epinausimachy Sarcophagi, Kintrup 2016, 151-182. Note that the Amazonomachies in the Greek East (and especially Athens) continued to evoke military *virtus* and the triumph over external enemies in the Roman Imperial Period, Russenberger 2015, 85-95.

²²⁶⁴ P. Zanker and B.C. Ewald note the general lack of mythological sarcophagi with combat themes (as a symbol of *virtus*) from Roman workshops, due to the preference to highlight other qualities here, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 232f; for further discussion, Russenberger 2015, 415-417. For an example of a Roman sarcophagus featuring Hercules vs. Hippolyta, Robert 1897, 126f. cat. 103. For an example of a Roman sarcophagus featuring Meleager vs. the Thestiades, Koch 1975, 120f. cat. 116. For an example of a Roman sarcophagus with Orestes/Pylades vs. the Skythians, Robert 1890, 181f. cat. 169. Mythological sarcophagi with hunt themes (e.g. Meleager, Hippolytus, Adonis), on the other hand, were enormously popular in the Roman Imperial Period: the hunting imagery typically referred to the *virtus* of the male deceased in an indirect manner, but also directly, through the addition of individualized features; for discussion, see chap. 6.2.3.4.

²²⁶⁵ For discussion, see chap. 7.3; app. C. In contrast, C. Russenberger argues that the main focus here is on the relationship between Achilles and Deidamia, as well as the tragedy of departure, whereas the *virtus* of the male deceased is a secondary consideration, Russenberger 2015, 415f.

²²⁶⁶ Wrede 2001, 103 (translation by the author).

²²⁶⁷ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 232f.

²²⁶⁸ For the portrait groups, Kleiner 1981; Kousser 2007. For sarcophagi featuring this statuary group, Sichtermann 1992, 92-95 cat. 9-20.

mythological contexts in a fairly gratuitous manner. The theme of mourning over Meleager (pl. 195b) after the Kalydonian Boar Hunt primarily functions as an *exemplum mortalitatis*. Nevertheless, a pile of weapons (i.e. sword, helmet and shield) are placed next to his bed to allude to the *virtus* of the male deceased.²²⁶⁹ Moreover, the theme of Selene visiting the sleeping Endymion primarily evokes private feelings of love and loss. At the same time, one of the portraits of a man as Endymion is given not only a hunting spear, but also a sword (pl. 196b).²²⁷⁰

The search for specifically female models for *virtus* easily lands on the Amazons, as women valiantly battling in military dress. The Roman Amazonomachy Sarcophagi of the 2nd century CE had the potential to express the cruelty of death, as an *exemplum mortalitatis* suitable for the female sex in particular.²²⁷¹ This need not, however, exclude the possibility of signifying female strength and bravery in general.²²⁷² On the earliest extant Roman Amazonomachy Sarcophagus (pls. 91a. 178. 179), dated to the early Antonine Period, the superiority of the Greeks over the Amazons is not unambiguously expressed.²²⁷³ Indeed, the Amazons are not effortlessly slaughtered and degraded here - unlike the barbarians on Roman Battle Sarcophagi - but portrayed as strong and worthy opponents.²²⁷⁴ On the front side of the casket, an Amazon comes to her fellow warriorress' rescue, grasping the arm of her assailant (pl. 178a); another valiantly faces a warrior head on, swinging the battle axe behind her head (pl. 178b); and yet another successfully knocks a warrior from his horse (pl. 178b). Finally, an Amazon stands triumphantly on the corpse of an impaled warrior, with the goddess of victory testifying to her success in battle (pl. 179).²²⁷⁵ The similarities in dress and arms likewise contribute to the symmetrization of the sexes.²²⁷⁶ Most of the Greeks wear short tunics detached on one shoulder, in a manner similar to the Amazons. One of the warriors even holds what is clearly a battle-axe. The lid indicates the inevitable defeat of the Amazons: it is a lamentable fate, which resonates with the feelings of grief experienced by the female deceased's loved ones,²²⁷⁷ but which hardly detracts from the strength and bravery exhibited by other members of her own sex.

In the portraits of women as Penthesilea on Amazonomachy Sarcophagi of the 3rd century CE, it is clear that *virtus* is finally directly conferred on the female deceased. *Virtus* is seldom ascribed to men through military themes on Roman mythological sarcophagi, and if so, then the quality is often pushed into the background.²²⁷⁸ This is precisely the case here: the focus is undeniably on the relationship

²²⁶⁹ Note that there are also hunting accessories here (e.g. spear, bow). For discussion, see chap. 6.3.2.

²²⁷⁰ For discussion, see chap. 7.3; app. C.

²²⁷¹ Russenberger 2015, 453-458; Russenberger 2016, 30.

²²⁷² Borg 2013, 170.

²²⁷³ Russenberger 2015, 156. For the sarcophagus, Grassinger 1999b, 237 cat. 94.

²²⁷⁴ Russenberger 2015, 156.

²²⁷⁵ C. Russenberger argues that Victoria holding a garland might also foreshadow the eventual death of the Amazon, since the motif was at home in the funerary context, Russenberger 2015, 159-161.

²²⁷⁶ For discussion, see chap. 5.1.1.2

²²⁷⁷ Russenberger 2015, 158.

²²⁷⁸ For discussion, see this section (i.e. chap. 5.2.3.4) above.

between Achilles and Penthesilea, as an expression of conjugal harmony.²²⁷⁹ Their prominent role in the raging battle is actually downplayed by omitting offensive arms, gaping wounds, or other signs of their previous conflict. In the end, their *virtus* is merely an auxiliary quality, evoked by the battle dress alone, in order to augment the praise of the spouses on an individual basis. Since it is generally accepted that the visual code employed for sarcophagi with portrait figures is multidimensional, then this rule should not be applied selectively, but rather on a consistent basis. In other words, the portrayal of Achilles in heroic costume is seen to evoke *virtus* in itself: he is neither battling, nor triumphant, but channeling all of his strength and energy into supporting his dying companion. The same rule must therefore apply to the woman as Penthesilea. Her dress likewise identifies her as a strong and “manly” woman, regardless of the tragic circumstances. Her fellow warriorresses, still fighting in the background, clearly testify to the physical prowess and courage she exhibited during her lifetime.²²⁸⁰ She has already proven her *virtus* by dedicating herself to a life of military training and bravely joining this battle - its outcome is another matter entirely.

In fact, Penthesilea continues to exhibit fortitude even in death.²²⁸¹ It is generally agreed that she is entirely powerless here, since she has already lost control over her body.²²⁸² She is still relatively upright, but this is due to the support of her helper. She nevertheless continues to show signs of vitality.²²⁸³ Most notably, she is fully cognizant, in control of her emotions, and even manages to keep her head upright.²²⁸⁴ In some cases, she still grips her battle-axe. Considering that the remainder of her body is completely limp, these actions are physiologically impossible. There are, moreover, still hints of the self-control she had exhibited until this moment. Her arm is resting over the shoulder of Achilles, indicating that she had been making a joint effort to keep herself upright. Her *chlamys* is elegantly draped over her arm as well, which means that even in the face of death, she still exhibited enough self-control to care for her proper appearance.²²⁸⁵ Penthesilea is certainly portrayed in a compromised

²²⁷⁹ Russenberger 2015, 417.

²²⁸⁰ Hansen 2007, 115.

²²⁸¹ Her weakness at this moment is emphasized by others, e.g. Ewald 2005, 62; Fendt 2005, 89; Humphreys 1983, 49; Russenberger 2005, 405f. 460; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 215.

²²⁸² e.g. Fendt 2005, 83f.; Grassinger 1999a, 323f.; Hansen 2007, 113; Russenberger 2015, 405; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 285.

²²⁸³ These differences become clear if the portrait groups are compared with the ideal representation of Achilles supporting the dead body of Penthesilea on an earlier Amazonomachy Sarcophagus from Group IV, dated to 160/170 CE (pl. 193a); for the sarcophagus, Grassinger 1999b, 245 cat. 114.

²²⁸⁴ It is often noted that Penthesilea's head is basically upright, which is generally attributed to adapting her image to the needs of commemoration, e.g. clearly displaying her portrait head (Grassinger 1999a, 324); clearly showing off her beauty (Zanker 2019, 23); presenting the couple's bond in a dignified manner (Zanker - Ewald 2004, 287); intensifying the feeling of partnership, while downplaying the tragic and gruesome aspect of her death (Russenberger 2015, 389f).

²²⁸⁵ C. Russenberger interprets the draped *chlamys* as a sign of a “chaste” death, Russenberger 2015, 388. There is a parallel for Penthesilea dying in a controlled and hence modest way in the *Posthomerica* as well: “She fell to the ground decorously, her noble body modest and showing nothing shameful as she stretched out prone...”, Q. Smyrn. 1, 621-624 (translation in Hopkinson 2018, 59). Note that the *pelta* still hangs on her arm as well, but presumably because it had already been there during the battle.

position here, but not with “ambivalent emotional behaviour” or as “weak and out of control”.²²⁸⁶ Rather, she exhibits physical endurance and especially mental fortitude in the face of death, as a reflection of the virtues she had exhibited in life.²²⁸⁷ She is contrasted with her dying comrades - with their pained expressions and undignified poses - to reduce connotations like physical weakness and emotional instability, which are typical of the female sex on mythological sarcophagi.²²⁸⁸

The sarcophagi featuring the tragic death of Adonis provide an excellent parallel for this.²²⁸⁹ It is generally agreed that the image of Adonis hunting the boar alludes to the *virtus* of the male deceased in an indirect manner,²²⁹⁰ despite the fact that the youthful hero is mortally wounded in the process (pl. 197a). In one case, the portrait of a married couple in “realistic” scenes (*concordia, pietas*) is combined with the mythical image of Adonis wounded in the boar hunt: this surely aimed to enhance the man’s *virtus*, but in a manner that resonated with the feelings of loss experienced by his loved ones (pl. 197b).²²⁹¹ The expression of emotion and virtue is not irreconcilable here, even if his direct identification with the tragically fallen hero was obviously avoided.²²⁹² In another case, Adonis is actually furnished with the individual features of a young man (alongside Venus, probably his mother) (pl. 188b).²²⁹³ His overall demeanor is accordingly adjusted: he is not portrayed fallen on the ground, nor collapsing in the arms of Venus, but sitting completely upright with one arm around the goddess, while a doctor tends to his wound.²²⁹⁴ This portrait group is comparable to those of married couples as Achilles and Penthesilea in several respects. The focus has shifted away from the heroic narrative and towards their loving relationship and untimely death, as an aid for mourning in the funerary context. References to their valiant acts nevertheless remain in the background. Moreover, the deceased is not only granted a completely dignified death, but continues to exhibit physical and mental fortitude. It is therefore clear that the jeopardized position of the deceased is not incompatible with their *virtus*. Overall, these mythical narratives not only appealed to private feelings of love and loss, but also expressed virtues like strength and bravery as a secondary concern.

The *virtus* of the woman as Penthesilea is, however, carefully negotiated in the imagery, so as not to completely destabilize the gender hierarchy. Her husband as Achilles is portrayed in heroic costume,

²²⁸⁶ Russenberger 2005, 460. He continues by arguing that the portraits of women as Penthesilea disappeared because moral integrity came into focus, and so this form of commemoration was not an option anymore.

²²⁸⁷ For further discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.3.2.2. There is a parallel for this in the *Posthomerica* as well: even after her death, Penthesilea is not only beautiful, but also strong, Q. Smyrn. 1, 718-719.

²²⁸⁸ For discussion on this trend, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 217-224.

²²⁸⁹ For the sarcophagi featuring the myth of Adonis, Grassinger 1999b, 70-90; 211-221 cat. 43-67.

²²⁹⁰ Borg 2013, 178.

²²⁹¹ For the sarcophagus, Grassinger 1999b, 216f. cat. 58.

²²⁹² In contrast, C. Russenberger argues that the image of the fallen Adonis does not evoke the *virtus* of the male deceased, but only the tragic aspects of his death; as such, the direct identification between Adonis and the male deceased is avoided here, Russenberger 2015, 397f. 406. It seems, however, that the essential *virtus* of Adonis is unaffected by these tragic circumstances.

²²⁹³ For the sarcophagus, Grassinger 1999b, 219 cat. 65.

²²⁹⁴ For discussion on the alterations to the iconography for commemoration, in order to downplay the dramatic aspects, Borg 2013, 169f.; Russenberger 2015, 404.

which shows off his perfect, muscular body, and hence the physical prerequisites for performing acts of *virtus*.²²⁹⁵ The Amazons as a whole, however, had always been excluded from this visual convention, due to the erotic connotations of female undress. Instead, other outfits were invented to evoke their “manly” behaviour, but without completely obscuring their femininity.²²⁹⁶ This is exactly the case here. The woman wears a *chiton*, which is essentially appropriate for her sex, but shortened to the level of men. Of considerable interest here is the unique draping of the *chiton* in roughly half of the cases, with the lower hem unrealistically pulled up the right side of the body (pls. 7. 9. 10a. 11a).²²⁹⁷ This sartorial feature draws attention to the fact that the garment is actually quite long,²²⁹⁸ but hitched-up for battle, in a more obvious manner than the usual overfall (which is still maintained on the right side). In a sense, she is dressed like a proper matron here,²²⁹⁹ but her tunic is worn in a manner that suits her *virtus*. Moreover, the garment is draped on her body in a manner that draws attention back to her female form: one breast is often revealed, and the addition of feminine sartorial features (e.g. possible high girding, long overfall) accentuates her bust and hips in particular.²³⁰⁰ Finally, the woman is also distinguished by her eastern arms (i.e. *pelta*, battle-axe).²³⁰¹ It is true that her dress is largely patterned after Greek warriors, but these barbarian elements serve to feminize her as well.

The *virtus* of the woman is negotiated by her actions as well. She is portrayed in a far more passive position than her husband, dying in his arms.²³⁰² The difference in the husband and wife’s presentation in this moment is partially dictated by the circumstances of the myth, but partially by the need to reaffirm the traditional gender hierarchy at Rome.²³⁰³ Mythological portraits of men in a passive role (e.g. dying, abduction) are avoided due to connotations of defeat or loss of self-control; it is generally more acceptable to show women (and children) in a compromised position.²³⁰⁴ These visual conventions were seemingly respected here as well.²³⁰⁵ This does not mean, however, that the wife’s “... portrayal alongside a strong man... makes passivity and weakness stand out as special qualities.”²³⁰⁶ Nor should

²²⁹⁵ For discussion on agonal nudity and heroic costume, see chaps. 3.2.1.2; 3.2.3.1.

²²⁹⁶ For discussion on the feminization of dress of the Amazons, see chap. 5.1.1.1.2. The warriorress costume expresses *virtus* in a gender-specific manner, and therefore offered a suitable vehicle for conferring the quality upon women; for further discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.3.1

²²⁹⁷ A. Fendt identifies and discusses this unique draping of the *chiton*, Fendt 2005, 83f. 89. For the sartorial feature, PEN3. 4. 5. 6. 8.

²²⁹⁸ Fendt 2005, 83f.

²²⁹⁹ Fendt 2005, 83f. The *chlamys*, however, is distinctly masculine.

²³⁰⁰ Note that Roman women tended to belt their tunics under the breasts as well, Croom 2002, 87-89.

²³⁰¹ For discussion on eastern features in Amazon dress, see chap. 5.1.1.1.1.2.

²³⁰² Her passivity is often noted, e.g. Russenberger 2015, 385. 388; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 215. It is true that Penthesilea has not completely lost control over herself; nevertheless, the passivity of Penthesilea, especially in comparison to Achilles, is evident.

²³⁰³ I.L. Hansen discusses the difficulties in attributing *virtus* to women in the portraits of spouses in general, and rightly suggests that the representation of the married couple on PEN3 follows a traditional format of active-male and passive-female Hansen 2007, 107f. 115. 117.

²³⁰⁴ Russenberger 2015, 405f. The same is true of mythological imagery on sarcophagi in general: both men and women suffer horrible deaths, but women are more likely to be kidnapped, whereas men are more likely to be shown on their death beds like heroes, Zanker 2005, 244.

²³⁰⁵ Russenberger 2015, 405f.

²³⁰⁶ Russenberger 2015, 460; see also Zanker 2005, 244.

she be understood as the “epitome of female weakness.”²³⁰⁷ She is certainly presented as a casualty here, which reinforces the traditional dichotomy of active/male - female/passive; nevertheless, her *virtus* is, in principle, completely unaffected by these unfavourable circumstances.²³⁰⁸

It is also significant that the *virtus* of the married couple is completely subsumed under the celebration of *concordia*.²³⁰⁹ The portrayal of the husband and wife as comrades in war stresses their shared *virtus*, which contributes to the sense of harmony and equality in marriage.²³¹⁰ This is expressed by their dress as well: Penthesilea is not only primarily dressed like a Greek, but also wears a *chlamys* just like Achilles, which marks her as a fitting and worthy companion.²³¹¹ Based on the available evidence, it is doubtful that these women would have been portrayed in military attire in their own right. Rather, the *virtus* of women as Penthesilea was probably intended to mirror the *virtus* of their husbands as Achilles in particular, which fits well into the ideals of companionate marriage in this era.²³¹²

Finally, the *virtus* of the women is even negotiated by the battle scene in the background of the Amazonomachy Sarcophagi (Group VI). The Greeks and the Amazons were probably viewed as the mythical representatives of the husbands and wives respectively. The Amazons continuing to battle in the background do not merely express the cruelty of female death, but also female strength and bravery in a general way.²³¹³ However, the Greeks are obviously the superior party in this sense.²³¹⁴ The *virtus* of these men and women is therefore distinguished not in principle, but in practice, by their varying degrees of success in battle. This feeling of asymmetry is reinforced by the fact that the warriors and warrioresses are differentiated more than ever by their particular dress. There is virtually no overlap in terms of garments, weapons or armour. As such, it was evidently important to clearly separate out the sexes here, as well as to place them in a hierarchy. Perhaps the reduction in symmetry between the Greeks and Amazons in this group of sarcophagi was partially motivated by concerns for

²³⁰⁷ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 215; for similar opinions, Ewald 2005, 62; Humphreys 1983, 49.

²³⁰⁸ Even when Penthesilea's “manly” virtues are recognized, her weakness as a woman is often still stressed. As S.C. Humphreys states, “the tension between men's admiration for women possessing masculine qualities and love for them as weak and inferior creatures is perfectly balanced, but it was not an easy balance to maintain,” Humphreys 1983, 49. A. Fendt mentions that Penthesilea lies weak in Achilles arms (which is, however, surely meant in a circumstantial way), Fendt 2005, 89. I.L. Hansen rightly suggests that the representation of the married couple on PEN3 follows a traditional format of active-male and passive-female, but stresses the fact that Penthesilea “succumbs as a proper female to a masculine force,” Hansen 2007, 115. 117. The preceding conflict between Achilles and Penthesilea is basically suppressed here, and therefore did not clearly convey this message. As will be argued here, the battle of the sexes is instead “outsourced”; for discussion, see this section (i.e. chap. 5.2.3.4) below.

²³⁰⁹ I.L. Hansen notes the emphasis on *concordia* here, which brings the women into association with *virtus* (but also tempers their warrior-like characteristics due to the focus on their relationship), Hansen 2007, 114f.

²³¹⁰ For discussion on Achilles and Penthesilea recast as comrades here, see chap. 5.2.3.3. For discussion on shared virtues as an expression of *concordia* in general, see chap. 7.5.2.5.2.1.

²³¹¹ For discussion on the similarities in dress and its significance, see chap. 5.2.3.3.

²³¹² For further discussion, see chap. 7.5.2.5.

²³¹³ Borg 2013, 170; Hansen 2007, 115.

²³¹⁴ In contrast, on the Amazonomachy Sarcophagi of the second half of the 2nd century CE, the Greeks are not clearly established as the superior party (even if their victory was not doubted), Russenberger 2015, 455.

self-representation: indeed, the potential for women to assume masculine characteristics might call traditional gender roles into question, but their unambiguous defeat reaffirms the *status quo*.

Also relevant here are the Amazons holding *tropaea* - or military trophies - at the corners of the battle scene.²³¹⁵ The motif features on all of the Amazonomachy Sarcophagi (Group VI), including the monuments with portraits of spouses as Achilles and Penthesilea. The Amazons are occasionally portrayed standing calmly, holding up a *tropaeum* with the armour of warriors (i.e. a helmet, a anatomical cuirass and two shields) on their shoulder (pl. 6a).²³¹⁶ This is attested on one monument under consideration.²³¹⁷ More often, however, the Amazons are portrayed hastening in one direction, holding the reins of their horses in one hand, and a long pole with a *trophaeum* on top in the other hand.²³¹⁸ This time, the *tropaeum* contains the attributes of the Amazons themselves. The examples are poorly preserved, but the *pelta* is clearly visible here; other elements include the double-axe and swathes of drapery. This sort of trophy is attested on at least three monuments under consideration (pls. 7. 9).²³¹⁹ There are, however, exceptions to the rule.²³²⁰ In one case, all that remains are traces of a *vexillum* (pl. 10a) - that is, a flag-like object employed in a Roman military context.²³²¹

The portrayal of Amazons with military trophies is completely unique in Roman visual culture. The development of this iconographic motif on the Amazonomachy Sarcophagi (Group VI) exhibits a few sources of influence. First of all, these trophy-bearing Amazons assume the position of Victoria, who occasionally appeared at the corners of earlier Amazonomachy Sarcophagi (Groups I & III).²³²² This winged goddess was shown with various attributes, probably to produce different effects: she might hold a *tropaeum*, as a sign of victory;²³²³ a garland, as a sign of impending death;²³²⁴ or even a sword, to indicate military valour in general.²³²⁵ Secondly, the Amazons standing with a hand-held *tropaeum* are modeled after Polykleitos' Wounded Amazon (Mattei Type).²³²⁶ This figural type, with one arm raised above the head, was a convenient means of depicting an Amazon holding up a trophy. Thirdly, the Amazons grasping the reins of horses and a *tropaeum* on a pole are vaguely modeled after the Dioscuri.²³²⁷ It was not uncommon for the twins to appear in the corners of Vita Romana Sarcophagi, as

²³¹⁵ For discussion on the motif, Grassinger 1999, 182-184. C. Russenberger suggests that this is Virtus herself, Russenberger 2015, 392. This is unlikely, since Virtus virtually always wears a helmet, see Ganschow 1997.

²³¹⁶ For examples, Grassinger 1999b, 247 cat. 119; 247f. cat. 120; 248f. cat. 122.

²³¹⁷ PEN1.

²³¹⁸ For examples, Grassinger 1999b, 250f cat. 127; 251f. cat. 130; 252 cat. 131; 252f. cat. 133; 253 cat. 134.

²³¹⁹ PEN3. 4. 5

²³²⁰ On one monument (PEN2), the Amazons stand calmly and hold onto the reins of their horses with one hand, and an unknown rod-like attribute in the other hand; a *tropaeum* on a pole is preserved in the upper right corner, but it is not entirely clear how it was integrated into the scene.

²³²¹ PEN6. D. Grassinger suggests that the *vexillum* was a part of the *tropaeum*, Grassinger 1999b, 254f. cat. 137. For general information about the *vexillum*, Maxfield 1981, 82f.

²³²² Grassinger 1999b, 184. For examples, Grassinger 1999, 237 cat. 94; 242f. cat. 104.

²³²³ Russenberger 2015, 158. For the sarcophagus, Grassinger 1999, 237 cat. 94.

²³²⁴ Russenberger 2015, 160f. For the sarcophagus, Grassinger 1999, 237, cat. 94.

²³²⁵ For the sarcophagus, Grassinger 1999, 242f. cat. 104. Victoria also sets one foot on a helmet here.

²³²⁶ Grassinger 1999b, 183f. For discussion on Polykleitos' Wounded Amazon (Mattei type), Bol 1990, 218-222.

²³²⁷ Grassinger 1999b, 184.

framing elements for the portraits of spouses.²³²⁸ The motif has been interpreted as a formal device, to produce an elevated, but non-specific context,²³²⁹ but also as a sign of mutual loyalty, referring back to the *concordia* of the husband and wife in particular.²³³⁰

This begs the question: what is the significance of these trophy-bearing Amazons? Were these unique figures merely a decorative framing device, or invented for the commemoration of the married couple? Military trophies had always been highly symbolic. In ancient Greece, the *tropaeum* was a victory monument composed of captured armour, which was set up on the battlefield, facing in the direction of the enemy's retreat.²³³¹ The Romans adopted the *tropaeum* as well, displaying piles of armour in military triumphs and in visual culture.²³³² Of particular interest here, however, is the iconography of the trophy-bearing figure, or *tropaeophorus*. The *tropaeum* was originally held by the goddess of victory, but then, on coinage of the Roman Republic, the attribute was taken up by Mars, Hercules, Minerva, etc.²³³³ As such, the hand-held *tropaeum* was primarily associated with deities either embodying or bestowing victory - "that is, in a form which by definition depends less on actual events than on an abstract idea, and for that very reason is hardly depicted with realistic proportions."²³³⁴ The *tropaeophorus* came to signify *virtus* in particular by the 2nd century CE.²³³⁵ This is attested by a series of medallions and coins featuring Romulus holding a *tropaeum*, first minted under Hadrian; the same type (with either Romulus or the Emperor) was accompanied by the legend VIRTUS AVG(VSTI) in the 3rd century CE (pl. 198a).²³³⁶ The motif was introduced into the Roman funerary context as well. The Roman Battle Sarcophagi of the 2nd to 3rd centuries CE feature either a *tropaeum* or a *tropaeophorus* (e.g. Victoria, Roman soldiers) at the corners (pls. 194b. 198b. 199a).²³³⁷ It is generally agreed that these monuments celebrate the *virtus* of the male deceased, and so the inclusion of military trophies fits well into this theme.²³³⁸ The *vexillum* has a similar significance: it was not only carried as a military standard by legionaries and auxiliaries, but also awarded to successful officers.²³³⁹

The inclusion of trophy-bearing Amazons on Amazonomachy Sarcophagi (Group VI) would initially seem counterintuitive. The Greek warriors clearly have the upper hand, so the *tropaeum* cannot possibly

²³²⁸ For examples, Françoise 1986, 619-621. nos. 75. 82. 83. 97.

²³²⁹ Hansen 2007, 114.

²³³⁰ Huskinson 2015, 168f.

²³³¹ Hurschmann 2002, 872f.

²³³² Hurschmann 2002, 872f. e.g. on victory monuments, in minor arts from the imperial court.

²³³³ Spannagel 1999, 154.

²³³⁴ Spannagel 1999, 154 (translation by the author).

²³³⁵ G.C. Picard argues that the *tropaeum* in general (which includes the hand-held *tropaeum*) was transformed into an emblem of *virtus* in the 2nd century CE, Picard 1957, 387-389.

²³³⁶ Schneider 1990, 189-191, including footnote 108 (in particular during the reigns of Severus Alexander, Valerian, Gallienus and the Tetrarchs).

²³³⁷ For examples, Andreae 1956, pls. 1-4; Künzl 2010, 83 fig. 110. For discussion on the *tropaeum* on Roman sarcophagi, Picard 1957, 415f. 429-433. 442-447. 474-477.

²³³⁸ Künzl 2010, 48f.; Picard 1957, 447. 476f.

²³³⁹ For discussion on the *vexillum*, Maxfield 1981, 82-84.

refer to a concrete victory for the warrioresses here.²³⁴⁰ Moreover, the only connection the defeated side ever has to the *tropaeum* is being seated under it, as lamenting captives (pl. 198b), which is not the case here either.²³⁴¹ The motif of the conquered party proudly bearing the *tropaeum* is seemingly unparalleled in the visual record, and suggests that the Amazons were not perceived as unworthy foes on these monuments. It is plausible that the trophy-bearing Amazons were invented to attribute *virtus* to the warrioresses in an unequivocal manner, as a sort of counterbalance to their impending defeat.²³⁴² Indeed, the act of carrying the military trophy detaches this marker of triumph from its original context, at the site of the enemy's retreat, and raises it to a purely symbolic level. It is a signifier of *virtus* in its own right, irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, it does not matter whether the Amazons are winning or losing the battle: what matters is that these warrioresses are seen to possess qualities like strength and bravery, even as the inferior side in the battle of the sexes. Whether their *virtus* is expressed by the armour of the warriors, or even that of the Amazons themselves, makes little difference here as well. It is possible for representations of *tropaea* in Roman visual culture to contain attributes that obviously do not belong to the conquered side, but rather to the victors. The Ludovisi Battle Sarcophagus (ca. 260 CE) is a prime example of this phenomenon: the Roman soldiers in the corners hold a *tropaeum* containing a helmet and cuirass, which are not attested among their barbarian foes (pl. 199b).²³⁴³ Just as the size of the *tropaeum* is completely unrealistic, so are its exact contents, which confirms the purely symbolic function of this attribute.

Overall, both the Greeks and the Amazons are honoured as paradigms for *virtus* in these battle scenes, as the comrades-in-arms and hence sex-specific “representatives” of the husband and wife respectively. In principle, the military virtues of the men and women is the same here. These are, however, expressed in a slightly different manner. The Greeks and Amazons both exhibit strength and courage in battle, but in putting these virtues into practice, the men are ultimately seen to surpass the women. Indeed, the Greeks prevail in the battle, in order to reaffirm the supremacy of civilization over barbarism, of men over women, and so on. This is a convenient means of differentiating the *virtus* of the husband and wife, without drawing attention back to their own personal conflict. Nevertheless, the motif of the trophy-bearing Amazon was presumably introduced to compensate for their “shortcomings” on the battlefield, as an effective means of evoking their *virtus* in a symbolic manner. This must have reflected well on the female deceased as well. Indeed, the triumphant Amazon usurps the position of

²³⁴⁰ It has been noted that the *tropaeum* is a sign of victory, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 387.

²³⁴¹ For examples of the defeated side lamenting under the *tropaeum* or *tropaeophorus*, Andrae 1956, pls. 1-4.

²³⁴² In contrast, C. Russenberger argues that the Amazons modeled after Polykleitos' Wounded Amazon (Mattei type) represent mourning warrioresses, to intensify the tragic character of the imagery (with the women as Penthesilea allegedly assuming the more central position on the relief), Russenberger 2015, 391. This interpretation is improbable, considering that the Amazons are bearing trophies. Moreover, he re-labels the Amazons leading horses as the “personification” *Virtus*, arguing that this refers to the *virtus* of the male deceased in particular (with the men as Achilles allegedly assuming the more central position on the relief), Russenberger 2015, 392. There are, however, no details in the iconography pointing to *Virtus* in particular, nor is there any reason to assume that her presence would only be relevant to the men (who are not obviously in the middle).

²³⁴³ For the sarcophagus, Künzl 2010.

other *tropaeophori* on Roman Battle Sarcophagi, which normally signify the *virtus* of the male deceased. These sorts of power struggles were certainly not the main concern here: the point was not to show that Penthesilea “succumbs as a proper female to a masculine force,”²³⁴⁴ but to downplay this part of the myth as much as possible.²³⁴⁵ It nevertheless seems that the attribution of *virtus* to women was negotiated by “outsourcing” their conflict, to prevent calling their inferior status into question.

5.2.3.5 *Pulchritudo*

The identification of women with Penthesilea is traditionally seen to celebrate their beauty in particular,²³⁴⁶ which fits well into the traditional canon of feminine virtues. It seems that the emphasis placed on *pulchritudo* is largely influenced by the literary sources. Penthesilea is praised for her extraordinary beauty.²³⁴⁷ After Achilles mortally wounded her in the *Posthomerica*, she was blessed with the graces of Aphrodite herself: “for Cypris of the fair garland herself... had made her beautiful even in death so that even noble Peleus’ son should feel remorse.”²³⁴⁸ Furthermore, it is possible for the connections drawn between Penthesilea - or other Amazons - with mortal women in the literary and epigraphic sources to hinge on this traditional female virtue.²³⁴⁹ Propertius justifies his submission to an alluring woman by citing Achilles’ inordinate love for Penthesilea as a mythical precedent.²³⁵⁰ The husband of Marcia Helike - a freedwoman and mother of three, who passed away at the age of twenty - compares his beautiful wife to an Amazon in her funerary epigram, which was displayed at Rome in the 3rd century CE: “Above all she had the reputation and shape of golden Aphrodite... She seemed once again incredibly beautiful after her death, like an Amazon, so that she aroused even more love in death than while still alive.”²³⁵¹ Finally, the lid of an Amazonomachy Sarcophagus (150/160 CE) dedicated to Arria Maximina, who died at the age of fifteen, is considered to support this connection as well (pl. 200a).²³⁵² In the inscription, her grieving parents refer to her as their sweetest daughter and also mention the statue of Venus displayed next to her casket. It is therefore assumed that the Amazons on

²³⁴⁴ Hansen 2007, 115.

²³⁴⁵ For discussion, see chap. 5.2.3.3.

²³⁴⁶ For the view that the portraits of women as Penthesilea primarily express beauty (as an individual virtue), Ewald 2005, 62; Grassinger 1999a, 328; Russenberger 2015, 385; Russenberger 2016, 26; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 54. 215. 286f.; Zanker 2019, 23. For the view that beauty is an important quality, but not the only one, Birk 2013, 134; Borg 2013, 170; Fendt 2005, 89. 93. (Note that S. Toso also argues that the Amazons on gems of the Roman Imperial Period offer positive role models for their female wearers, due to their beauty, Toso 2003, 292-296.)

²³⁴⁷ The beauty of Penthesilea is especially stressed in Quintus Smyrnaeus’ *Posthomerica*, which is roughly contemporary with the monuments under consideration, Fendt 2005, 86f.; Grassinger 1999a, 328.

²³⁴⁸ Q. Smyrn. 1, 666-668 (translation in Hopkinson 2018, 63).

²³⁴⁹ For discussion, Grassinger 1999a, 328. This can also occur with fictional women: in Nonnos’ *Dionysiaca*, an dying girl is compared to Penthesilea because her beauty caused her assailant to lust after her, Nonn. Dion. 35, 27-30.

²³⁵⁰ “... even she whose bright beauty conquered the conquering hero, when the helm of gold laid bare her brow,” Prop. 3, 11, 15-16 (translation in Butler 1916, 213).

²³⁵¹ IG 14, 1839, lines 4. 12-13. For the original text of the Greek funerary epigram, as well as a translation of it (which forms the basis of the translation provided here), Peek 1960, 225 no. 392. For studies on the funerary epigram, Arrigoni 1981; Pouilloux 1973-1974.

²³⁵² For the sarcophagus lid, Grassinger 1999b, 238 cat. 97. For the inscription, CIL 14, 610.

the sarcophagus must also evoke feminine virtues like beauty and grace.²³⁵³ Overall, there is a strong tendency to interpret the portraits of women as Penthesilea as a reference to their beauty in particular, as a quality arousing profound feelings of love and loss.

There is, however, no reason to assume a direct connection between the textual and visual sources. This begs the question: to what degree is the virtue of *pulchritudo* actually brought out in the portraits of women as Penthesilea under consideration? Of course, the portrait heads with their elaborate coiffures points to their beauty, femininity and even their social standing, due to the time and resources required to create such a flattering appearance.²³⁵⁴ These hairstyles are completely out of place in the context of warfare, but these standard conventions obviously needed to be adhered to.

Otherwise, it seems that attempts to highlight *pulchritudo* in particular are actually fairly uncommon. The extraordinary beauty of the female deceased is only specifically evoked once, on the Amazonomachy Sarcophagus in the Palazzo Borghese (Rome) (pl. 6a).²³⁵⁵ Here, she is portrayed with the drapery slipping off the shoulder in a manner similar to Aphrodite, to evoke qualities like beauty and grace.²³⁵⁶ Moreover, the *chlamys* is conspicuously absent here, probably to make this sartorial feature as visible as possible. This slipping drapery is virtually absent in other images of Penthesilea or even the Amazons as a whole.²³⁵⁷ It is therefore a foreign element, which was introduced to ensure that the beauty of the female deceased was expressed in an unequivocal way. The possibility that the slipping drapery carries connotations of vulnerability, as with barbarian women, should be excluded in this case, due to the need to completely suppress her violent defeat.²³⁵⁸

The remaining portraits of women as Penthesilea are not concerned with evoking beauty in particular. The majority of them are portrayed with an exposed breast, which has been perceived as a sign of beauty.²³⁵⁹ The significance of this motif is, however, far more multifaceted.²³⁶⁰ It can refer to a host of characteristics, originating with the active and manlike role of the Amazons (if the tunic is deliberately loosened) as well as the turmoil of battle (if the tunic is accidentally loosened), but extending to the paradox of fighting women: indeed, the masculine, chest-exposing garments of the Amazons ironically draw attention back to their female bodies, with all of its somatic connotations (weakness, eroticism,

²³⁵³ Russenberger 2015, 189. However, C. Russenberger goes on to note a wide array of connotations expressed by the funerary monument here, which were suitable for the commemoration of a maiden in particular (including her courage in enduring an early death), Russenberger 2015, 189f.

²³⁵⁴ For discussion on female coiffures in Roman portraiture as a sign of adornment and culture, Bartman 2001.

²³⁵⁵ PEN1.

²³⁵⁶ Grassinger 1999a, 328.

²³⁵⁷ For an example, Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 599f. no. 194.

²³⁵⁸ On the Column of Marcus Aurelius, for instance, the barbarian women are often shown with slipping drapery, as a sign of their violent defeat and (sexual) vulnerability, see Ferris 2000, 92-98.

²³⁵⁹ Russenberger 2015, 385; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 286. 89-90.

²³⁶⁰ For discussion, see chaps. 5.1.1.1.1.4; 5.1.1.1.2.4.

etc.).²³⁶¹ As such, the bare breast is properly a sign of “manliness”, but with the potential to become the object of the voyeuristic gaze. The overall issue, then, is that the semantic range of the bare breast of the Amazons is far too complex to specifically point to the virtue of beauty.

The same is true for any other part of the physical body that might be perceived as beautiful (e.g. the bare legs).²³⁶² The warrior ethos of the Amazons ultimately takes precedence. Indeed, these scarcely clad women “... are not aware of their own beauty, since they want nothing more than to be equal to men.”²³⁶³ The irony is that the more the Amazons attempt to imitate the dress behaviours of the Greek warriors, the more their erotic bodies are put on display for the viewers.²³⁶⁴

It is perhaps notable that the bare breast completely drops out on the Amazonomachy Sarcophagus in the Antiquarium Comunale (Rome) (pl. 9b). Instead, the woman wears a short *chiton*, which is still secured on both shoulders. The bare breast of the Amazons - with its power to signify on multiple levels - became a standard, practically identifying attribute by the Hellenistic Period.²³⁶⁵ It was never an essential feature of the Amazons, but its absence here is nevertheless striking. First of all, Penthesilea is portrayed with an exposed breast in the Achilles Penthesilea Group, which served as a general model for the portrait groups of spouses.²³⁶⁶ Secondly, the warrioresses in the background of the Amazonomachy Sarcophagi (Group VI) tend to wear a short *chiton* that is loosened on one side as well. As such, the decision to cover the breast of the woman was certainly deliberate. It was probably motivated by an aversion to nudity for self-representation (as attested in mythological portraits elsewhere, e.g. Venus, Endymion).²³⁶⁷ As such, the expression of beauty was evidently less significant than *pudicitia* - or modesty - as an element of her decorum.²³⁶⁸ Indeed, all of the connotations of the bare breast were eliminated, including the potentially sexualized view of the woman.

In fact, if the aim had been to highlight the beauty of the women as Penthesilea in particular, then an entirely different costume could have been selected: that is, a state of undress similar to Venus, as well as other desirable women. By the Hellenistic Period at the latest, Penthesilea is portrayed completely nude and dying in the arms of Achilles (pl. 174a), which recasts the fierce, manlike Amazon

²³⁶¹ I.L. Hansen rightly notes that the exposed breast highlights their ambiguous status as women that fight and behave like men, Hansen 2007, 112f. However, there is no reason to believe that it calls to mind the stories of Amazons cutting off their breasts to fight more efficiently, or that it completely desexualizes them.

²³⁶² The short tunics of the Amazon also offer a glimpse at the thighs, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 286.

²³⁶³ Kaeser 2008b, 159 (translation by the author).

²³⁶⁴ For discussion, see chap. 5.1.1.1.2.4.

²³⁶⁵ Kaeser 2008b, 158f.

²³⁶⁶ For the Achilles Penthesilea Group (and its reconstructions), Berger 1967; Berger 1994, 303f. nos. 59-67.

²³⁶⁷ The aversion to nudity in mythological portraiture is observed elsewhere as well, for both men and women. For discussion on the aversion to nudity in portraits of women as Venus, see chap. 4.2.3.2.1. For discussion on the aversion to nudity in portraits of men as Hippolytus, see chaps. 5.3.3.1; 6.2.2.3. For discussion on the aversion to nudity in portraits of men as Endymion, see chap. 7.3; app. C. The portrait of a man as Achilles in “realistic” military dress (PEN9) might demand a similar interpretation: the cuirass lends the figure a distinctive militaristic character, but also avoids the (at times) complicated issue of nudity for self-representation.

²³⁶⁸ Russenberger 2015, 385-388. The portraits of women as Penthesilea are not, however, specifically concerned with this virtue, since there are other mythical role models for modesty (with the bodies completely covered).

as a tragically fallen object of desire.²³⁶⁹ This transformation in dress is hardly realistic in the context of battle, considering that Amazons, unlike Greeks, never fight in the nude. For instance, a series of canteens dated to the 3rd century CE (pls. 186a. 188a. 192) shows Achilles and Penthesilea battling in short tunics on the front side;²³⁷⁰ on the back side, however, Achilles supports the dying Penthesilea, who is suddenly portrayed nude.²³⁷¹ This eroticized version of Penthesilea was introduced into the funerary context in the Roman Imperial Period as well. An Attic Amazonomachy Sarcophagus dated to 160-170 CE features a conventional battle scene on the front side (pl. 200b), but then Achilles remorsefully holding up Penthesilea on the shorter side (pl. 201a).²³⁷² She is nude but for the “Phrygian” cap, *chlamys* and boots; her body is depicted more or less frontally, precisely to show off her exquisite beauty. The *kline* lid features a portrait group of reclining spouses, suggesting that this tragic moment resonated with their private feelings of love and loss.²³⁷³ Overall, it is certainly possible for the images of Penthesilea to foreground her beauty and femininity (while suppressing all references to conflict and misandry), perhaps even as a significant point for female identification. This particular iconography was not, however, selected for the portraits of women under consideration.

On the other hand, it is possible that the women in the guise of Penthesilea are adorned in a subtle manner. As a general rule, military men fasten their cloaks on their right shoulders. Here, however, the women typically fasten their *chlamydes* just over their breasts with a round brooch.²³⁷⁴ This attribute is reminiscent of a necklace or even a brooch for a veil, which also happens to draw attention back to the busts of these women.²³⁷⁵ As such, the *chlamys* is a distinctly masculine garment, but perhaps fits into notions of feminine adornment in this case as well.

Overall, the traditional interpretation that the portraits of women as Penthesilea are primarily intended to showcase their beauty is problematic. It seems that the emphasis placed on this particular virtue is largely informed by the textual sources, which are not necessarily relevant to this visual culture. It is not as though Penthesilea is not beautiful: like other idealized representations of women in classical antiquity, the Amazon is portrayed with a flawless, perfectly proportioned body, which is - in this case - put on display by her state of relative undress. The issue with stressing beauty in particular, however, is that this quality is actually evoked to varying degrees in the portraiture. It is brought to the forefront in one case, by slipping drapery, but purposely suppressed in another, by completely covering the breast.

²³⁶⁹ For discussion, see chap. 5.1.1.1.2.4.

²³⁷⁰ For one canteen, Kossatz-Deißmann 1981, 168 no. 785a; Mandel 1988, 266 cat. F 18.

²³⁷¹ Note that Achilles is suddenly depicted nude as well.

²³⁷² For the sarcophagus, Kintrup 2016, 264f. cat. 156.

²³⁷³ Note that the Amazon at the middle of the front side of the casket is shown with the drapery slipping off her shoulder. This is a sign of beauty, which is extremely unusual feature for the Amazons. As such, perhaps the motif was introduced to praise the female deceased in particular.

²³⁷⁴ PEN2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9.

²³⁷⁵ Women wear similar necklaces in painted portraiture, e.g. Walker - Bierbrier 1997, 98-101, cat. nos. 90-93. Moreover, a vestal virgin wears her veil in this manner, Talamo 1979. Note, however, that the manner in which Penthesilea wears the *chlamys* (i.e. fastened at the front with a round clasp) is attested among barbarians in Roman visual culture as well.

Most often, in fact, the beauty of the Amazon is conveyed by iconographic features with such a broad semantic range that the potential for the viewer to pinpoint this quality in particular is possible, but not probable. In other words, visual cues like the bare breast, or other somatic features - such as the exposure of perfect, but broken legs - are far too value laden to be understood specifically as a sign of beauty. The references to feminine adornment are also subtle here.

5.2.3.6 *Castitas*

It is possible that the reputation of the Amazons as militantly chaste women was never entirely lost here. If so, then perhaps the women were celebrated for their *castitas*, at least in the sense of modesty or moral purity, considering their transformation from man-haters into loving and companionable women. The portraiture is not, however, specifically concerned with these traditional female virtues: indeed, these qualities are most clearly expressed by modestly draped portrait types, whereas here the concern for modesty is limited to covering a breast.

5.2.3.7 *Clementia?*

The left side of the casket in the Cortile del Belvedere (Vatican) demands brief consideration as well (pl. 8a).²³⁷⁶ It is possible that the androgynous figure wearing a “Phrygian” cap and kneeling in front of “Penthesilea” is touching her knees in supplication. The recognition and acceptance of an act of subordination in visual culture signifies the virtues of mercy and compassion (*clementia*) in particular. This is common on Vita Romana Sarcophagi, where the male deceased appears in the guise of a military commander and offers clemency to defeated barbarians, especially women and children (pl. 201b).²³⁷⁷ Quite interestingly, the short side of another Roman Amazonomachy Sarcophagus in Group VI features a military commander seated on the *sella castrensis* and pardoning a kneeling Amazon (pl. 202a)²³⁷⁸ - this surely refers to the *clementia* of the male deceased in an indirect manner. This raises the question: is it possible that the image of “Penthesilea” receiving the kneeling barbarian serves as an equivalent for the female deceased, at least in an ethical sense?²³⁷⁹

The scene might, however, point to other qualities altogether. It is conceivable that the kneeling figure is merely tending to the wound of “Penthesilea”. If so, then the short side of the casket offers an extended commentary on the *virtus* of the female deceased. She has proven her valour in battle for the sake of her fellow citizens and homeland (as referenced by the city walls in the background), and continues to demonstrate her endurance and fortitude in the aftermath: indeed, she suffers physically from her wounds, but stands practically upright and grasps her spear.

²³⁷⁶ PEN3.

²³⁷⁷ For discussion on *clementia* scenes on Vita Romana Sarcophagi, Reinsberg 2006, 86-94.

²³⁷⁸ For the sarcophagus in general, Grassinger 1999b, 248f. cat. 122; for discussion on the short side, Grassinger 1999b, 182. Note that Achilles and Penthesilea do not have portrait features on this sarcophagus.

²³⁷⁹ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.2.4.

5.2.4 Conclusions

The focus of this examination has been the portraits of women as Penthesilea, which appear exclusively on the Roman Amazonomachy Sarcophagi (Group VI). The identification of women with Penthesilea initially seems surprising.²³⁸⁰ Penthesilea is the Queen of the Amazons, a tribe of warrior women at the distant, unknown reaches of the world. She arms herself for combat against the Greeks in the Trojan War. Her sense of self-confidence and violent actions are considered bold and reckless for a woman. There is, moreover, another complicating factor. Achilles allegedly fell in love with Penthesilea immediately after mortally wounding her in battle. The imagery on the sarcophagi captures the moments after this tragic mistake, with the portrait group of a man as Achilles supporting his dying wife as Penthesilea. Achilles is criticized for lusting excessively after his own enemy, and therefore for failing to exhibit the self-control expected of proper men. In addition, women dressing up as Amazons in Roman society were generally viewed negatively. Portraits of imperial women in the guise of military goddesses are rare and characterized by a conspicuous avoidance of masculine dress, which makes this form of commemoration all the more remarkable.²³⁸¹

The portraits of married couples as Achilles and Penthesilea have received a lot of attention - more than any other portrait type addressed here - but there is still much disagreement about the overall significance.²³⁸² At one extreme, the portraits are interpreted in a traditional manner: the battle raging around them refers to the *virtus* of Achilles, who appears like a general at the middle; the tragedy of the situation is not the primary interest here, but rather the opportunity to show off the strength of the hero; Penthesilea is the epitome of female weakness and merely an attribute of the hero's manly perfection; his feelings of love and protector function are expressed here as well, but the warriorress is only left with characteristics like beauty, desirability and dying.²³⁸³ This strict dichotomy has been rightfully called into question, by noting the capacity for Penthesilea to exhibit traits like strength and bravery.²³⁸⁴ The preceding analysis has attempted to contribute to this discussion by considering the iconography of all of the extant monuments, but especially the dress of the portrait figures.

The iconography of the married couples as Achilles and Penthesilea is carefully formulated to produce a socially acceptable monument, expressing both their personal feelings and praiseworthy qualities. The focus is on the conjugal harmony (*concordia*) between the husband and wife.²³⁸⁵ The portrait group is largely modeled after statue groups of Greek heroes holding their fallen comrades, which recasts Achilles and Penthesilea as allies, not enemies. The iconography is manipulated to present them in the most dignified manner possible, with Achilles holding Penthesilea upright, while she rests an arm on his shoulder. This feeling of partnership is strengthened by the primarily Greek appearance of their dress,

²³⁸⁰ For discussion, see chap. 5.2.1.

²³⁸¹ For discussion, see chap. 5.2.3.2.

²³⁸² For discussion, see chap. 5.2.3.1.

²³⁸³ For this particular interpretation, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 215.

²³⁸⁴ Fendt 2005, 89. 93; Hansen 2007, 112f.; Humphreys 1983, 49; see also Birk 2013, 137; Borg 2013, 170.

²³⁸⁵ For discussion, see chap. 5.2.3.3.

with concrete points of overlap (e.g. *chlamys*). The gruesome aspects of her death, as well as his responsibility for it, are also downplayed. At the same time, the masculinity of Achilles is not called into question. It is true that the virtue of *concordia* is primarily transferred to the husband in his supportive role, but there is a lack of direct emotional engagement with his wife. His loving embrace incorporates masculine qualities: it is an opportunity to show off his physical strength. He is disarmed not to evoke inordinate passion, but to shift attention away from the preceding conflict.

Besides this, the traditional view that portraits of men as Achilles evoke “manliness” (*virtus*), whereas that of women as Penthesilea evoke beauty (*pulchritudo*) is unfounded. The proposed dichotomy is not supported by the iconography. Rather, their dress evokes their shared *virtus*.²³⁸⁶ The raging battle in the background testifies to the strength and bravery of the Greeks and Amazons in general. Even in the face of death, Penthesilea continues to exhibit fortitude, so that “feminine” vices like weakness and a lack of self-control are minimized. It is true that qualities like physical perfection belong to *virtus* as well, but beyond that, the *pulchritudo* of Penthesilea is - in most cases at least - not overtly celebrated.²³⁸⁷ Achilles and Penthesilea exhibit the same “manly” qualities, but the iconography is designed in a manner that maintains the proper balance between the sexes.²³⁸⁸ There are clear differences in their dress, which feminize Penthesilea. The male/active and female/passive dichotomy is not fully abolished. The superiority of the Greek warriors in the background is evident, although the Amazons still exhibit signs of strength and carry trophies at the edges.

In conclusion, the appeal of the portrait groups of men and women as Achilles and Penthesilea mostly lies in the affectionate and harmonious relationship between the mythical lovers, as well as the evocation of their shared virtues, including physical perfection, strength and bravery.²³⁸⁹ It is clear, however, that differences between men and women are never abolished here.

5.3 Portraits of Women as Virtus

5.3.1 Introduction

Virtus is broadly defined as “manliness, manhood, i.e. the sum of all the corporeal and mental excellences of man, *strength, vigor; bravery, courage; aptness, capacity; worth, excellence, virtue*, etc.”²³⁹⁰ Derived from *vir* - or man - *virtus* is an inherently masculine quality, primarily attributed to

²³⁸⁶ For discussion, see chap. 5.2.3.4.

²³⁸⁷ For discussion, see chap. 5.2.3.5.

²³⁸⁸ For discussion, see chap. 5.2.3.4.

²³⁸⁹ As demonstrated by S. Busse, the association between “strong women” and Amazons became even more pronounced in the portraiture of the early modern period. Female regents in France were portrayed in the guise of Amazons, since these legendary warrioresses combined virtues required of (male) rulers (e.g. strength, bravery, intelligence) with traditional feminine qualities (e.g. beauty, chastity), Busse 2010, 230f.

²³⁹⁰ C.T. Lewis - C. Short 1879, 1997 (s.v. *virtus*). For the significance of *virtus* (as well as the shifting semantics), see chap. 7.5.1.

adult male citizens.²³⁹¹ The grammatical gender of *virtus* is nevertheless feminine: as such, the quality is embodied by a goddess in Roman cult and visual culture (pl. 202b).²³⁹² She is dressed like a heavily armed warrior, with a mixture of Greek-Amazonian and Roman attributes.²³⁹³ Quite strikingly, portraits of women as *Virtus* appear in the funerary context at Rome and further afield (e.g. Durocortorum), from the middle of the 3rd century CE and then into the Constantinian Period. Indeed, spouses are portrayed in the guise of a lion hunter and *Virtus* on at least four Roman Hunt Sarcophagi (pls. 12-14).²³⁹⁴ The overall composition of these portrait groups is fairly similar: the central hunter (the husband) pursues a lion on horseback, with *Virtus* (his wife) behind him.²³⁹⁵

Mythical narratives about *Virtus* are almost entirely lacking, unlike the other goddesses and heroines in cross-gendered dress under consideration here.²³⁹⁶ The iconography of the goddess is, however, seemingly problematic enough for her to serve as a mythical role model for women, especially in the context of marriage. Indeed, she is portrayed as a heavily-armed woman, prepared for battle, and therefore assumes a military role traditionally reserved for men. Moreover, the portrayal of these bellicose women alongside their husbands is potentially problematic, since women dressing up like men and arrogating their roles might call the masculinity of their male partners into question.²³⁹⁷ “The addition of portrait features risks creating an imbalance between the woman as *Virtus* and [her husband as] the huntsman”,²³⁹⁸ and has even been described as “out of place” here.²³⁹⁹

The following analysis will evaluate how the Roman hunter and *Virtus* came to serve as role models in private portraiture. It will start by offering an overview of the monuments, before turning to the capacity of the mythological imagery to evoke private emotions and virtues. In particular, the potential for *Virtus* to convey positive messages about women, without completely undermining the traditional gender hierarchy, demands further consideration here.

²³⁹¹ For the etymology of *virtus*, Eisenhut 1973, 12f. *Virtus* is primarily attributed to men; the quality was, however, extended to certain exceptional women by the late Republican Period, see chap. 7.5.1.1.2. It is one of the four cardinal virtues of the Romans, which - alongside *clementia* (clemency), *iustitia* (justice) and *pietas* (piety) - was inscribed on the *clipeus virtutis* awarded to Augustus, Ganschow 1997, 273.

²³⁹² Originally, the visualization of abstract ideas depended on grammatical gender, Stafford 1998.

²³⁹³ For the images of *Virtus* in general, Ganschow 1997. For the dress of *Virtus*, see chap. 5.1.2.

²³⁹⁴ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, VIR1. 2. 3. 4. It is plausible that other cases existed as well. S. Birk lists two other portraits of women as *Virtus* on Roman Hunt Sarcophagi, but these monuments have been excluded here due to the lack of compelling evidence for portrait features. The head of *Virtus* at Palazzo Mancano (Rome) (see Birk 2013, 291 cat. 514) is too poorly preserved to determine if there were portrait features (and the deep bore marks at the edges of the mouth, comparable to the remainder of the idealized figures on the sarcophagus, make this unlikely). The head of *Virtus* at Chiesa Collegiata (Sant’Elpidio a Mare) (see Birk 2013, 292 cat. no. 520) exhibits no trace of individualized features (the hairstyle of *Virtus* is idealized and lacks the drilled pupils attested for the other portrait figures).

²³⁹⁵ In one case, however, the main portrait figure is seemingly on foot, VIR2.

²³⁹⁶ For literary references to the goddess *Virtus*, Milhous 1992, 35-43.

²³⁹⁷ For discussion, see chap. 2.1.2.2..

²³⁹⁸ Hansen 2007, 115.

²³⁹⁹ Wrede 1981, 150 (translation by the author).

5.3.2 Overview of the Monuments

5.3.2.1 Overview of the Iconography

The front sides of the Roman Hunt Sarcophagi under consideration feature a lion hunt.²⁴⁰⁰ The sarcophagus in Musée St. Remi (Reims) (pl. 12a) is divided into two scenes: to the left is a portrait of a man in a *profectio* scene, presumably departing for the hunt; to the right is the same man pursuing a springing lion on horseback, with his wife in the guise of Virtus standing behind him.²⁴⁰¹ The other Roman Hunt Sarcophagi feature the hunting scene alone, with the same type of portrait group (pl. 13. 14).²⁴⁰² The iconography of the lion hunt is similar on all of the monuments under consideration. The relief is typically populated by a host of hunting assistants on horseback or on foot, who are armed but hardly active in the hunt.²⁴⁰³ Instead, these men focus their entire attention on the portrait of the man on horseback.²⁴⁰⁴ Beneath him is a fallen hunting assistant, trying to defend himself against the lion. In some cases, other wounded assistants feature elsewhere as well.²⁴⁰⁵ The men are assisted by hunting dogs, portrayed in active pursuit. The ground is often littered with vanquished quarry, including lions, boars and deer.²⁴⁰⁶ All of the reliefs deploy framing elements: this includes the Dioscuri striding outwards with horses, but looking towards the middle of the relief;²⁴⁰⁷ lion head decorations;²⁴⁰⁸ lions attacking their prey (i.e. boar, deer);²⁴⁰⁹ or an exquisite archway decorated with a river god and floral patterns.²⁴¹⁰ The imagery on the sides of the caskets is typically decorative or else an extension of the departure and hunting scenes on the front of the caskets.

The main focus of the frontal relief is the portrait group of the man as the lion hunter and his wife as Virtus. The overall presentation and composition of the portrait groups vary considerably from monument to monument. The Roman Hunt Sarcophagus in the Musée St. Remi (Reims) (pl. 12) is dated to ca. 265 CE,²⁴¹¹ but the portrait figures were furnished with individualized features as late as the Constantinian Period. This monumental casket - measuring 2.83 m in length and 1.46 m in height - features two scenes.²⁴¹² There is a portrait of a man as a military commander in the *profectio* scene to

²⁴⁰⁰ For the Roman Hunt Sarcophagi in general, Andreae 1980; Vaccaro Melucco 1963-1964.

²⁴⁰¹ VIR1.

²⁴⁰² VIR2. 3. 4. It is true that VIR3 is divided into two scenes as well, Andreae 1980, 162f. cat. 104. The departure scene is, however, hardly preserved, and mostly spills over onto the side of the casket; as such, it is not certain whether a second portrait figure of the man was included here.

²⁴⁰³ A notable exception here is VIR3, where the portrait figures fill the majority of the space.

²⁴⁰⁴ In one case, however, a hunting assistant spears a bear at the edge of the relief, completely oblivious to the lion hunt, VIR4. For the identification of the bear hunt, Andreae 1980, 66.

²⁴⁰⁵ VIR2. 3.

²⁴⁰⁶ In one case, a rabbit also nibbles on a bunch of grapes, VIR4.

²⁴⁰⁷ VIR2.

²⁴⁰⁸ VIR3.

²⁴⁰⁹ VIR4.

²⁴¹⁰ VIR1. The archway only features on the left side.

²⁴¹¹ VIR1. For the dating, Andreae 1980, 157f. cat. 75.

²⁴¹² B. Andreae claims that the sarcophagus could have only been specially commissioned due to its extraordinary size and accordingly high price, Andreae 1980, 227. Others claim that it was purchased on stock, Rodenwaldt 1944, 202; Vaccaro Melucco 1963-1964, 18.

the far left, and then as a mounted lion hunter at the center of the casket; the two scenes are bridged by a portrait of a woman as Virtus, who interacts in both of them.²⁴¹³

The man as a military commander stands in more or less frontal view, with his weight on the left leg and his head turned slightly to his right. He grasps a sword at his left side with both hands.²⁴¹⁴ The portrait head, the high quality of which is only known from Roman workshops, was carved from a boss.²⁴¹⁵ The individualistic features (i.e. the nearly round head, the large, bulging eyes, the narrow lips, the high set ears, and the hair combed from the crown in softly waved strands towards the front) are characteristic of the Constantinian Period.²⁴¹⁶ The male attendants not only present him with a horse, but also arm him for battle. This is revealed by the scene on the left side of the sarcophagus, which is stylistically different, but flows without interruption through an archway and then onto the front side of the casket: here, a male attendant hastens forward and offers him a helmet.²⁴¹⁷ The helmet is characteristically neo-Attic (i.e. narrow, gable-shaped visor, which culminates in volutes over the ears), but this type is also worn by Roman soldiers in the visual record (e.g. Great Relief from Trajan's Forum).²⁴¹⁸ Moreover, a wingless cupid dressed in a *chlamys* stands at his feet, looking at him and lifting up a Corinthian helmet adorned with a ram's head.²⁴¹⁹

Next to the military commander stands a portrait of a woman as Virtus in more or less frontal view, with her weight on the right leg and her head turned slightly upwards and to her left. She holds a spear in her right hand, a sword in her left hand, as well as an enormous round shield over her left arm. The face exhibits individualized features: she has a fairly straight and distinct nose, a small mouth with slightly pursed lips, and a small chin.²⁴²⁰ The coiffure is not precisely executed, but fits into the fashions of the imperial court: the hair is parted at the middle and combed into undulating locks, which are tucked behind the ears and then finally woven into a plait from the nape of the neck upwards (which disappears under the helmet).²⁴²¹ This is combined with the idealized locks of the goddess.²⁴²² The dating of the female portrait head has been problematized, perhaps unnecessarily. The shape of the face and the hairstyle have been compared to Cornelia Salonina in particular - the wife of Emperor Gallienus, who ruled until 268 CE - suggesting that the sarcophagus was purchased on the occasion of

²⁴¹³ Andreae 1980, 42.

²⁴¹⁴ The fingers of the right hand, the left hand, as well as the purported sword/baldric of the military general are now missing; nevertheless, the proposed reconstruction is supported by a similar sarcophagus in the Palazzo Mattei (Rome); for the sarcophagus, Andreae 1980, 167cat. 128.

²⁴¹⁵ Andreae 1980, 48.

²⁴¹⁶ For the portrait head, Andreae 1980, 47 (he dates it to ca. 320 in particular); Rodenwaldt 1944, 200f.

²⁴¹⁷ Andreae 1980, 48f.

²⁴¹⁸ For Attic helmets worn by auxiliary infantry on the Great Relief from Trajan's Forum, Robinson 1975, 88. 86. pl. 238. B. Andreae notes that the helmet is Roman, Andreae 1980, 48f.

²⁴¹⁹ Andreae 1980, 48f.

²⁴²⁰ For the portrait features, Vaccaro Melucco 1963-1964, 18 cat. 17.

²⁴²¹ For the hairstyle, Vaccaro Melucco 1963-1964, 18. For discussion on the portraiture of women in the 3rd century CE (and early 4th century CE), Bergmann 1977, 29f. 39-44. 89-101. 180-200.

²⁴²² Virtus frequently wears her hair loose under her helmet, but this is an optional feature; for examples, Ganschow 1997, 274 no. 4a; 277 no. 38; 278 no. 60.

her death.²⁴²³ The male portrait head, however, dates to around 320 CE.²⁴²⁴ A gap of over fifty years between the death of the husband and wife is possible,²⁴²⁵ but perhaps the sarcophagus was reused for the burial of an unrelated man (and possibly his wife) later on.²⁴²⁶ It has also been suggested that the casket was reused in the Constantinian Period with still unfinished bosses.²⁴²⁷ In any case, it is not critical to this analysis to resolve the precise date of the portraits.

Of greater significance here is the intention to use this monument to commemorate a man and his wife. It has been proposed that the workshop never planned for Virtus to receive a portrait head, and that the likeness was actually reworked from an idealized head of the goddess.²⁴²⁸ The evidence offered for this includes the relatively indistinct facial features, the disproportionately small face and thin neck, as well as the remnants of long locks of hair falling over the shoulders, which are stylistically distinct from the rest of the coiffure and also carved in a different manner.²⁴²⁹ There are, however, a couple points that speak strongly against this hypothesis. First of all, the presence of long locks is not surprising, considering that unfinished portraits of women as Virtus exhibit the exact same feature.²⁴³⁰ Secondly, the presence of the cupid between the military commander and Virtus must refer to the amorous relationship between them.²⁴³¹ The only parallel for this little cupid in the corpus of Roman Hunt Sarcophagi is found in the Museo Arqueológico (Barcelona): here, he also accompanies a married couple and holds weapons.²⁴³² As such, there is no compelling reason to suppose that Virtus was not destined for portrait features from the outset here.

Next to Virtus is a portrait of a man as a mounted lion hunter. He is depicted at the middle of the casket, charging forward with the reins of the horse in his left hand, and taking aim at the lion with his spear raised in his right hand. The portrait head is carved from a boss and hardly differs from the one in the departure scene, and so surely represents the same man.²⁴³³ Virtus calmly observes the mounted hunter. The hunting assistants also look back at him.

The monument exhibits two overlapping portrait groups of the married couple, one in the departure scene, and the other in the hunting scene.²⁴³⁴ It is true that there is no direct interaction between the

²⁴²³ Andreae 1980, 47f.; Rodenwaldt 1944, 200. (It has also been compared to the portrait to Herennia Etruscilla, Rodenwaldt 1944, 200; Vaccaro Melucco 1963-1964, 18; this predates the production of the sarcophagus though.)

²⁴²⁴ Andreae 1980, 47; Rodenwaldt 1944, 200f.

²⁴²⁵ Andreae 1980, 48; Rodenwaldt 1944, 201.

²⁴²⁶ G. Rodenwaldt suggests that the portrait of the woman as Virtus was added first, and then the casket was reused for an unrelated man, Rodenwaldt 1944, 201. M.S. Milhous adds to this by suggesting that the original purchaser of the sarcophagus was unhappy with the portrait of his wife as Virtus and therefore rejected the piece on these grounds, Milhous 1992, 210.

²⁴²⁷ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 227.

²⁴²⁸ Andreae 1980, 47; Rodenwaldt 1944, 200; Vaccaro Melucco 1963-1964, 18; Wrede 1981, 324, cat. 341.

²⁴²⁹ Andreae 1980, 47.

²⁴³⁰ VIR3. 4.

²⁴³¹ Andreae 1980, 46; Milhous 1992, 209; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 227.

²⁴³² DIA17. For the sarcophagus, Andreae 1980, 144f. cat. 8.

²⁴³³ For the portrait, Andreae 1980, 47.

²⁴³⁴ Rodenwaldt 1944, 194f.

man as a military commander and his wife as Virtus in the departure scene. Nevertheless, the two portrait figures are clearly associated with each other, due to their equal stature, close proximity and nearly symmetrical stances: the husband and wife not only face in opposite directions, but also put their weight on opposite legs, grasping at their weapons with both hands. Furthermore, the cupid standing between the spouses can only refer to their amorous relationship²⁴³⁵ and therefore unites them here - this iconographic detail makes it impossible to exclude Virtus from the departure scene altogether. Overall, the husband and wife appear to stand as equal partners, but engaged in their own spheres of action. The man, however, receives far more attention: all of the surrounding hunting assistants gaze at him, whereas the goddess appears to stand completely alone. The interaction between the mounted hunter and Virtus is far more pronounced in the hunting scene, but completely unidirectional. Indeed, Virtus turns her head toward the hunter, without, however, orienting her body towards him. All of the hunting assistants are fixated on him as well. The man, on the other hand, focuses on the lion in front of him. This produces a certain degree of asymmetry in the portrait group: the man is the active protagonist here, whereas his wife observes his valiant deeds.

How the Roman Hunt Sarcophagus came to Durocortorum (present day Reims, France) is not entirely clear.²⁴³⁶ It first surfaced in Saint-Nicaise de Reims.²⁴³⁷ Legend states that the sarcophagus housed the remains of Flavius Iovinus, the *magister equitum* (361 CE) and then *magister militum per Gallias* (363 CE) under Iulianus; he retained these offices under Valentinianus and Valens.²⁴³⁸ He successfully pushed back incursions by the Alemanni in 366 CE and then held the consulate in 367 CE. He also established the Church of Saint Agricola, where he was finally buried, as a devout Christian.²⁴³⁹ Since the portrait figures on the sarcophagus predate Flavius Iovinus' death by roughly fifty years, if there is any truth to the legend, then his burial in this casket could have only resulted from reuse.

The Roman Hunt Sarcophagus in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung (Vienna) (pl. 14b) is dated to 260-270 CE.²⁴⁴⁰ A stylistic analysis reveals that the sarcophagus is from the same workshop as the previous monument,²⁴⁴¹ but with a much different format: it is a tub-shaped casket, measuring 2.12 m in length, but only 0.74 m in height. It was formerly located in the Museo Estense in Catajo (in the Province of Padua, Italy), but the original provenience is unknown. At the middle of the relief is a man shown as a lion hunter on horseback. The hunting assistants to the front look back at him. The head was meant to be carved with individualized features, but left unfinished. Directly behind the central hunter, in more or less frontal view, is a woman in the guise of Virtus. She turns her head slightly upward and to the left, probably to look at the mounted hunter in front of her. She is shown in an

²⁴³⁵ Andreae 1980, 46; Milhous 1992, 209; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 227.

²⁴³⁶ For discussion on the possibilities, Rodenwaldt 1944, 202f.

²⁴³⁷ Rodenwaldt 1944, 191.

²⁴³⁸ For the legend, Rodenwaldt 1944, 191. 202f. For a biography of Flavius Iovinus, John 1998.

²⁴³⁹ Rodenwaldt 1944, 192.

²⁴⁴⁰ VIR4. For the dating, Andreae 1980, 184f. cat. 247.

²⁴⁴¹ VIR1; Andreae 1980, 67.

extremely dynamic pose: she leans far back, putting all of her weight on the right leg, and raises her cupped right hand high in the air, as if preparing to throw a stone.²⁴⁴² Her hand is, however, empty. She grasps the sword at her side with her left hand. The head - with a few long locks peeking out of a triple-plumed helmet - is an unfinished boss, which was destined to receive individualized facial features and a coiffure fashionable in the 3rd century CE.²⁴⁴³

The portrait group suggests a sense of symmetry between the husband and wife. The two figures are exactly the same height, filling the entire relief, despite the fact that the man is on horseback, whereas the woman is on foot. Both are portrayed in frontal view and therefore in their own right. Furthermore, the actions of the woman imitate that of her husband: she also throws her right arm in the air as if ready to attack the lion, but without actually following through. The asymmetry in their relationship is nevertheless evident. The husband is the central figure on horseback, whereas his wife stands behind him. She probably would have looked at her husband, but perhaps at the hunt in general. The man, on the other hand, heeds no attention to her whatsoever. Moreover, the woman appears to participate in the hunt, but is paradoxically disarmed. The man is therefore cast as the main protagonist in the hunt, whereas his wife assumes a largely supportive role.

The Roman Hunt Sarcophagus in the Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo (Rome) (pl. 14a) is dated to roughly the middle of the 3rd century CE.²⁴⁴⁴ It was allegedly discovered along the Via Appia near Vigna Moroni.²⁴⁴⁵ It is a tub-shaped casket, measuring 1.92 m in length and 1.08 m in height.²⁴⁴⁶ At the middle of the relief is a man on horseback in the guise of a military commander. He nevertheless hunts a lion.²⁴⁴⁷ The rider is furnished with portrait features. The face is quite worn, but the furrowed brow, the large eyes (with the upper eyelid covering the iris), and the short beard are still discernible.²⁴⁴⁸ The coiffure - with its thin locks of hair brushed out over the temples, and falling in two different directions at the middle of the forehead - dates to the era of Gallienus.²⁴⁴⁹ Directly in front of him is a hunting assistant on horseback, who looks back at him. Behind him is Virtus. She is shown in more or less frontal view, but facing slightly downward and to the left. Her pose is dynamic: the legs are spread apart, with the weight on the right one, as though bracing for action. The entire right arm and the left forearm are no longer preserved, which makes it difficult to reconstruct her precise actions. The closest iconographic parallel is found on a Roman Hunt Sarcophagus in the Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi (Rome): here, Virtus raises her right fist in the air, and holds her left hand near the sword hanging from

²⁴⁴² The male portrait figure on the Roman Hunt Sarcophagus in the Catacombe di Pretestato, Museo (Rome) exhibits a similar gesture, but actually holds a stone, VIR2. For examples of idealized figures (i.e. assistants, Virtus) preparing to hurl a stone on Roman Hunt Sarcophagi, Andreae 1980, 148 cat. 30. 31; 181f. cat. 235.

²⁴⁴³ The shape of the boss is appropriate for a hairstyle from the 3rd century CE. For discussion on the portraiture of women in the 3rd century CE (and early 4th century CE), Bergmann 1977, 29f. 39-44. 89-101. 180-200.

²⁴⁴⁴ VIR3. For the dating, Andreae 1980, 162f. cat. 104.

²⁴⁴⁵ Andreae 1980, 162f. cat. 104.

²⁴⁴⁶ Andreae 1980, 162f. cat. 104.

²⁴⁴⁷ The right arm is not preserved, but he presumably aimed at the lion with a spear.

²⁴⁴⁸ For a description of the portrait, Vaccaro Melucco 1963-1964, 21.

²⁴⁴⁹ Andreae 1980, 43.

a baldric at her side (pl. 203a).²⁴⁵⁰ The fragmentary Virtus under consideration cannot, however, be entirely reconstructed in this manner. The remains of the right shoulder clearly indicate that she did not raise her arm in the air; moreover, there are some traces of stone over the chest, which probably belong to the right arm. The remains of the upper left arm demonstrate that she must have held her hand near the sword, as in the iconographic parallel, but whether or not she held an additional attribute is not clear. The head - wearing a triple-plumed helmet, with long strands of hair falling over the shoulders - is an uncarved boss, for the addition of individualized features and a coiffure fashionable in the 3rd century CE.²⁴⁵¹ The left side of the casket is poorly preserved: it exhibits the vestiges of a departure scene,²⁴⁵² but presumably without any portrait figures.

The husband and wife are once again portrayed in a fairly symmetrical relationship here. In contrast to the other monuments under consideration, the hunt scene is not heavily populated with additional hunting assistants. Instead, the portrait group fills most of the front side of the casket, between the decorative lion heads.²⁴⁵³ The narrative is therefore reduced for the sake of highlighting the husband and wife in particular,²⁴⁵⁴ both in their own right and as a functioning unit. The woman as Virtus is shown as an individual, in more or less frontal view. Moreover, the form of the uncarved boss indicates that she would have focused on the lion hunt, rather than on her husband in particular. Nevertheless, the man is still situated at the middle of the casket, which is the most prominent position in the visual field. The woman is a bit shorter than her husband and placed firmly behind him. She seems to follow her husband's lead, potentially holding a fist before her chest and reaching toward her sword. It seems, however, highly unlikely that she played an equally offensive role in the hunt. The man prepares to throw a spear here, whereas his wife observes the hunt in general. She is therefore completely fixated on a task that is primarily the concern of her husband, but now her concern as well.

The Roman Hunt Sarcophagus in the Catacombe di Pretestato, Museo (Rome) (pl. 13) is dated to the late Gallienic or Aurelian Period.²⁴⁵⁵ The sarcophagus was discovered in a fragmentary state within the catacomb near the Scala Maggiore, which probably indicates that it fell from an above-ground necropolis during a landslide.²⁴⁵⁶ Its restoration revealed a casket of monumental proportions, measuring 2.61 m in length and 1.28 m in height.²⁴⁵⁷ Several key fragments are, however, missing, which hinders our examination of the portrait figures especially.

²⁴⁵⁰ For the sarcophagus, Andreae 1980, 167f. cat. 131.

²⁴⁵¹ The shape of the boss is appropriate for a hairstyle from the 3rd century CE. For discussion on the portraiture of women in the 3rd century CE (and early 4th century CE), Bergmann 1977, 29f. 39-44. 89-101. 180-200.

²⁴⁵² Andreae 1980, 43.

²⁴⁵³ Andreae 1980, 43.

²⁴⁵⁴ Andreae 1980, 43; Birk 2013, 289 cat. 499; Milhous 1992, 211f.

²⁴⁵⁵ VIR2. For the dating, Andreae 1980, 160 cat. 86.

²⁴⁵⁶ Andreae 1980, 160 cat. 86.

²⁴⁵⁷ The sarcophagus was restored by M. Gütschow between 1929 and 1930, Gütschow 1938, 66-77. It is not certain whether the current lid belongs (if so, then this would add 0.57 m to the height). M. Gütschow claims that it does

At the middle of the relief is the usual motif of the lion hunter on horseback. The figure is extremely poorly preserved: only the lower right leg and the left hand of the rider are still extant, as well as sections of his horse. It is true that the central, mounted lion hunter typically wears contemporary hunting dress and holds a raised spear in the right hand, but this is not conclusive here.²⁴⁵⁸ No trace of his dress is preserved. He certainly rides forward, holding the reins of the horse with his left hand, but is closely followed by a hunting assistant leading a horse in the background, which leaves little room for him to perform his valiant deeds.²⁴⁵⁹ He must have therefore been leaning far forward on the horse, more so than on all of the other Roman Hunt Sarcophagi.²⁴⁶⁰ Since he is headless, whether he had been furnished with individualized features as usual remains uncertain here as well.

Directly behind the mounted lion hunter is not Virtus as usual, but another hunter on foot, in heroic costume.²⁴⁶¹ He fills the entire height of the relief, with no other figures overlapping him. His pose is extremely vigorous: he strides forward powerfully, with the right leg fully extended to the back and the left leg bent in front of him. He raises the right hand behind his head, poised to hurl a stone at the springing lion. The precise action of the left hand (now missing) is not certain: perhaps he once wielded a sword, pulled out from its sheath.²⁴⁶² It has been suggested that he has just sprung from the horse in the background, which is now being led by a hunting assistant.²⁴⁶³ His head is likewise missing, and so whether he had portrait features remains uncertain.

Directly behind him is Virtus. Rather unusually, she looks and strides in the opposite direction of the lion hunt, with the left leg fully extended and the right left bent in front of her. At the same time, she gently touches the hip of the striding hunter with her right hand. Her left arm is missing, but she must have held the double spear immediately next to her companion.²⁴⁶⁴ The head of Virtus exhibits individualized features. She has clearly defined traits, including the heavy upper eye lids, the edges of the lips, and the fishbone-shaped eyebrows.²⁴⁶⁵ A hairstyle fashionable in the 3rd century CE is visible beneath the helmet: the locks of hair are combed to the sides in waves, leaving the ears exposed, and then finally woven into a plait which is folded up from the nape of the neck.²⁴⁶⁶

not belong, Gütschow 1938, 67. 75. B. Andreae argues that it does belong, Andreae 1980, 59; 160 cat. 86. The dimensions of the lid and casket do not match, so it will not be considered here.

²⁴⁵⁸ M. Gütschow claims that the tip of the spear is preserved on the upper edge of the casket, Gütschow 1934-1938, 68. There is, however, no trace of a spear whatsoever. She also claims that the rider holds a knife in the left hand, Gütschow 1934-1938, 68. He is, however, merely holding the reins of the horse here.

²⁴⁵⁹ Andreae 1980, 57. The top of the head of the hunting assistant is preserved, Gütschow 1938, 68.

²⁴⁶⁰ Andreae 1980, 57.

²⁴⁶¹ Andreae 1980, 57; Milhous 1992, 215

²⁴⁶² Gütschow 1934-1938, 69. The left hand is not preserved.

²⁴⁶³ Gütschow 1938, 68.

²⁴⁶⁴ Gütschow 1938, 69.

²⁴⁶⁵ For the facial features, Vaccaro Melucco 1963-1964, 15; Gütschow 1938, 74.

²⁴⁶⁶ For the hairstyle, Gütschow 1938, 74; Vaccaro Melucco 1963-1964, 15; Wrede 1981, 323 cat. 340. For discussion on the portraiture of women in the 3rd century CE (and early 4th century CE), Bergmann 1977, 29f. 39-44. 89-101. 180-200.

Due to the fragmentary state of the Roman Hunt Sarcophagus, the identification of the portrait figures is not clear. It might seem safe to assume that the headless hunter on horseback was furnished with individualized features, as is the tendency on Roman Hunt Sarcophagi.²⁴⁶⁷ There is, however, much to recommend that the hunter on foot received a portrait head, perhaps even in lieu of the hunter on horseback.²⁴⁶⁸ First of all, the hunter on foot dominates the scene, despite being positioned to the side of the relief.²⁴⁶⁹ He even slightly overlaps the hunter on horseback, and therefore seems to usurp the most prominent position here.²⁴⁷⁰ Moreover, he is placed between the hunter on horseback and Virtus, with the result that the goddess of “manliness” directly follows him instead.²⁴⁷¹ Virtus even touches him: she thereby transmits exceptional strength to him, which only makes sense if he is a portrait figure with some special relationship to her (i.e. her husband).²⁴⁷² It is nevertheless possible that the hunter on horseback received a portrait head as well. This would not be unprecedented, since other monuments from this era feature a multitude of likenesses, whose relationship to each other is not always clear.²⁴⁷³ Perhaps the man is even shown twice: once on foot in heroic costume, and another time on horseback in (perhaps) contemporary clothing.²⁴⁷⁴ It will therefore be assumed that the hunter on foot was furnished with a portrait head - as the husband of the woman as Virtus - without excluding the possibility that the hunter on horseback represented another family member or even the same man.

The husband and wife are portrayed in a highly symmetrical arrangement here. The two of them are shown more or less frontally, but turning their heads and striding in opposite directions, with their inner legs overlapping. There are, however, a few notable differences between the husband and wife. First of all, the man is slightly larger and taller, and partially overlaps his wife. He also assumes an active role in the hunt, by striding towards the lion and preparing to throw a stone. The woman, on the other hand, assumes a supportive position here: she touches her husband affectionately from behind, a gesture that is neither acknowledged nor reciprocated by her husband here. She holds a double-spear next to him, but without directly engaging in the hunt. Quite strikingly, however, she faces in the opposite direction, away from both her husband and the lion hunt.²⁴⁷⁵ Overall, the man is portrayed as the main protagonist, assuming an active role; the woman is depicted as his mirror image, but in a paradoxically aloof and supportive position. It is also possible that the central hunter on horseback was furnished with individualized features. The alterations to the standard format would have cast him as secondary in importance to the hunter on foot. He is perfectly aligned to the hunter on foot, due to

²⁴⁶⁷ M. Gütschow also assumes this, Gütschow 1938, 74.

²⁴⁶⁸ Andreae 1980, 57f.

²⁴⁶⁹ In contrast, the hunter on horseback is crammed into a rather limited area between two horses, which does not even allow him the possibility to sit upright.

²⁴⁷⁰ Andreae 1980, 58; Hansen 2007, 109; Milhous 1992, 215f.

²⁴⁷¹ Andreae 1980, 57f.; Gütschow 1938, 69. 73.

²⁴⁷² Andreae 1980, 57f. The physical contact suggests that he is her husband in particular, Hansen 2007, 109f.

²⁴⁷³ For some examples, Andreae 1980, 58.

²⁴⁷⁴ Andreae 1980, 58.

²⁴⁷⁵ In Roman visual culture as a whole, Virtus tends to face her male protégé, see Ganschow 1997. I.L. Hansen notes that her pose is unconventional on Roman Hunt Sarcophagi, Hansen 2007, 109f.

leaning forward on his horse;²⁴⁷⁶ he would have exhibited a unity of action with the main portrait figure, as either a close relative of the man (e.g. brother, son) or perhaps even his own doublet.

5.3.2.2 Overview of the Dress

5.3.2.2.1 The Dress of the Portrait Figures - Military Commander, Lion Hunter, Virtus

The dress of the men exhibits considerable variation. In the departure scene of the Roman Hunt Sarcophagus in Musée St. Remi (Reims), the male portrait figure is presented in contemporary military dress.²⁴⁷⁷ He wears a scale cuirass with *pteryges* over a short-sleeved tunic, reaching to just above the knees. Beneath this are knee-length *braccae*. He also wears a *paludamentum*, which is secured on his right shoulder and then draped over his left arm. On his feet are fur boots.²⁴⁷⁸ He once held a sword with both hands. He is also being presented with both a Corinthian helmet and a neo-Attic helmet. It might seem counterintuitive for the male portrait figure to be armed for battle in preparation for the lion hunt, but the imagery need not be read in light of a particular narrative, rather than as a general expression of personal qualities.²⁴⁷⁹

In the hunting scenes on the Roman Hunt Sarcophagi under consideration, the male portrait figure is always portrayed pursuing a lion, but in a surprisingly wide variety of dress. The hunter on horseback is often portrayed in contemporary hunting dress: that is, in a long-sleeved tunic, belted at the waist and reaching to about mid-calf, which is worn over knee-length *braccae*.²⁴⁸⁰ He also wears a *sagum* pinned on the right shoulder. On his feet are boots. His weapon of choice is a spear, raised high in the air. On the Roman Hunt Sarcophagus in the Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo (Rome), however, the rider is shown in contemporary military dress.²⁴⁸¹ He wears a scale cuirass with *pteryges* over a short-sleeved tunic, reaching to just above the knees. Over his outfit is a sort of “surcoat”: this is essentially a double-belted tunic, which is detached on the right shoulder to clearly display the armour underneath. He also wears a *paludamentum*, which is secured on his right shoulder and fluttering behind him. On his feet are fur boots. In addition to the raised spear, a sword hangs on a baldric at his left side. The Roman Hunt Sarcophagus in the Catacombe di Pretestato, Museo (Rome) is unique.²⁴⁸² Behind the central rider is a portrait figure on foot.²⁴⁸³ He is shown in heroic costume: that is, nude but armed, with a *chlamys* bunched on the left shoulder and then draped over the left arm, as well as a sword hanging on a baldric at his left side. His weapon of choice is highly unconventional. He throws a stone,

²⁴⁷⁶ Andreae 1980, 57.

²⁴⁷⁷ VIR1.

²⁴⁷⁸ For discussion on the fur boots of military men in Roman visual culture, Goette 1988, 411-413. 419f.

²⁴⁷⁹ Rodenwaldt 1944, 194.

²⁴⁸⁰ VIR1. 4. The dress of VIR2 is not certain.

²⁴⁸¹ VIR3.

²⁴⁸² VIR2.

²⁴⁸³ The male figure is headless, but was almost certainly furnished with portrait features.

which is not typical of heroes, but of uncivilized and subsidiary figures on sarcophagi with battle or hunt themes (e.g. giants, centaurs, hunting assistants).²⁴⁸⁴

The dress of the female portrait figures in the guise of Virtus is relatively uniform. Her garments are patterned after masculine dress, but incorporate distinctly feminine sartorial features. She always wears a short, high-girdled *chiton*, which is detached at the right shoulder to reveal her breast. The length of the tunic is shortened to above the knee,²⁴⁸⁵ or even as low as mid-calf,²⁴⁸⁶ by creating a relatively long overfall.²⁴⁸⁷ In the majority of the cases, she wears a *chlamys* bunched on the left shoulder²⁴⁸⁸ and draped either directly over the left arm²⁴⁸⁹ or around the right side of the body and then over the left arm.²⁴⁹⁰ In one case, however, the arrangement of the mantle is not entirely clear: it seems that the fabric is merely draped over the shoulder and then falls to the back.²⁴⁹¹ She always wears fur boots.²⁴⁹² Virtus is presented as a heavily armed figure. She invariably wears a plumed, neo-Attic helmet (without cheek guards), which is occasionally decorated (e.g. eagle, vegetal motifs).²⁴⁹³ The remainder of her arms is highly variable. She wears a sword hanging on a baldric in half of the cases,²⁴⁹⁴ but holds a sword in her hand in the other half.²⁴⁹⁵ It is possible to include a spear²⁴⁹⁶ and/or a rounded shield.²⁴⁹⁷ The dress of the female portrait figures is consistent with the idealized representations of Virtus on the other Roman Hunt Sarcophagi, which indicates that the standard, militaristic iconography of the goddess of “manliness” was taken over with relative ease for the purposes of self-representation or commemoration here.

5.3.2.2.2 The Dress of the Generic Figures - Hunting Assistants

The hunting assistants on the caskets of the Roman Hunt Sarcophagi under consideration exhibit a wide variety of dress. The men on horseback and foot are usually dressed as contemporary hunters.²⁴⁹⁸ In other words, the men are dressed in a long-sleeved tunic, which is belted at the waist and reaches to above the knee.²⁴⁹⁹ The tunic is combined with a *sagum*, which is pinned on the right shoulder. They are

²⁴⁸⁴ For an example of a sarcophagus with giants preparing to hurl stones at the gods, Vian - Moore 1988, 243 no. 502. For an example of a sarcophagus with centaurs preparing to hurl stones at lions, Sengelin et al. 1997, 715 no. 436. For a few examples of idealized figures (i.e. hunting assistants, Virtus) preparing to hurl stones on Roman Hunt Sarcophagi, Andreae 1980, 148 cat. 30. 31; 181f. cat. 235.

²⁴⁸⁵ VIR1. 3. 4.

²⁴⁸⁶ VIR2.

²⁴⁸⁷ VIR1. 2. 3. 4. Note, however, that it is possible that VIR3 and VIR4 feature an overfold instead.

²⁴⁸⁸ VIR1. 2. 3.

²⁴⁸⁹ VIR1.

²⁴⁹⁰ VIR3.

²⁴⁹¹ VIR4.

²⁴⁹² VIR1. 2. 3. 4. For discussion on the fur boots of Virtus in Roman visual culture, Goette 1988, 420f.

²⁴⁹³ VIR1. 2. 3. 4. For a helmet decorated with an eagle, VIR2. For a helmet decorated with vegetal motifs, VIR1.

²⁴⁹⁴ VIR2. 3.

²⁴⁹⁵ VIR1. 4.

²⁴⁹⁶ VIR1. 2.

²⁴⁹⁷ VIR1.

²⁴⁹⁸ Hunting assistants dressed as contemporary Roman hunters are seen on all of these monuments, VIR1. 2. 3. 4.

²⁴⁹⁹ The legs and feet of the hunting assistants are hardly visible; as such, the legwear and footwear are difficult to assess. It is possible that the hunting assistant spearing a bear on horseback to the far left of VIR4 wears *braccae*.

armed with either spears or swords.²⁵⁰⁰ Overall, the subsidiary figures are hardly distinguished from the central lion hunter on horseback by their dress. There are, however, a few alternatives. On the Roman Hunt Sarcophagus in Musée St. Remi (Reims), one of the hunting assistants wears the tunic detached on one shoulder, with the *sagum* bunched on the other side - this outfit is strikingly similar to that of Virtus.²⁵⁰¹ Another one is nude (but for a cloak), which is characteristic of a mythical setting. Finally, the fallen hunting assistant under the central rider, with a grotesque and fearful face, as well as long, wild hair, is set apart by his dress: he wears either a long-sleeved tunic over long trousers, combined with a *sagum*,²⁵⁰² or else an *exomis*.²⁵⁰³ He usually holds out his sword and shield, in an attempt to defend himself from the lion. His overall dress and demeanor is reminiscent of barbarian enemies.²⁵⁰⁴ It has been proposed that he serves as the antithesis to central lion hunter on horseback, just above him, who is shown in control of himself and his emotions.²⁵⁰⁵

5.3.3 Interpretation

5.3.3.1 State of the Question

It is generally agreed that the portraits of men on Roman Hunt Sarcophagi primarily evoke their *virtus*.²⁵⁰⁶ The hunt was established as a visual code for *virtus* at Rome and its environs by the reign of Domitian at the latest.²⁵⁰⁷ It is a popular theme on mythological sarcophagi (e.g. Adonis, Meleager, Hippolytus).²⁵⁰⁸ Quite notably, the representation of Hippolytus hunting on horseback and closely accompanied by Virtus (pl. 203b) was demythologized in Roman workshops between 220-230 CE.²⁵⁰⁹ This led to the creation of the first Roman Hunt Sarcophagi: here, the central hunter is no longer portrayed nude and pursuing a boar, but dressed in contemporary Roman attire and valiantly pursuing a lion.²⁵¹⁰ It was the prerogative of the emperor (and his inner circle) to pursue this noble beast in Roman society,²⁵¹¹ and the theme is ultimately taken over from imperial imagery.²⁵¹² These sarcophagi

²⁵⁰⁰ The hands of the hunting assistants are hardly preserved on the majority of the monuments. For hunting assistants with spears, VIR1. 4. For hunting assistants with swords, VIR1. 4.

²⁵⁰¹ VIR1.

²⁵⁰² VIR1. 4. He is poorly preserved on VIR2, but seems to wear the same outfit without trousers.

²⁵⁰³ VIR3.

²⁵⁰⁴ This is especially evident for VIR1 and VIR4. For the barbarian characteristics of the dress, Borg 2013, 180; Russenberger 2015, 408f.

²⁵⁰⁵ Russenberger 2015, 408f.

²⁵⁰⁶ Andreae 1980, 135f. (note, however, that he also interprets killing the lion as a sign of overcoming death). For further discussion on Roman Hunt Sarcophagi, as well as the connotations of *virtus*, Birk 2013, 107-113; Borg 2013, 178-182; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 225-227.

²⁵⁰⁷ Tuck 2005; Tuck 2015, 198f. For further discussion, see chap. 6.2.3.4.

²⁵⁰⁸ For the Adonis Sarcophagi, Grassinger 1999b, 70-90; 211-221 cat. 43-67. For the Meleager Sarcophagi, Koch 1975. For the Hippolytus Sarcophagi, Robert 1904, 169-219 cat. 144-179.

²⁵⁰⁹ For the emergence of the Roman Hunt Sarcophagi, Andreae 1980, 17-32. See also chap. 6.2.2.3.

²⁵¹⁰ For the Roman Hunt Sarcophagi, Andreae 1980. Note, however, that the boar hunt is never entirely abandoned here, Andreae 1980, 108-110.

²⁵¹¹ Anderson 1985, 105; Andreae 1980, 135.

²⁵¹² It is true that the general format (i.e. the lion springing towards the main hunter) is a natural result of the demythologization of the hunt scene, Andreae 1980, 22f. The influence of imperial imagery is nevertheless clear: there are, for instance, coins minted under Hadrian and Commodus with the emperor hunting a lion on horseback, as well as the legend VIRTUS AVGVSTI, Vaccaro Melucco 1963-1964, 45-48.

practically always include portraits of the male deceased. On caskets featuring the hunt alone, he is shown as the central hunter on horseback, usually in hunting dress.²⁵¹³ On caskets including a departure scene, he is shown once again as a high-ranking military officer, which is an older visual code for *virtus* at Rome.²⁵¹⁴ Portraits of men in military and hunting dress are attested on the Roman Hunt Sarcophagi here as well.²⁵¹⁵ The men departing in armour, accompanied by a horse leader wearing an eagle-head helmet, have been identified as high-ranking officers in the Roman army, typically of equestrian rank (i.e. *virī militares*); the men lacking military references have been identified as heads of imperial, non-military administration, typically of senatorial rank (i.e. *virī docti*).²⁵¹⁶

It has been convincingly argued that this trend toward demythologization and personalization resulted from shifting concerns in self-representation and commemoration during the 3rd century CE.²⁵¹⁷ It is true that both the mythological and non-mythological hunts refer to the *virtus* of the male deceased, but in a profoundly different manner. On the Roman Hunt Sarcophagi, the mythical narrative related to Hippolytus is pushed into the background in order to highlight the hunting theme in particular. Moreover, the direct identification through portraiture and contemporary dress makes the relevance of the *virtus* theme to the male deceased unmistakable. The point of comparison is no longer a mythical hero - which focuses on the perfect, youthful body, with all of its sensual connotations - but rather the emperor, which emphasizes the maturity, gravity and (in some cases) social status of the male deceased. As such, the Roman Hunt Sarcophagi are primarily a vehicle for evoking the *virtus* of the male deceased, which not only eliminated the potentially undesirable aspects of the myth (e.g. the illicit love of Phaedra for her step-son Hippolytus), but also substituted them with additional venerable qualities and status symbols in Roman society.

There were attempts to incorporate the wives of the male deceased into the imagery of Roman Hunt Sarcophagi as well. The earliest monument, dated to ca. 230 CE, portrays the woman as a huntress, embracing her husband in the departure scene.²⁵¹⁸ By the middle of the 3rd century CE, the women are portrayed in the guise of Virtus, accompanying their husbands in the hunting scenes. This portrait type has received little attention in its own right. There is no detailed examination of the portraits of women as Virtus in particular, which takes all of the extant monuments into consideration. The only concerted effort to probe the virtues of the female deceased is based on the examination of a single casket.²⁵¹⁹ The conclusions are certainly insightful, but should be taken a step further, and are not necessarily relevant to all of the monuments under consideration.²⁵²⁰ Otherwise, the portraits of women

²⁵¹³ More rarely, he wears military dress here; for examples, Andreae 1980, 162f. cat. 104; 167f. cat. 131.

²⁵¹⁴ More rarely, he wears hunting dress here; for an example, Andreae 1980, 155 cat. 65.

²⁵¹⁵ For portraits of men in military dress, VIR1. 3. For portraits of men in hunting dress, VIR1. 4.

²⁵¹⁶ Andreae 1980, 30-32. 49-65. 136.

²⁵¹⁷ Borg 2013, 178-182. See also Zanker - Ewald 2004, 226f.

²⁵¹⁸ DIA17. For discussion, see chap. 6.2.2.3.

²⁵¹⁹ Hansen 2007, 109f. 115f. (VIR2).

²⁵²⁰ In particular, I.L. Hansen argues that a portrait of a woman as Virtus (VIR2) is associated with *virtus*, but that the quality is ultimately or at least predominantly directed towards her husband; moreover, she argues that the

as Virtus have only been treated in passing, with varying, even contradictory results that demand further consideration here.²⁵²¹ The following discussion will offer a thorough analysis of the extant portraits, focusing on the iconography and especially the dress as a means of constructing virtue.

5.3.3.2 *Virtus*

The overall significance of the portraits of women as Virtus is evident from the identification itself: she is the embodiment of *virtus*.²⁵²² This is reflected by her dress in particular. She is outfitted like a heavily-armed “Greek” Amazon, who has been successfully integrated into the Roman military context.²⁵²³ The short *chiton*, the *chlamys* and the fur boots, as well as the neo-Attic helmet and other arms (e.g. sword/*parazonium*, spear, shield) identify her as an active and pugnacious woman, at home in the world of men. This is also reflected by her actions: she is completely stationary in one case, but portrayed in an extremely vigorous pose in the others. It has been proposed that she exhibits signs of feminine weakness, such as an anxious gaze, hesitating in her actions and seeking protection from her male companion, but these are simply not attested here.²⁵²⁴

The traditional view is that the portraits of women as Virtus are certainly a sign of *virtus*, but that the quality is ultimately conferred on their husbands.²⁵²⁵ The reasoning behind this claim is that Virtus is merely a personification: that is, a visual device for representing the abstract concept of *virtus* in anthropomorphic form.²⁵²⁶ She accompanies a particular man in Roman visual culture (e.g. emperor, male deceased), in order to signify his *virtus* in an indexical manner. In other words, she is “a symbol of virtue [he has] already attained that urges him into action; and of honour yet to be bestowed after his

representation of the married couple follows a traditional format of active-male and passive-female, Hansen 2007, 108-110. 115f. 117. It will instead be argued here that both the man and woman are celebrated for their *virtus* in an unmediated way, in a manner that emphasizes their symmetry and “equality” in both virtue and action, but with the husband in the leading role and his wife in the supportive role, see chap. 5.3.3.2. Moreover, she rightly argues that the same married couple (VIR2) is praised for their *concordia*, Hansen 2007, 109f. 115f. There is, however, little discussion on how *concordia* is actually evoked on this monument (or in Roman visual culture as a whole), beyond the general focus on the couple in general, bound up with notions of the unity and permanence, Hansen 2007, 111f. She mentions that the woman touching her husband signifies their martial relationship, Hansen 2007, 109f.; this visual cue is certainly an overt reference to *concordia*, but it is not present on any of the other monuments under consideration (i.e. VIR1. 3. 4). It will instead be argued here that the expression of *concordia* typically hinges on the husband and wife’s shared *virtus*, as an expression of their moral equality, with the physical contact reinforcing this in one case, see chap. 5.3.3.4; for further discussion, see chap. 7.5.2.5. The portraits of women as Virtus have only been attributed *virtus* in passing, Birk 2013, 137; Borg 2013, 181; as such, the material still requires a detailed examination in order to provide support for this hypothesis as well as to expand upon it.

²⁵²¹ The individual references to the portraits of women as Virtus are too short and scattered to outline here, but have been cited in the following examination.

²⁵²² Hansen 2007, 109.

²⁵²³ For the images of Virtus in general, Ganschow 1997. For the dress of Virtus, see chap. 5.1.2

²⁵²⁴ This is suggested for the portrait figure on VIR2, Gütschow 1938, 69.

²⁵²⁵ Ewald 2005, 71; Milhous 1992, 210; Newby 2011a, 216f.; Rodenwaldt 1944, 194f.; Sande 2009, 62; Vaccaro Melucco 1963-1964, 49; Wrede 1981, 150; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 226f. For a more ambivalent view on the matter (where *virtus* is at least predominantly conferred on the husband), Hansen 2007, 109f. 115f.

²⁵²⁶ Virtus is actually a goddess; she is occasionally referred to as a goddess in these studies, but she is still seen to function like a personification. For general information on personification in the visual arts, O’Reilly 1988.

heroic deed.”²⁵²⁷ There is, however, hardly any interest in Virtus herself, since she has no power or agency. The quality of *virtus* actually lies elsewhere, as a character trait of a certain illustrious man, which is brought to light by his courageous actions. Her only function is “to point to it”.

In short, “the figure of Virtus rarely exists except as a... semantic indicator, and, indeed, the iconographic scheme for these representations changes little over time, or with the addition of portrait features.”²⁵²⁸ The same rule must therefore apply to the portraits of women as Virtus on Roman Hunt Sarcophagi: the women signal the strength and courage of their husbands, without necessarily possessing any of these qualities themselves.²⁵²⁹ Indeed, “her masculine characteristics are alleviated and directed toward him.”²⁵³⁰ Moreover, the fact that “Virtus is... strongly assimilated to Roma supports the view that the image is not just about personal virtues, but also makes claims about status and, more specifically, status based on military service to the Roman state.”²⁵³¹

Beyond this general interpretation, the portraits have also been set into a marital context: “it is [the man’s] love for *virtus* that secured his victory in life and even over death.”²⁵³² Or, seen another way, “the wives encouraged their husbands in their actions, and were therefore - so to speak - the guarantors of their virtue.”²⁵³³ This has been explained away as mere hyperbole though, since it would be absurd to claim that their “manliness” actually depended on the support of their wives.²⁵³⁴

It seems, however, that the treatment of Virtus as a personification is flawed or even anachronistic. The issue is that Virtus was the recipient of cult at Rome by the end of the 3rd century BCE.²⁵³⁵ Her worship spread to the provinces during the Roman Imperial Period, especially to areas with a strong military presence (e.g. along the Rhine and Danube, Africa).²⁵³⁶ The transformation of quality gods like Virtus into purely artistic manifestations of abstract ideas only occurs once their veneration comes to an end, such as during the Christianization of the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity.²⁵³⁷

²⁵²⁷ Hansen 2007, 110. She acknowledges that the portrait of the woman as Virtus on VIR2 looks more like a goddess due to her freedom to move between the spheres of divinities and humans, but essentially returns to this line of reasoning later, see Hansen 2007, 110. 115f. Moreover, the other portraits of women as Virtus under consideration (VIR 1. 3. 4) do not exhibit this same schema, so the observation could only apply to this one case.

²⁵²⁸ Hansen 2007, 115.

²⁵²⁹ See footnote 2525.

²⁵³⁰ Hansen 2007, 116. As will be argued here instead, there is no reason that the *virtus* of the woman is even partially removed under these circumstances.

²⁵³¹ Borg 2013, 180f.

²⁵³² Andrae 1980, 49 (translation by the author).

²⁵³³ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 227 (translation by the author). Quite similarly, M. Milhous argues that “the deceased’s wife was nurturing and supporting in life and her love contributed to her husband’s *virtus* - she was part of his strength,” Milhous 1992, 210.

²⁵³⁴ Wrede 1981, 150.

²⁵³⁵ For the divine nature of Virtus, as well as the worship of the goddess in the Roman world, Eisenhut 1974; Ganschow 1997, 273; McDonnell 2006, 206-240; Milhous 1992, 1-17.

²⁵³⁶ Ganschow 1997, 273.

²⁵³⁷ The early Christian emperors repressed the worship of gods with mythical associations, but allowed for the continued worship of quality gods that were compatible with their conception of God in general; the sacrifices for both were officially banned in 341 CE, and then their temples were closed in 346 CE, Milhous 1992, 17.

It is accordingly problematic to approach Virtus in Roman visual culture as the personification of *virtus*, rather than as the goddess of *virtus* herself. Her demotion from goddess to personification in Roman visual culture strips her of her divinity, and therefore of her power and her agency. Varro states that “it is the divinity Virtus who gives courage [*virtus*],” which functioned like a physical or spiritual possession.²⁵³⁸ It is true that narratives about Virtus are uncommon: she only appears sporadically in the literary sources, as a stern, martial goddess.²⁵³⁹ Her personality is to some degree developed in Silius Italicus’ *Punica*: both Voluptas and Virtus urge Scipio Africanus to follow their lead, but the latter persuades him to choose the path of hard-won virtue over a life of luxury.²⁵⁴⁰ She promises him “... not garments stained with Tyrian purple nor fragrant perfumes that a man should blush to use, but victory... over the fierce foe who is now harassing the empire of Rome.”²⁵⁴¹ Moreover, the fact “that Virtus can carry a corpse, come to aid in battle, or turn away her gaze is clear indication... that she can manifest her will... in the favoring of certain individuals over others...”²⁵⁴²

It is therefore necessary to propose a slightly different relationship between Virtus and her male associate (e.g. emperor, male deceased). First of all, the goddess is *virtus*: the quality is one and the same with her.²⁵⁴³ Secondly, Virtus is the divine patroness of a certain, distinguished man: she is the source of his *virtus*, whether departing for a military campaign or engaging in a lion hunt. The patron-protégé relationship is clearly expressed in the imagery. It is possible to portray Virtus leading a man in a horse-drawn carriage (pl. 204a),²⁵⁴⁴ accompanying him into battle or the hunt,²⁵⁴⁵ or crowning him with a wreath (pl. 204b),²⁵⁴⁶ in order to signify her supportive role. At times, she even physically touches him in order to reinforce the transfer of divine power (pl. 205a).²⁵⁴⁷ The man is undoubtedly the main protagonist, but without necessarily casting Virtus as his subordinate. She is *virtus* in the flesh, and therefore both the source and the index of his virtue.

As such, there is no reason to argue that the portraits of women as Virtus on Roman Hunt Sarcophagi ultimately refer to the *virtus* of their husbands. The significance of the visual code is actually more elaborate. Virtus is *virtus* - the quality is seen to flow through the women.²⁵⁴⁸ At the same time, Virtus

²⁵³⁸ Varro ant. rer. div. frg. 189 (Cardauns 1976) = Aug. civ. 4, 24 (translation/discussion in McDonnell 2006, 211).

²⁵³⁹ For literary references to the goddess Virtus, Milhous 1992, 35-43.

²⁵⁴⁰ Sil. 15, 18-130; Milhous 1992, 9. 38-40. On the other hand, this episode is clearly modeled after the “Choice of Hercules”, which is part of the philosophical tradition rather than a mythical story, and so her personality is not really developed in the same way as attested for other goddesses.

²⁵⁴¹ Sil. 15, 116-119 (translation in Duff 1934, 333). Note that purple garments have connotations of status but also extravagance and hence effeminacy, Olson 2017, 109-111

²⁵⁴² Milhous 1992, 41.

²⁵⁴³ It would seem counterintuitive for a woman to stand for a quality that she herself does not possess. For instance, it would be paradoxical for Venus - as the goddess of love and sexuality - to not be beautiful.

²⁵⁴⁴ For examples, Ganschow 1997, 276f. nos. 31-37.

²⁵⁴⁵ For examples, Ganschow 1997, 277f. nos. 38-54.

²⁵⁴⁶ For examples, Ganschow 1997, 279 nos. 65. 68.

²⁵⁴⁷ For examples, Ganschow 1997, 277 nos. 38. 49; 228 no. 51; DIA13.

²⁵⁴⁸ The portraits of women as Virtus have been attributed *virtus* in passing, Birk 2013, 137; Borg 2013, 181. For a more detailed, but ambivalent view on the attribution of *virtus* to women here (i.e. *virtus* is at least predominantly conferred on the husband), Hansen 2007, 109f. 115f. The portrait type is not without precedent:

confers *virtus* on the lion hunters - the quality is seen to flow through their husbands as well, as proven by their display of strength and bravery in the hunt. The individual *virtus* of the women and their supportive role as wives are therefore complementary aspects, not competing ones.²⁵⁴⁹

The inclination to highlight *virtus* as a personal quality not only of the men as lion hunters, but also of their wives as *Virtus*, is revealed by the particular iconography and compositions selected for the portrait groups. This becomes clear by considering the standard appearance of the lion hunter and *Virtus* on Roman Hunt Sarcophagi as a point of comparison (pl. 205b). The portrait of the man as the main, central hunter is portrayed in more or less frontal view, despite charging towards the end of the relief. This ensures that he is foregrounded and clearly put on display. *Virtus*, on the other hand, is typically in profile view, looking at and running after the hunter on horseback.²⁵⁵⁰ She extends her right arm in his general direction or even touches him, as though directing him to his goal and encouraging him to action. As such, the hunter on horseback is presented as the main actor in the hunting scene, whereas *Virtus* tends to assume a primarily supportive role.

For the portraits of women as *Virtus*, however, alternate schemata were selected instead, conceivably to cast the women as slightly more independent and to reinforce their personal qualities. The women are always portrayed in more or less frontal view, either standing or striding, rather than completely orienting their bodies towards their husbands (pl. 12a. 14).²⁵⁵¹ They turn their heads in the general direction of their husbands, or at least the lion hunt, but clearly operate in their own right as well.²⁵⁵² This format is certainly attested for the goddess on sarcophagi, but considerably less common (pls. 203a. 206a).²⁵⁵³ It allows the women to be presented as individuals, regardless of their unmistakable connection to their husbands and his cause, which has now become their shared cause.

In addition, the Roman Hunt Sarcophagus in the Catacombe di Pretestato, Museo (Rome) (pl. 2) completely breaks the mold: here, the woman orients her upper body towards her husband and even touches him, but turns her head and lower body in the opposite direction.²⁵⁵⁴ The image of *Virtus* facing away from the male protagonist is unparalleled not only in the corpus of Roman Hunt Sarcophagi,²⁵⁵⁵

Antoninus Pius is modeled after *Virtus* (but with a male body) on coins minted at Rome, surely to celebrate his *virtus*; for the coins, Mattingly 1968, 40 nos. 260-262.

²⁵⁴⁹ S. Birk notes in passing that the woman as *Virtus* is the *virtus* of her husband, but at the same time rightly observes that she nevertheless exhibits “mutual, equal personal strength” in her support of him, Birk 2013, 137. This examination of the portraiture has supported this hypothesis through a detailed examination.

²⁵⁵⁰ For a few examples, Andreae 1980, 144f. cat. 8; 155 cat. 65; 166 cat. 126; 171 cat. 164. I.L. Hansen also notes that *Virtus* typically looks at the hunter or at least looks in the same direction as him, Hansen 2007, 110.

²⁵⁵¹ VIR1. 2. 3. 4. For a schema similar to VIR1, Andreae 1980, 167 cat. 128. For a schema similar to VIR3 and VIR4, Andreae 1980, 167f. cat. 131.

²⁵⁵² VIR1. 3. 4.

²⁵⁵³ For a schema similar to VIR1, Andreae 1980, 167 cat. 128. For a schema similar to VIR3 and VIR4, Andreae 1980, 167f. cat. 131.

²⁵⁵⁴ VIR2.

²⁵⁵⁵ Hansen 2007, 110.

but also in the visual record as a whole.²⁵⁵⁶ Her behaviour is contradictory. She assumes an overtly supportive role, but is preoccupied with other matters and therefore acts autonomously as well.²⁵⁵⁷

Overall, the portraits of women as Virtus carefully negotiate their roles as freestanding individuals and as the helpmates of their husbands. The selection of alternate schemata for Virtus on Roman Hunt Sarcophagi - partially drawn from pre-existing iconographic models, partially invented for the sake of commemoration - successfully bridges the seemingly irreconcilable gap between individuality and partnership. The resulting portrait types insist that the women possess *virtus* in their own right, not merely in reference to their husbands.

The *virtus* of the women is nevertheless differentiated from that of their husbands, but only to a minor extent. This is partially achieved by the dress. The hunters are praised for their *virtus* with a variety of costumes. It is most common to show them in contemporary hunting or military dress.²⁵⁵⁸ On the Roman Hunt Sarcophagus in the Catacombe di Pretestato, Museo (Rome), he is uniquely presented in heroic costume, which reveals his powerful, dynamic body.²⁵⁵⁹ Virtus, on the other hand, is dressed in an outfit which exhibits her “manliness”, but without completely masking her femininity.²⁵⁶⁰ The *chiton* is essentially appropriate for her sex, but shortened like men. The garment is also draped in a manner that draws attention back to her female body: one breast is always exposed, and the sartorial features (e.g. high girding, long overfold) accentuate her bust and hips.

It is also notable that the men are usually praised for their *virtus* by outfits consisting of contemporary garments and weapons, drawn from the “real world”.²⁵⁶¹ The dress of the women as Virtus, on the other hand, is especially inspired by the Amazons, drawn from the mythological realm (although incorporating Roman features).²⁵⁶² Virtus is, in fact, the only figure to consistently resist demythologization on Roman Hunt Sarcophagi.²⁵⁶³ This is not to suggest that their *virtus* is somehow “unreal”. Rather, these differences in dress seem to have hinted that the *virtus* of women should ideally manifest itself in a different manner than that of men in Roman society.²⁵⁶⁴

The *virtus* of the women is partially differentiated by their actions as well. First of all, the men assume the most prominent position in the hunting scene, whereas their wives are always pushed to the side, directly behind their husbands. Moreover, the men assume the most offensive role in the hunt, charging

²⁵⁵⁶ See Ganschow 1997.

²⁵⁵⁷ I.L. Hansen argues that Virtus interacts with the Dioscuri, which raises the hunt to a heroic level; as such, Virtus “appears more clearly as a deity, free to move between the spheres of the gods and humans”, Hansen 2007, 110. In any case, it is clear that Virtus acts more independently here.

²⁵⁵⁸ VIR1. 3. 4.

²⁵⁵⁹ VIR2. For discussion on agonal nudity and heroic costume, see chaps. 3.2.1.2; 3.2.3.1.

²⁵⁶⁰ VIR1. 2. 3. 4.

²⁵⁶¹ VIR1. 3. 4.; this is perhaps true for VIR2 as well.

²⁵⁶² For the images of Virtus in general, Ganschow 1997. For the dress of Virtus, see chap. 5.1.2.

²⁵⁶³ Hunting assistants with mythological dress are relatively uncommon here; for an example, VIR1.

²⁵⁶⁴ For further discussion, see chaps. 7.5.1.3.1; 7.7.

on horseback or striding powerfully forward, preparing to strike the lion.²⁵⁶⁵ The hunting assistants (and often the women as well) are completely focused on their heroic deeds, and the presence of slain animals on the ground is a marker of their success. The women, on the other hand, never threaten the lion directly. On the sarcophagus in the Musée St. Remi (Reims), she merely stands still, observing her husband on horseback.²⁵⁶⁶ The other monuments show the women in a dynamic pose, comparable to their husbands, but without actually following through in their pursuit.²⁵⁶⁷ For instance, the woman on the sarcophagus in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung (Vienna) appears to ready herself to attack, but is not actually armed with a stone.

The presentation of the husbands and their wives in no sense fits into the traditional dichotomies of active/male - female/passive.²⁵⁶⁸ Nevertheless, the greater prominence of the men in comparison to their wives expresses a certain degree of asymmetry in their relationship, which properly reflects the subordinate position of women to men in Roman society. The *virtus* of the husbands and wives is ultimately equal on the monuments,²⁵⁶⁹ but manifests itself in a different manner. It is expressed for men in an iconic manner, by assuming a leading, active role with a clear referent in the “real world”. For women, on the other hand, it is expressed in a symbolic manner - she is equally active here, but cast in a supportive role, following her husband into the hunt in an unrealistic way.

5.3.3.3 *Pulchritudo*

It is interesting that the rare descriptions of *Virtus* in Latin literature characterize certain features of her physical body, as well as its styling and movement, as that of a man: her stature is tall; her face is manlike and fierce; her eyes are steady and glow of vigour; her glance is horrific; her hair is unkempt; and her gait is “manly” and unbridled.²⁵⁷⁰ In fact, *Virtus* is so male in appearance that when she attempts to cast off her masculine garb and disguise herself as a woman, it is compared to Hercules cross-dressing at the Lydian court in a less than convincing manner.²⁵⁷¹ It seems reasonable that “*Virtus*’ undisguised virility [in these passages] acts as a reminder that Roman *virtus* is deep-down constructed as a male quality...”²⁵⁷² There is, however, no indication that the physical body of *Virtus* is more male

²⁵⁶⁵ VIR1. 2. 3. 4.

²⁵⁶⁶ VIR1.

²⁵⁶⁷ VIR2. 3. 4.

²⁵⁶⁸ I.L. Hansen suggests that the representation of the married couple on VIR2 follows a traditional format of active-male and passive-female, Hansen 2007, 117. There is, however, no solid evidence for this strict dichotomy. Only VIR1 conforms to this proposed model (since the man hunts and his wife stands and observes).

²⁵⁶⁹ S. Birk notes in passing that the woman as *Virtus* is the *virtus* of her husband, but at the same time rightly observes that she nevertheless exhibits “mutual, equal personal strength” in her support of him, Birk 2013, 137. This examination of the portraiture has supported this hypothesis through a detailed examination.

²⁵⁷⁰ Stat. Theb. 10, 632-649; Sil. 15, 20-31; for discussion on the gender-blending descriptions of *Virtus* in these passages, Agri 2020.

²⁵⁷¹ Stat. Theb. 10, 632-649.

²⁵⁷² Agri 2020, 139f. (in reference to Sil. 15, 20-31 in particular).

than female in the visual record.²⁵⁷³ It is certainly possible for her to exhibit “harder” facial features, but otherwise, she is shown as an idealized woman.

The portraits of women as Virtus do not point to *pulchritudo* in particular, but only in an incidental manner. Their facial features are generally ideal. As with all female portraiture, their elaborate coiffures evoke beauty and elite femininity.²⁵⁷⁴ It is true that the helmet largely covers her hair, but the selection of a neo-Attic helmet, without any cheek guards, leaves as much exposed as possible. Moreover, the long, idealized locks of the goddess typically poke out of the helmet as well. On the one hand, this loosely hanging, “natural” hair - standing in juxtaposition with her carefully styled hair - characterizes her as a woman unconcerned with her beauty regime. On the other hand, the hair is curiously reminiscent of the shoulder locks of Venus, which appear in female portraiture as a sign of beauty.²⁵⁷⁵ Turning to the body, Virtus, as a “Roman Amazon”, is comparable to Penthesilea: indeed, the more she attempts to dress up like a military man, the more her lovely, fleshy physique - and especially her breast - is ironically put on display.²⁵⁷⁶ Otherwise, “her gestures and her overall appearance... lack any eroticism.”²⁵⁷⁷ It is not uncommon to unite expressions of female sensuality and martial power, due to their combined capacity to signal the desirability of victory.²⁵⁷⁸ This is also attested in the images of Venus Victrix bearing arms²⁵⁷⁹ and Victoria inscribing a shield.²⁵⁸⁰

5.3.3.4 *Concordia*

The portraits of women as Virtus are joined by their husbands as lion hunters on Roman Hunt Sarcophagi, indicating that the imagery ought to be read in light of marital ideals. It has been suggested that the portrait groups are an expression of conjugal harmony (*concordia*) in particular.²⁵⁸¹

There is, however, but one instance in which the virtue of *concordia* is evoked in an overt manner. On the sarcophagus in the Catacombe di Pretestato, Museo (Rome) (pl. 13a), the woman is portrayed touching her husband on the hip, while he courageously hunts the lion.²⁵⁸² The significance of the gesture operates on two levels. On the one hand, Virtus occasionally touches her male associate in order to establish a clear connection with him, as the divine source of his *virtus*.²⁵⁸³ The motif is attested among quality gods in general: for instance, the Muses, Fortuna or Concordia make physical

²⁵⁷³ See Ganschow 1997

²⁵⁷⁴ For discussion, Bartman 2001.

²⁵⁷⁵ For examples of portraits of women with the shoulder locks of Venus, Reinsberg 2006, 213f. cat. 73; Wrede 1981, 316f. cat. 311; 1981, 317f. cat. 315. For discussion on this attribute in female portraiture, Bartman 2001, 22.

²⁵⁷⁶ For discussion, see chap. 5.2.3.5.

²⁵⁷⁷ Borg 2013, 180.

²⁵⁷⁸ Kousser 2008, 27.

²⁵⁷⁹ For the images of Venus Victrix, Schmidt 1997, 211-207 cat. 192-207.

²⁵⁸⁰ For the images of Victoria inscribing a shield, Vollkommer 1997b, 242f. nos. 28-35.

²⁵⁸¹ Birk 2013, 137; Hansen 2007, 109f. 115f. (for VIR2).

²⁵⁸² VIR2.

²⁵⁸³ For examples of Virtus physically touching men, Ganschow 1997, 277 nos. 38. 49; 228 no. 51.

contact with others, as a sign of directly conferring their respective divine virtues on them.²⁵⁸⁴ As such, the gesture is not completely foreign to the iconography of Virtus and should be understood in the usual sense. On the other hand, the fact that goddess of “manliness” and her protégé are furnished with the individualized features of a husband and wife adds yet another layer of significance to the imagery. In the portraits of married couples, the handshake (*dextrarum iunctio*) was gradually supplemented by various gestures for signifying conjugal harmony in particular, which might easily include touching the partner on the hip.²⁵⁸⁵ The virtue of *concordia* is mostly directed at the woman here: indeed, she makes physical contact with her husband, but he fails to reciprocate her loving gesture, being entirely focused on the lion hunt. In any case, the expression of conjugal harmony hardly eclipses her other qualities. The image of manlike and active woman is equally foregrounded in this case: indeed, she turns in the opposite direction of her husband and operates relatively independently of him,²⁵⁸⁶ causing the loving gesture to sit rather awkwardly here. The motif is presumably included to balance the *virtus* of the woman with a more matronly quality.²⁵⁸⁷ Overall, the portrayal of the woman as Virtus touching her husband is ultimately taken over from generic images of the goddess. The gesture is, however, relatively uncommon, and so presumably selected here due to its capacity to express conjugal harmony among married couples. This ensures that the remarkable *concordia* of the female deceased is evoked in an unequivocal way, without completely is pushing this quality into the foreground.

The remaining portrait groups are less concerned with the evocation of *concordia*. It is true that the majority of the women look at their husbands,²⁵⁸⁸ but this is not a sign of conjugal harmony in particular. First of all, this motif is principally taken over from the iconography of Virtus, who invariably directs her attention towards her male associate. Secondly, the mutual glance is typical for married couples in *concordia* scenes, to show their mutual bond, but it is not uncommon for women to turn more towards their husbands than vice versa. This preference for an asymmetrical dynamic is taken to its extreme here: indeed, the women look at their husbands, but their attention is not returned at all.²⁵⁸⁹ The image of the woman focusing on her husband, who is completely preoccupied with other matters, is attested in portraits of married couples expressing a wide variety of qualities

²⁵⁸⁴ The motif is, however, not particularly common in the visual record. For an example of the Muses physically touching the female portrait figure on a Roman Muse Sarcophagi, Lancha - Faedo 1994, 1049f. no. 217. For an example of Fortuna Redux touching (possibly) Romulus on the shoulder on the Arch of Trajan at Benevento, Rausa 1997, 133 no. 120c (for the identification of the figures here, Simon 1979-1980, 9f.) For examples of Concordia physically touching the portrait figures of married couples on Roman Vita Romana Sarcophagi, Hölscher 1990, 485 nos. 74c. 79. 81; 486 nos. 83. 86.

²⁵⁸⁵ I.L. Hansen compares the gesture to Venus touching the chest of Mars, and states that it provides an allusion of the marital aspect of the figures, Hansen 2007, 109f. The gesture is a sign of *concordia*. For discussion about the evocation of *concordia* in visual culture in general and on the monuments under consideration, see chap. 7.5.2.5.

²⁵⁸⁶ I.L. Hansen notes that it is unusual that Virtus does not look at the hunter here (since this is the norm on Roman Hunt Sarcophagi) and instead interacts with the Dioscuri, Hansen 2007, 110.

²⁵⁸⁷ I.L. Hansen notes that the emphasis on *concordia* on these sorts of monuments tempers the warrior-like identities of the women in general, Hansen 2007, 114.

²⁵⁸⁸ VIR1. 4. For VIR3, the woman looks in the direction of her husband, but is seemingly focused on the hunt. (Note, however, that the women do not clearly orient their bodies towards their husbands.)

²⁵⁸⁹ This is also partially determined by the fact that the husband is the centre of focus in general (i.e. all of the hunting assistants look at him as well).

(e.g. *concordia*, *pietas*, *eruditio*) (pls. 141b. 206b. 207a).²⁵⁹⁰ It is therefore a transferrable motif, which probably serves to define the conjugal relationship in a particular way. For the man it highlights his independence and public role, but for the woman it highlights her care and concern for her husband, as well as her domestic role and subordinate status to him.²⁵⁹¹

The Roman Hunt Sarcophagi in Musée St. Remi (Reims) (pl. 12a) features a cupid between the husband and wife.²⁵⁹² This is a common motif in *concordia* scenes: he typically holds a burning torch, perhaps identifying him as Hymenaeus in particular, the god of marriage among the erotes (pl. 207b).²⁵⁹³ Other possibilities are attested as well, such as touching one of the spouses (pl. 141b) or embracing a psyche-like figure, which refer to themes of beauty and passion.²⁵⁹⁴ On the sarcophagus under consideration, however, he holds a Corinthian helmet. It is true that erotes are portrayed with weapons in a variety of contexts – such as fighting, hunting, or even forging the arms of Mars²⁵⁹⁵ – but the motif of wielding arms in the presence of lovers is typically a sign of disarming love.²⁵⁹⁶ This is attested in images of Alexander the Great with Roxana, Mars with Venus (pl. 208a), as well as Hercules with Omphale (e.g. pls. 108b. 109), to signify the subordination of powerful men to beautiful women. In this case, however, the motif is used to reaffirm traditional gender hierarchies and roles. Rather than stealing away the weapons, the cupid actually presents him with the Corinthian helmet, in preparation for battle. He is closely modeled after arms-bearers presenting a helmet to prominent men, as a sign of their *virtus* (pl. 208b).²⁵⁹⁷ The motif is, in fact, basically redundant here, considering that another male attendant on the side of the casket already presents him with a neo-Attic helmet (pl. 12b).²⁵⁹⁸

On the one hand, the presence of cupid must signify the amorous relationship between the husband and wife.²⁵⁹⁹ Perhaps he was included to clarify the marital bond between the portrait figures; indeed,

²⁵⁹⁰ For an example for *concordia*, Reinsberg 2006, 198 cat. 23. For examples for *pietas*, Reinsberg 2006, 227f. cat. 122; 199 cat. 25. For examples for *eruditio*, Ewald 1999, 152 cat. C 1; 167-169 cat. D 3.

²⁵⁹¹ For the significance of this transferrable motif, Russenberger 2015, 394f.

²⁵⁹² VIR1.

²⁵⁹³ The cupid holding a torch is the standard iconography for Vita Romana Sarcophagi. For examples (both winged and wingless), Reinsberg 2006, 194f. cat. 12; 196f. cat. 15; 219. cat. 89. C. Reinsberg identifies him as Hymenaeus, Reinsberg 2006, 76; for issues with the identification, Hersch 2010, 261f.

²⁵⁹⁴ For examples, Blanc - Gury 1986, 965 no. 57 (i.e. the cupid reaches for a bushel of wheat); Helbig 1972, 95f. cat. 3114 (i.e. the cupid touching the legs of the wife); Reinsberg 2006, 239 cat. 157 (i.e. Eros and Psyche).

²⁵⁹⁵ For a brief overview of the different categories of images of erotes wielding arms, Schauenburg 1998, 64f. There are numerous children's sarcophagi dated to the Antonine Period featuring erotes either forging the arms of Mars, or else playing with his discarded arms; in the Severan Period, the theme starts to appear on sarcophagi for adults as well, but in a marginal way (e.g. as a secondary theme, on lids), Bonanno Aravantinos 1998, 85. It seems that images of children performing the work of adults produces lighthearted contrasts, but also references the fact that children only learn to become adults by imitating them; on the other hand, the image of erotes holding the shield of Mars signify the power of the Venus, Schauenburg 1998, 70f.

²⁵⁹⁶ For discussion, see chap. 4.1.2.

²⁵⁹⁷ For the images of assistants presenting helmets to men and their significance, Schäfer 1979, 363-370.

²⁵⁹⁸ Andrae 1980, 48f. B. Andrae offers a different explanation for the redundancy of the motif here: the Corinthian helmet never appears in Roman depictions of soldiers or battles; rather, it is drawn from mythological imagery (e.g. Mars) to elevate the male deceased to the status of a hero. This explanation is not, however, mutually exclusive with the interpretation offered here.

²⁵⁹⁹ Andrae 1980, 46; Milhous 1992, 209; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 227.

romantic narratives about *Virtus* are completely lacking, and so their precise relationship is probably not immediately obvious. On the other hand, it is significant that the one motif that actually indicates an amorous relationship between the husband and wife is strongly manipulated for the sake of reinforcing the *virtus* of the husband. Perhaps the motif was even viewed in connection with his wife: as the goddess of “manliness” and his loyal partner, she is ultimately the arming force here. This suggests that the expression of *virtus* was the top priority on this funerary monument, whereas the expression of conjugal harmony was of subordinate interest.

Overall, the most obvious way to signify *concordia* remains the physical contact with her husband (e.g. *dextrarum iunctio*, embrace), but these sorts of visual cues are generally absent on the monuments under consideration.²⁶⁰⁰ Other visual cues are suggestive of conjugal harmony, but primarily serve to reinforce the *virtus* of the husband, while fitting well into marital relationships.

Rather, the primary purpose of the imagery is to express the shared virtues of the married couple: the spouses are presented on relatively equal terms, with *virtus* as their premier quality in particular, and their “mutual, equal personal strength”²⁶⁰¹ put on display. This impression is bolstered by some of the striking similarities between the husbands and wives. On the Roman Hunt Sarcophagus in the Catacombe di Pretestato, Museo (Rome), the man is portrayed in heroic costume and his wife in Amazonian dress; nevertheless, both of them wear the *chlamys* bunched on the left shoulder, as well as a sword hanging on a baldric at her left side.²⁶⁰² On the other monuments under consideration, both the husbands and wives wear short tunics, short cloaks (albeit in a different manner), fur boots and also bear similar arms (e.g. sword/baldric, spear).²⁶⁰³ Furthermore, the actions of the women mirror those of their husbands in several respects. She might focus her entire attention on the hunt, united in intent with her husband (pl. 14a).²⁶⁰⁴ She can assume a nearly symmetrical pose to him (pl. 13a).²⁶⁰⁵ She might raise an arm in the air, as if to aim at the lion as well (pl. 14b).²⁶⁰⁶ All of these factors contribute to expressing a similar capacity for *virtus* between the husband and wife, as well as a flattening in the distinction between the sexes. At the same time, the visual codes for the evocation of *virtus* are highly gendered here. The dress continues to draw sexual distinctions between the husband and wife. The man is undoubtedly the main protagonist, as the central hunter, taking aim at the lion; his wife is the source of his *virtus*, but invariably placed behind him, in a supportive role, which is “a quality praised

²⁶⁰⁰ The exception is VIR2. For discussion on the iconography for evoking *concordia* (including other options, e.g. the goddess Concordia appears behind the married couple to clarify this point), see chap. 7.5.2.5.1.

²⁶⁰¹ Birk 2013, 137.

²⁶⁰² VIR2.

²⁶⁰³ VIR1. 3. 4. It is possible for the assistants to wear a short tunic detached on one shoulder, just like *Virtus*, VIR1.

²⁶⁰⁴ VIR3; perhaps VIR4.

²⁶⁰⁵ VIR1. 2.

²⁶⁰⁶ VIR4.

in countless written encomia on women.”²⁶⁰⁷ These visual strategies for highlighting a similarity in *virtus* point to the moral equality and partnership behaviour of the spouses, which is certainly tantamount to *concordia*, but evoked in a roundabout manner.²⁶⁰⁸

It is highly significant that portraits of women in the guise of *Virtus* only appear alongside their husbands as lion hunters.²⁶⁰⁹ It seems that the image of *Virtus* as a patroness of certain distinguished men was preferred to other possibilities for representing the goddess in Roman visual culture, such as presenting her alone or with other divinities (e.g. *Honos*, *Mars*).²⁶¹⁰ In other words, there is no compelling evidence that the portraits of women as *Virtus* were ever produced for them in their own right, as completely independent figures, perhaps because “alone she would appear [too much] like a man.”²⁶¹¹ It follows that this remarkable form of commemoration ought to be viewed strictly within the context of marriage.²⁶¹² The portraits of women as *Virtus* were added to a pre-existing iconographic code on Roman Hunt Sarcophagi that celebrated the *virtus* of the male deceased. He assumes the most prominent position in the imagery, whereas the inclusion of his wife as *Virtus* in a supportive role was presumably an afterthought. As noted, “this [goddess] makes it possible to give the portrait of the wife, who was as a rule interred in the same sarcophagus as her husband, an equivalent position in the context of the composition.”²⁶¹³ The fact that the woman is imbued with *virtus* reflects positively not only on her, but also on her husband, whom she follows and imitates. It is only in this sense that *Virtus* can be understood as “a double illustration of the hunter” on these monuments.²⁶¹⁴

5.3.4 Conclusions

The portraits of women as *Virtus* appear alongside their husbands as lion hunters on the Roman Hunt Sarcophagi. The portrayal of women as the embodiment of “manliness”, with her heavily militaristic

²⁶⁰⁷ Borg 2013, 181. As she states, “when *Virtus* bears the portrait features of the deceased’s wife, her presence and support surely indicate the devotion of the hunter’s wife to the husband,” Borg 2013, 180. Z. Newby also notes that she plays a supportive role, as “a wife who was always behind him or at his side,” Newby 2011a, 217.

²⁶⁰⁸ For discussion on the evocation of *concordia* in Roman visual culture in general, see chap. 7.5.2.5.1.

²⁶⁰⁹ Hansen 2007, 116.

²⁶¹⁰ For images of *Virtus* accompanying men, Ganschow 1997, 276-278 nos. 31-56. For images of *Virtus* alone, Ganschow 1997, 274-276 nos. 4-30. For images of *Virtus* with *Honos* or *Mars*, Ganschow 1997, 278 nos. 57-60.

²⁶¹¹ Hansen 2007, 115. It is possible that private portraits of women as helmeted goddesses were produced as freestanding statues as well (i.e. not necessarily in conjunction with a man). There are two possible examples; in both cases, the head alone is preserved. First of all, a girl is portrayed in the guise of an (Amazonian) City Goddess (wearing a laurel wreath, a diadem, mural crown and an Attic helmet), but it is not clear whether this is an imperial portrait (of Nero’s daughter Claudia) or a private portrait, Wrede 1981, 304f. cat. 290. Secondly, it is possible that an older woman is portrayed in the guise of *Minerva*, *Virtus* or an (Amazonian) City Goddess (wearing a helmet), but the monument is only known from old photographs and so its authenticity cannot be confirmed, Wrede 1981, 283 no. 234. These monuments will not receive further consideration here, since it is not clear if these are actually relevant to the current examination; moreover, these are not sufficiently preserved to allow for further evaluation of the dress anyway.

²⁶¹² I.L. Hansen argues that women came into association with *virtus* on sarcophagi of the 3rd century CE due to the increasing interest in mythical couples and ultimately *concordia* (i.e. the unity and permanence of the couple) in this period, Hansen 2007, 116f. For further discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.3.2.2

²⁶¹³ Rodenwaldt 1994, 200 (translation by the author).

²⁶¹⁴ Hansen 2007, 110.

appearance, is initially surprising.²⁶¹⁵ The traditional view holds that the portraits of women as Virtus symbolize *virtus*, but that the quality is ultimately directed towards their husbands.²⁶¹⁶ The reasoning behind this claim is that the women merely take on the role of a personification: that is, an artistic device for signalling the *virtus* of others. It is nevertheless evident that Virtus was a goddess in Roman cult, and that her power to confer *virtus* on men is expressed in her imagery as well. The significance of the portraits is therefore more complex. On the one hand, the woman herself is imbued with *virtus*; on the other hand, she is both the source and the index for her husband's strength and courage, which also manifests itself in the lion hunt. The individual *virtus* of the women and their supportive role as wives are perfectly harmonized, by formulating the iconography in a manner that characterizes the women as both freestanding individuals and the helpmates of their husbands. They are usually shown frontally, in a dynamic pose, and might even turn away from their husbands. At the same time, they join their husbands in the hunt, in a clearly supportive role. Their *pulchritudo* is likewise put on display here, if only in an incidental manner, by fulfilling their "manly" roles.²⁶¹⁷

Furthermore, the idea that the portrait groups are predominantly concerned with *concordia* has been called into question here.²⁶¹⁸ This quality is only highlighted on one monument, with the woman touching her husband on the hip. This gesture operates on two levels: it reinforces the transfer of her divine *virtus* to her husband, but also evokes their *concordia* in an unequivocal manner. Other visual codes associated with *concordia* scenes are attested here as well, but none of these are sufficient for evoking conjugal harmony in their own right, and, quite strikingly, all of them are likewise subsumed under the theme of "manliness". The majority of the women gaze at their husbands, which expresses tender loving care. This nevertheless matches the expectations of Virtus: indeed, the goddess of "manliness" looks at her male associate in order to express their patron-protégé relationship. Moreover, the married couple is accompanied by cupid to clarify their amorous relationship. The god of love has nevertheless been transformed into a little arms-bearer for the man, which reinforces his *virtus*. The main theme is not the disarming effects of love on a man, but rather a man being armed by not only his own love for Virtus/*virtus*, but also by her enduring support of him.

The focus is on the mutual *virtus* of the husbands and wives, which is tantamount to *concordia* and therefore contributed to a harmonious marriage.²⁶¹⁹ The symmetrization of the sexes is underlined by similarities in dress and behaviour. Their relative imbalance is, however, never completely abolished here. The husbands and wives both exhibit *virtus*, but the quality is clearly gendered. The men are portrayed hunting a lion in contemporary dress, which is a realistic pursuit for members of their own

²⁶¹⁵ For discussion, see chap. 5.3.1,

²⁶¹⁶ For discussion, see chap. 5.3.3.2.

²⁶¹⁷ For discussion, see chap. 5.3.3.3.

²⁶¹⁸ For discussion, see chap. 5.3.3.4.

²⁶¹⁹ For discussion, see chaps. 5.3.3.2; 5.3.3.4. For further discussion, see chap. 7.5.2.5.1.

sex in Roman society. As such, their *virtus* is evoked in an iconic manner. In contrast, the women appear in mythical, gender-bending dress, accompanying their husbands on their hunting campaign in an unrealistic way. She does not attack the lion herself, but assumes a supportive role. As such, their *virtus* is evoked in a symbolic way. Perhaps the identification of the women with Virtus, shown in masculine dress and an active role beside their husbands, is hardly problematic due to the lack of mythological baggage. She embodies one of the most praiseworthy qualities in Roman society, in the form of a “Roman Amazon”, which reflects positively on both herself and her husband.²⁶²⁰

This analysis of the iconography of warriorresses has concentrated on the relationship between their dress and their potential status as mythical models. The dress of the Amazons is consistently patterned after Greek men, but also includes barbarian and feminine features. It is clear that different outfits were selected in order to produce different effects, also in conjunction with other signs. The same kinds of sartorial codes were transferred to Virtus, as a “Roman Amazon”, although the possibility for eroticization was more limited. The portraits of women as Penthesilea and Virtus are dressed like men, but with feminine touches - this aimed to celebrate their “manly” qualities, without disguising their womanhood. It is worthwhile comparing the warriorresses as mythical model to huntresses.

²⁶²⁰ For discussion, see chap. 5.1.2.

6 Huntresses

The portraits of women in the guise of huntresses (i.e. Diana, Atalante) will be approached in the same manner as the previous chapter: by conducting a detailed examination of the dress, from its origins to its reception in Roman visual culture, as an interpretative key for the portraiture.

6.1 The Dress of Huntresses

6.1.1 The Dress of Artemis, Atalante and Other Huntresses

There are several mythical huntresses in classical visual culture. The most renowned is the goddess Artemis, whose personality is extremely complex: she is a virginal, eternally young huntress, promoting fertility and presiding over childbirth as well as rites of passage, but also a vengeful killer with chthonic aspects.²⁶²¹ The heroine Atalante is also well-known for her hunting skills, especially due to her role in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt.²⁶²² Besides that, there are a number of minor huntresses in the circle of Artemis, such as Kallisto, Kyrene and Prokris.²⁶²³ It seems that Diktyнна, in contrast, was originally a goddess associated with the wilderness, mountains and sea of Crete, but then assimilated with Artemis off of the island.²⁶²⁴ The overall character of these huntresses is similar. They are fiercely protective of their virginity and dress and behave like men, by participating in a physically demanding and aggressive activity.²⁶²⁵ They reject traditional roles for women, such as marrying, bearing children and running the household. Despite that, the huntresses take on feminine characteristics as well: indeed, they are typically praised for their beauty, and often become the lovers or victims of men. The following analysis will explore how the female nature and masculine social roles of the huntresses are carefully negotiated by their dress. It will start by considering the huntresses' takeover of masculine dress in ancient Greek visual culture, as well as the progressive feminization of their dress. It will then consider the transfer of this sartorial code to Roman visual culture.

6.1.1.1 Development of the Dress in Ancient Greek Visual Culture

6.1.1.1.1 Takeover of Masculine Dress

The dress of huntresses is directly patterned after that of men performing their traditional, active roles.²⁶²⁶ The first huntress to appear in the visual record is Artemis.²⁶²⁷ By the beginning of the 7th

²⁶²¹ For Artemis/Diana in the literary sources, Kahil - Icard 1984, 618-621; Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 792-795.

²⁶²² For Atalante in the literary sources, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 940.

²⁶²³ For Diktyнна in the literary sources, Boulotis 1986, 391f. It seems that Diktyнна was originally a Minoan goddess associated with the nature and mountains on Crete, but assimilated with Artemis off the island; on the other hand, she is also mentioned as a follower of Artemis. For Kallisto in the literary sources, McPhee 1990, 940f. For Kyrene in the literary sources, Zagdoun 1992, 167f.; Kottsieper 2008, 223. For Prokris in the literary sources, Simantoni-Bournia 1994, 529; Kottsieper 2008, 219f.

²⁶²⁴ For Diktyнна in the literary sources, Boulotis 1986, 391f.

²⁶²⁵ Parisinou 2002, 59f.

²⁶²⁶ E. Parisinou demonstrates that the dress of huntresses was patterned after their male counterparts in ancient Greek visual culture, Parisinou 2002. V.C. Kottsieper, on the other hand, stresses that Atalante in her role as a huntress is differentiated from other hunters through her dress, Kottsieper 2008, 207-213. 215f. The following analysis aims to summarize and build on these studies, especially by dedicating more attention to the sculptural

century BCE, she is already depicted in her guise as Potnia Theron - that is, as the Mistress of the Animals - with a bow and arrow in her hands.²⁶²⁸ Roughly a century later, she begins to actively pursue her prey (pl. 209a).²⁶²⁹ As with the Amazons, Artemis does not immediately reject the long, feminine robes (e.g. *peplos*, *chiton*) appropriate for her sex²⁶³⁰ - however, she makes no attempt to “break out of” her robes while striding forward, despite the impracticality of the garments.²⁶³¹ She is furnished with the conventional accessories for the chase, that is, the bow, arrows and quiver.²⁶³² Otherwise, she is still barefooted. In rare cases, Artemis appears in a short *chiton* during the 6th century BCE,²⁶³³ but only to slay mortals. She is primarily modeled after a Greek hoplite while pursuing men and women who have committed hubris against her mother Leto (e.g. Niobids, Tityos): she is dressed in a helmet, a short *chiton*, at times covered by a cuirass, but prefers to fight with a bow and arrow (pl. 209b).²⁶³⁴ This garment enables her to drop onto one knee and aim at her target. Moreover, she is dressed like Hercules in the Gigantomachy, with a lion skin worn like a helmet and cuirass over her short tunic, but still aiming with her bow and arrow.²⁶³⁵ In summary, Artemis is portrayed in her role as huntress in a fairly superficial manner in the Archaic Period. Her masculine accessories for the hunt are simply layered over her long, feminine robes, which hardly allow her to stride forward.

The dress of Atalante followed a different trajectory in the Archaic Period. She is first shown as a huntress in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt on Attic black-figure ceramics dating to roughly the second quarter of the 6th century BCE,²⁶³⁶ and then shortly afterwards on ceramics from other regions as well.²⁶³⁷ The white-skinned huntress typically wears a short tunic reaching to mid-thigh or at least no lower than the knee (pl. 88a).²⁶³⁸ She is rarely dressed in a full-length tunic.²⁶³⁹ In an extremely peculiar

representations and exploring the interactions between bodies and dress as well as the increasing feminization of the dress in this medium over time, since this sartorial code was transferred to Roman visual culture.

²⁶²⁷ For the dress of Artemis in the Archaic Period in general, Kahil - Icard 1984, 746.

²⁶²⁸ For the earliest extant example, Kahil - Icard 1984, 625 no. 20; 738. For other examples from the Archaic Period, Kahil - Icard 1984, 625 no. 19; 717 no. 1231. For discussion, Kahil - Icard 1984, 740.

²⁶²⁹ For the earliest example, Kahil - Icard 1984, 633 no. 109a; Parisinou 2002, 57. For other examples from the Archaic Period, Kahil - Icard 1984, 633f. nos. 110. 111. For discussion, Kahil - Icard 1984, 740; Parisinou 2002, 57.

²⁶³⁰ It has been noted that Artemis tends to wear long tunics in the Archaic Period, Kahil - Icard 1984, 746; Parisinou 2002, 57.

²⁶³¹ For the dress of the Amazons in the 7th century BCE, see chap. 5.1.1.1.1.1.

²⁶³² Kahil - Icard 1984, 746; Parisinou 2002, 57. In an isolated case, however, Artemis holds the spear, Kahil - Icard 1984, 662 no. 536; for discussion, 746.

²⁶³³ It has been noted that Artemis wears short tunics in rare cases in the Archaic Period, Kahil - Icard 1984, 740.

²⁶³⁴ For examples, Kahil - Icard 1984, 726 no. 1346; 728 no. 1362. The Amazons are also dressed up like Greek hoplites, see chap. 5.1.1.1.1.1.

²⁶³⁵ For an example, Kahil - Icard 1984, 725 no. 1327. Artemis wears a lion skin in other contexts as well (e.g. processions of the gods, perhaps in the Delian triad), Shapiro 1987.

²⁶³⁶ For examples, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 941 nos. 1-8. She is also shown on a contemporary vase from Boeotia featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 941 no. 10. For discussion of the dress, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 948; Parisinou 2002, 57f.

²⁶³⁷ For examples, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 941 nos. 10-12.

²⁶³⁸ It has been noted that Atalante tends to wear short tunics in the Archaic Period, Parisinou 2002, 57f. For examples, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 941 nos. 2-6. 8. 10. 12.

²⁶³⁹ Parisinou 2002, 58. For examples, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 941 no. 7; Schnapp 1997, 506 cat. 278. As rightly noted by V.C. Kottsieper, Atalante is clearly marked off from the other hunters by her long *chiton* in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, Kottsieper 2008, 208f.

case, Atalante and her doublet flank the Kalydonian Boar, with both of them thrusting their legs out of the slits in their long robes.²⁶⁴⁰ Her tunic is at times combined with a *himation* or even an animal skin, including the lion skin.²⁶⁴¹ Otherwise, she is furnished with conventional hunting accessories: the bow, arrows, quiver or, more rarely, the spear.²⁶⁴² In terms of footwear, she is usually barefoot, but sometimes wears boots.²⁶⁴³ Quite strikingly, Atalante is occasionally equipped with the arms of a Greek hoplite in a hunting context, namely, a helmet, sword and shield (pl. 210a).²⁶⁴⁴ The inclusion of battle arms is completely illogical, but attested among hunters as well (pls. 210b. 211a): the imagery is metaphorical, indicating that the same “manly” qualities are required for both battle and the hunt, including strength, courage and perseverance.²⁶⁴⁵ In summary, Atalante, in contrast to Artemis, is presented from the beginning as a huntress in a short tunic and the standard accessories for the chase, which closely approximates the outfits of her male counterparts.²⁶⁴⁶

With the transition to the Classical Period, the hunting dress of Artemis and Atalante starts to exhibit more commonalities. It is true that Artemis never completely dispenses with her long robes (e.g. *peplos*, *chiton*).²⁶⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the short tunic - including the *chiton* but also eastern variants - is no longer anomalous for her by the final quarter of the 5th century BCE (pls. 87b. 211b), and increases in popularity until it is established as her most common outfit during the Hellenistic Period (pl. 212a).²⁶⁴⁸ Her short tunic is occasionally combined with the *chlamys* by the 4th century BCE (pl. 212b).²⁶⁴⁹ She hunts with the same arms as beforehand (i.e. bow, arrows, quiver), but at times with a spear, dagger or even a burning torch.²⁶⁵⁰ She also starts to wear boots, including *embades*, which count as her standard

²⁶⁴⁰ For the vessel, Schnapp 1997, 506 cat. 278. For discussion on this special garment, Kaeser 2008a, 49; Parisinou 2002, 65.

²⁶⁴¹ For an example with a *himation*, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 941 no. 11. For an example with an animal skin Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 941 no. 5. For an example with a lion skin, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 941 no. 10; Parisinou 2002, 58.

²⁶⁴² Parisinou 2002, 58. For examples with spears, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 941 nos. 2. 4.

²⁶⁴³ For examples with boots, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 941 nos. 4. 6 (i.e. both parallel examples). 12.

²⁶⁴⁴ It has been noted that Atalante is shown with unconventional arms (e.g. helmet, sword), Parisinou 2002, 58. For examples with hoplite arms, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 941 no. 6 (i.e. the first parallel example). 8. 12.

²⁶⁴⁵ For the visual evidence for the hunt and its relationship to battle, Barringer 2001, 15-32; Cohen 2010, 119-145. For further discussion on the links between hunting and warfare in general, Barringer 2001, 10-59.

²⁶⁴⁶ E. Parisinou demonstrates that the dress of huntresses was patterned after their male counterparts in ancient Greek visual culture, Parisinou 2002. Nevertheless, V.C. Kotsieper rightly observes that it is common to portray the hunters from the Kalydonian Boar Hunt and Atalante in individual scenes with different outfits (e.g. short *chiton* vs. long *chiton*, agonal nudity vs. short *chiton*), Kotsieper 2008, 208-211.

²⁶⁴⁷ Kahil - Icard 1984, 747; Parisinou 2002, 58.

²⁶⁴⁸ For discussion on the transition to short tunics for Artemis in the Classical Period, Kahil - Icard 1984, 747. 750. 753; Parisinou 2002, 58. For examples of Artemis dressed in the short *chiton* in the Classical Period, Kahil - Icard 1984, 651 nos. 353-357; 652 no. 365; 653 no. 392; 675 nos. 711-713; 700 no. 1034; 726 no. 1344; 735 no. 1439. For the eastern variants, see this section (i.e. chap. 6.1.1.1.1) below.

²⁶⁴⁹ E. Parisinou suggests that the *chlamys* is already worn by Artemis in the 5th century BCE, Parisinou 2002, 58. For a possible example, with a mantle draped on her arm, Kahil - Icard 1984, 651 no. 353. However, the *chlamys* fastened on her neck first appears in the 4th century BCE; for examples, Kahil - Icard 1984, 706 no. 1097a; 722 no. 1287; 725f. nos. 1330. 1332. 1334; 727 no. 1351.

²⁶⁵⁰ For discussion on the arms of Artemis in the Classical Period, Kahil - Icard 1984, 750f.; Parisinou 2002, 58.

footwear by the end of the 5th century BCE.²⁶⁵¹ The short tunic remains the standard dress for Atalante (pl. 213).²⁶⁵² Her hunting accessories are supplemented in a manner similar to Artemis: for instance, she occasionally adopts the *chlamys* by the 4th century BCE (pl. 214a), as well as unconventional arms (e.g. club, sword (pl. 214a)).²⁶⁵³ Moreover, she is primarily shown in boots, including the *embades*.²⁶⁵⁴ The dress code established for Artemis and Atalante was transferred to other huntresses surfacing in the visual record as well, including Diktyнна, Kallisto, Prokris (pl. 214b) and perhaps Kyrene.²⁶⁵⁵ It is significant that articles of dress traditionally worn by men (e.g. short *chiton*, *chlamys*, boots, weapons) are overwhelmingly favoured by the end of the iconographic development.²⁶⁵⁶ It has been rightly observed that these same items “... are included in the dress code of male hunters... and at the same time they visually testify to their man-like nature, full of energy and aggression.”²⁶⁵⁷

The dress of the mythical huntresses starts to take on eastern features in the Classical Period.²⁶⁵⁸ In this sense, it seems to follow a similar trajectory to that of the Amazons, which increasingly took on a foreign appearance.²⁶⁵⁹ Most notably, Artemis appears in the Thracian dress of the goddess Bendis (pl. 215a).²⁶⁶⁰ Her full costume consists of the “Phrygian” cap (or other variations, e.g. *alopekis*), the *chiton cheirototos*, the *nebris* and *embades*.²⁶⁶¹ It is also possible for Artemis to wear these items selectively. Most notably, she frequently layers a fawn skin (i.e. *nebris*) over her short *chiton*,²⁶⁶² and the *embades* even become her favourite footwear for the chase (pl. 215b).²⁶⁶³ Besides that, Artemis also starts to appear in Persian dress, such as the “Phrygian” cap, the *ependytes* and the *chiton cheirototos*, which are worn in various combinations (pl. 216a).²⁶⁶⁴ Atalante and the minor huntresses sporadically appear

²⁶⁵¹ Kahil - Icard 1984, 751; Parisinou 2002, 58. For examples, Kahil - Icard 1984, 651 nos. 353-356. 359; 696 no. 981; 725 nos. 1330-1332; 729. nos. 1373. 1375; 730 no. 1382; 731 no. 1381. It is possible to identify some of these boots as *embades*; for discussion on the *embades* of Artemis in sculpture (in Roman copies of Greek originals), Goette 1988, 427f.

²⁶⁵² For examples (from the Classical to Hellenistic Periods), Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 941 nos. 14. 16-18; 942 no. 27; 944 nos. 40. 41c.

²⁶⁵³ For examples with a *chlamys*, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 941 no. 18; 942 no. 27; 944 no. 40. For an example with a club, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 941 no. 16. For examples with a sword, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 941 nos. 13. 17.

²⁶⁵⁴ Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 948; Parisinou 2002, 58f. For examples, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 941 nos. 9. 14. 16-18; 942 no. 27; 944 no. 41c. It is possible to identify some of these boots as *embades* (as with Artemis).

²⁶⁵⁵ For Diktyнна, Boulotos 1986, 392 no. 1. For Kallisto, McPhee 1990, 941f. no. 6. For Prokris, Simantoni-Bournia 1994, 159 no. 1; 160 no. 4. The only known image of Kyrene in ancient Greek visual culture (attested by Pausanias) is now lost, Zagdoun 1992, 168 no. 1; for discussion, 170.

²⁶⁵⁶ Kahil - Icard 1984, 752f.; Parisinou 2002, 58f.

²⁶⁵⁷ Parisinou 2002, 59 (this refers to the short *chiton* and weapons in particular).

²⁶⁵⁸ It has been noted that huntresses take on pointed, eastern caps in the 5th century BCE, Parisinou 2002, 58.

²⁶⁵⁹ For discussion, see chap. 5.1.1.1.2.

²⁶⁶⁰ Kahil - Icard 1984, 751. For examples, Kahil - Icard 1984, 691 nos. 918-921. For Bendis in the literary and visual sources, Gočeva - Popov 1986.

²⁶⁶¹ For the dress of Bendis, as well as its takeover by Artemis, Gočeva - Popov 1986, 97; Kahil - Icard 1984, 751.

²⁶⁶² For examples, Kahil - Icard 1984, 651 nos. 353-357. 359. 361. 365. 392.

²⁶⁶³ Kahil - Icard 1984, 751. For examples, Kahil - Icard 1984, 725 nos. 1330-1333; 727 no. 1352; 729 nos. 1373. 1375; 730 nos. 1382. 1383.

²⁶⁶⁴ For examples with a “Phrygian” cap, Kahil - Icard 1984, 691 nos. 918. 921; 704 no. 1074; 725f. no. 1134; 729 no. 1375; 730 no. 1391; 731 no. 1392. For examples with an *ependytes*, Kahil - Icard 1984, 700 no. 1034; 725 no. 1330. For examples with a *chiton cheirototos*, Kahil - Icard 1984, 722 no. 1287; 725 no. 1332; 725f. no. 1334; 729 no. 1375; 731 no. 1391.

in eastern dress as well (pls. 216b. 217).²⁶⁶⁵ It is also worth noting that Greek men impale their prey with a spear, whereas mythical huntresses use the bow and arrow.²⁶⁶⁶ Their overwhelming preference for archery connects them back to eastern bowmen.²⁶⁶⁷ None of these women is particularly associated with the East.²⁶⁶⁸ It seems, rather, that barbarian dress was introduced to their wardrobes in order to partially differentiate the huntresses from their male counterparts. These eastern elements served to mark them as feminized intruders in these roles and hence as their inferiors.²⁶⁶⁹ Moreover, the difference in fighting styles probably serves to differentiate their strength and courage: the men confront their target directly, whereas the women attack from a safe distance.²⁶⁷⁰

The breast-exposing tunic enters the wardrobe of the huntresses towards the end of the 5th century BCE.²⁶⁷¹ As with the Amazons, the motif is not necessarily a sign of female victimization, but of “manly” pursuits taken to the extreme.²⁶⁷² There are two possibilities here: the breast is exposed inadvertently due to her own strenuous actions, or the short *chiton* is deliberately detached on one shoulder to facilitate more movement. This kind of huntress costume is mentioned later in Kallimachos’ *Hymn to Artemis*: the goddess’ female companions (Kyrene, Prokris, Antikleia) always reveal their right breasts before engaging in the hunt.²⁶⁷³ It is, however, difficult to determine the exact cause of the bare breast in the visual record. The so-called Amazonian Artemis, for instance, is still actively hunting, but it is not clear how her tunic has come undone (pl. 218a) - in any case, both possibilities express the “manly” identity of the goddess.²⁶⁷⁴ Besides this, on Italiot Greek ceramics, huntresses at times wear nothing but

²⁶⁶⁵ For examples of Atalante with a “Phrygian” cap, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 941 nos. 9. 13; 942 no. 27. For examples of Atalante with an *ependytes*, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 944 nos. 40, 41c. For an example of Atalante with a *chiton cheirototos*, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 942 no. 27. For an example of Prokris with an *alopekis*, Simantoni-Bournia 1994, 529 no. 1.

²⁶⁶⁶ Kottsieper 2008, 216.

²⁶⁶⁷ Kottsieper 2008, 216.

²⁶⁶⁸ The case of Artemis is obviously more complicated: her precise origins are disputed, but the goddess is immensely popular and strongly hellenized in the Greek city-states, Kahil - Icard 1984, 618. Atalante is from Boeotia or Arcadia, Boardman - Arrigoni 1994, 940. Prokris is from Athens, Simantoni-Bournia 1994, 529.

²⁶⁶⁹ The same is true of Amazons in eastern dress, see chap. 5.1.1.1.2. V.C. Kottsieper offers a slightly different interpretation, which is not mutually exclusive: the point of the foreign dress is to indicate that Atalante diverges through her behaviour from the norms of her Greek homeland and approaches other almost “manly” women (e.g. Amazons), Kottsieper 2008, 216.

²⁶⁷⁰ Fighting with a bow and arrow is considered a “cowardly” form of warfare among the Greeks by the 7th century BCE, Kaeser 2008a, 53f.

²⁶⁷¹ Parisinou 2002, 60f. For examples of Artemis, Kahil - Icard 1984, 650 nos. 337. 341. 343-345. 347-349; 659 nos. 473. 474; 679 no. 747; 696 no. 981; 699 no. 1023; for discussion, 651. 750. For an example of Atalante, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 941 no. 9. For an example of Kallisto, McPhee 1990, 941f. no. 6. For an example of Prokris, Simantoni-Bournia 1994, 530 no. 4.

²⁶⁷² For discussion, see chap. 5.1.1.1.4.

²⁶⁷³ Kall. h. 3, 213f.; Parisinou 2002, 60.

²⁶⁷⁴ For examples of the so-called Amazonian Artemis, Kahil - Icard 1984, 650 nos. 337. 341. 343-345. 347-349. It has been suggested that the motif is influenced by both the Amazons and Aphrodite, Kahil - Icard 1984, 651. It seems unlikely, however, that the motif is borrowed from Aphrodite, since this goddess wears a tunic slipping from her shoulder, not fully detached. It is also possible to show Atalante hunting with a bare breast; for an example, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 941 no. 9.

a knee-length “skirt” belted at the waist.²⁶⁷⁵ This outfit is shared in common with men: it leaves their upper bodies deliberately exposed, allowing them greater freedom of movement to pursue their prey.

The bare breast for Kallisto and Prokris carries different connotations (pl. 218b. 219a).²⁶⁷⁶ Both women have an anguished expression and squat on the ground. Their bare breast is not primarily connected to their manlike roles or violent encounters with beasts - rather, the motif is primarily a sign of their victimization, in unique situations where the hunter ironically becomes the hunted. Kallisto is transformed into a bear and then shot down by Artemis, as revenge for losing her virginity to Zeus.²⁶⁷⁷ Prokris is killed while jealously stalking her husband - the handsome hunter Kephalos - who tragically mistook her for a wild beast.²⁶⁷⁸ In these situations, the motif of the bare breast is not related to their roles as huntresses: rather, it stems from the context of an unequal struggle, of divinities victimizing mortals, or of husbands slaying their unsuspecting wives.

In summary, the basic wardrobe of the mythical huntress is essentially established by the end of the Classical Period. Following an initial period of experimentation, the outfits of the huntresses start to exhibit notable commonalities. First of all, the short *chiton* is overwhelmingly preferred as hunting dress and occasionally combined with a *chlamys*. The standard arms include the bow and arrow, or occasionally the spear, but more erratic choices are attested as well (e.g. sword, club). It is possible to run barefoot, but boots (especially the *embades*) increase in popularity. As such, the full huntress costume (pl. 219b) is largely patterned after that of Greek hunters, performing their active roles (pl. 220a).²⁶⁷⁹ On the other hand, the huntresses occasionally assume eastern dress, in order to cast them as feminized intruders. In the majority of cases, their breasts are exposed not to present them as female victims, but to equate them with men in terms of vigorous action and bodily display.

6.1.1.1.2 Feminization of the Dress

6.1.1.1.2.1 Body Styling

Quite interestingly, the huntress costume is increasingly feminized between the Archaic and Hellenistic Period. This effect is achieved by body styling. First of all, the women are depicted with white skin (on black-figure pottery) as a clear marker of sexual distinction (pl. 88a).²⁶⁸⁰ Secondly, the women are depicted with long hair, at times arranged into beautiful coiffures (e.g. *chignon*, *krobylos*) (e.g. pls.

²⁶⁷⁵ For examples of Artemis wearing this outfit (combined with cross-bands), Kahil - Icard 1984, 713f. no. 1189; 722 no. 1288. Atalante also wears a short *chiton* revealing both breasts (at least in Roman visual culture), Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 948 no. 99.

²⁶⁷⁶ For examples, McPhee 1990, 941f. nos. 6; Simantoni-Bournia 1994, 530 no. 4.

²⁶⁷⁷ For Kallisto in the literary sources, McPhee 1990, 940. For another example of Kallisto with an exposed breast, but in a long tunic, McPhee 1990, 942 no. 8.

²⁶⁷⁸ For Prokris in the literary sources, Simantoni-Bournia 1994, 529; Kottsieper 2008, 219f.

²⁶⁷⁹ Parisinou 2002, 55. 57-60. It has been rightly noted, however, that Atalante is generally differentiated from her fellow hunters in individual scenes by her precise dress, Kottsieper 2008, 208-211.

²⁶⁸⁰ For examples of Artemis (but still wearing long robes), Kahil - Icard 1984, 633 no. 109a; 635 no. 123; 639 no. 169a; 704 no. 1069. For examples of Atalante, Boardman 1994, 941 nos. 2. 5; for discussion, Kottsieper 2008, 215. For discussion on pale skin as a feminine characteristic, see chap. 3.2.1.1.

212b. 213a).²⁶⁸¹ The pale skin and the well-maintained hair are characteristic of women in the domestic context. For the huntresses, this body styling is an unrealistic marker of femininity.²⁶⁸²

6.1.1.1.2.2 Garments

The tunic of the huntress is feminized in a variety of ways. First of all, the short *chiton* taken over from the Greeks is occasionally decorated with subtle ornaments.²⁶⁸³ These sorts of embellishments add a touch of luxury, which is particularly associated with women.²⁶⁸⁴ It is also possible - at least in isolated cases - to include an overfold, which is a predominantly feminine feature.²⁶⁸⁵ On an Attic black-figure volute *krater* featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt (ca. 570 BCE), Atalante wears a shortened version of the *peplos* with an overfold covering her breasts (pl. 220b).²⁶⁸⁶ As with the Amazons, the short *peplos* is an imaginary garment, which underscores the paradox of the active woman.²⁶⁸⁷ Whether overfolds are ever added to the short *chitones* of huntresses is less clear.

Most significantly, the short *chiton* of the huntress is increasingly belted and bloused in a particularly feminine manner.²⁶⁸⁸ Artemis only regularly wears the short tunic by the final quarter of the 5th century BCE. A series of Attic red-figure lekythoi from ca. 420 BCE portray the huntress in a short *chiton*, belted once at the waist, but then bloused to produce a long, loosely hanging overfall, reaching to even below the buttocks (pls. 87b. 211b).²⁶⁸⁹ These elaborate folds indicate that her tunic is actually long, just like other women, but significantly shortened.²⁶⁹⁰ The result is an indeterminate dress, which is not clearly associated with either sex: on the one hand, she transforms her feminine robes into a tunic suitable for active, “manly” pursuits; on the other hand, the long overfall is not only characteristic of women in general, but also clearly references the drastic alterations to her garment.²⁶⁹¹ The other possibility for the goddess is to wear a belt over her short *chiton* in a highly visible manner, by completely foregoing the blousing, especially on Italiot Greek ceramics (pl. 212b).²⁶⁹² This is attested for Atalante as well.²⁶⁹³

²⁶⁸¹ For commentary on the hairstyles of Artemis, Kahil - Icard 1984, 746. 750f. For discussion on long hair as a feminine characteristic, see chap. 3.2.1.3.

²⁶⁸² Kottsieper 2008, 215 (noted for the white skin of Atalante). The same trend is attested for the Amazons, see chap. 5.1.1.1.2.1.

²⁶⁸³ E. Parisinou notes that Artemis wears a short *chiton* with patterns on Italiot Greek vases, Parisinou 2002, 58. The decoration is relatively subtle; for examples, Kahil - Icard 1984, 704 no. 1074; 706 no. 1097a; 722 no. 1287; 730 no. 1382. Bright colours and exquisite patterns are seemingly reserved for eastern tunics (e.g. *ependytes*, *chiton cheirototos*).

²⁶⁸⁴ For discussion on the association between femininity/luxury (also in dress), Cleland et al. 2007, 54f. 68f. 118.

²⁶⁸⁵ For discussion on the overfold, see chap. 5.1.1.1.2.2.

²⁶⁸⁶ For the vase, Boardman - Arrigoni 1994, 941 no. 2; for further discussion, Parisinou 2002, 58. If Artemis wears a *peplos* in ancient Greek visual culture, then the usual long one is selected instead.

²⁶⁸⁷ For discussion, see chap. 5.1.1.1.2.2.

²⁶⁸⁸ For discussion on feminine belting and blousing practices, see chap. 5.1.1.1.2.4.

²⁶⁸⁹ For examples, Kahil - Icard 1984, 651 nos. 353-356; 653 no. 392. For a comparable example, but with a less dramatic overfall, Kahil - Icard 1984, 735 no. 1439.

²⁶⁹⁰ M. Bieber recognizes that the *chiton* of Artemis is shortened in such instances, Bieber 1977, 71f.

²⁶⁹¹ It seems that the her preference for a long but hitched up *chiton* ultimately serves to differentiate the huntress from her male counterparts: indeed, the garment is perfectly suitable for women, but worn in a manner convenient for traditionally masculine pursuits.

²⁶⁹² For examples, Kahil - Icard 1984, 704 no. 1074; 706 nos. 1097. 1097a; 722 no. 1287; 729 no. 1378; 730 no. 1382. Note that the Artemis also wears a broad and decorative belt over her eastern outfits (e.g. *ependytes*, *chiton*

The conspicuous display of the girdle is perhaps comparable to marriageable women, thus playing with the (a)sexuality of the virginal huntresses.²⁶⁹⁴ This connection is more clearly established by the *kestos*: the cross-bands not only retrace the breasts of the huntresses, but also, quite ironically, mark them as potential wives (pl. 212b).²⁶⁹⁵ Turning to the minor huntresses, it seems that the short *chiton* of Kallisto, Prokris and perhaps Diktyнна and Kyrene is still belted and bloused much like hunters.²⁶⁹⁶

The evidence for distinctly feminine belting and blousing practices is intensified with the transition to the Hellenistic Period. The trend is especially pronounced in the freestanding statuary and sculptural reliefs of Artemis, probably due to the sheer quantity and quality of the surviving representations.²⁶⁹⁷ Most significantly, the huntress starts to girdle her short *chiton* directly under the breasts and, in doing so, closely follows the new fashion trend emerging among women as a whole in the visual record (pl. 221a).²⁶⁹⁸ It is possible to retrace the belt with a tightly rolled-up *himation* (pl. 221b).²⁶⁹⁹ This sartorial feature is not attested among hunters or other active men in general, and therefore requires some explanation.²⁷⁰⁰ The *himation* is an essentially gender-neutral mantle, appropriate for men and women alike; the fabric is, however, generally voluminous and unpinned, and hence appropriate for leisurely pursuits, not for strenuous action.²⁷⁰¹ Hunters and other active men overwhelmingly prefer to wear the short, fastened *chlamys*.²⁷⁰² Artemis nevertheless wears the *himation* and successfully adapts the mantle to a hunting setting, by fashioning it into a roll and tying it around her body. This huntress' preference for the *himation*, as well as the unique arrangement of this mantle, clearly differentiates her from her male counterparts: indeed, the *himation* is perfectly suitable for women, but worn in a manner convenient for traditionally masculine pursuits. The high-girdled *chiton* of Artemis, with or

cheirototos) on Attic and Greek Italic ceramics; for examples, 700 no. 1034; 725f. nos. 1330, 1332, 1334; 729 no. 1375; 731 no. 1391.

²⁶⁹³ For examples, Boardman - Arrigoni 1994, 941 nos. 13. 14. 18; 942 no. 27; 944 nos. 40. 41. Note that Atalante also wears a broad and decorative belt over her eastern outfits (e.g. *ependytes*, *chiton cheirototos*) on Attic and Greek Italic ceramics; for examples, Boardman - Arrigoni 1994, 942 no. 27; 944 nos. 40. 41.

²⁶⁹⁴ It is true that men also belt their tunics in this manner, but the feature could have a double-meaning. E. Parisinou likewise suggests that the belts of huntresses probably allude to their virginal status, but based on ritual evidence (i.e. girls dedicating their belts to Artemis in coming-of-age ceremonies), 59f. 65.

²⁶⁹⁵ For examples of Artemis wearing a *kestos* (on Italic Greek ceramics), Kahil - Icard 1984, 704 no. 1074; 722 no. 1287; 729 no. 1378. For an example of Atalante wearing a *kestos* (on Italic Greek ceramics), but over an eastern outfit, Boardman - Arrigoni 1994, 942 no. 27. For the significance of the *kestos*, Lee 2015, 138.

²⁶⁹⁶ For examples, McPhee 1990, 941f. no. 6; Simantoni-Bournia 1994, 529 no. 1; 530 no. 4. Note that there are no extant images of Diktyнна and Kyrene from the Classical Period.

²⁶⁹⁷ In contrast, the images (in all media) of Atalante, Diktyнна, Kallisto and Prokris in the Hellenistic Period are either lacking or too poorly preserved to evaluate in this respect.

²⁶⁹⁸ For examples, Kahil - Icard 1984, 641 nos. 194. 195; 642 no. 206; 646 nos. 266a. 282; 650 no. 344; 651 no. 361; 652 no. 371; 654 no. 402; 655 no. 419; 660 nos. 496- 498; 726 no. 1338.

²⁶⁹⁹ For examples, Kahil - Icard 1984, 641 nos. 194. 195; 642 no. 206; 646 no. 266a; 726 no. 1338. For discussion, Kahil - Icard 1984, 753.

²⁷⁰⁰ There are, however, exceptions. For instance, the feature is later attested for dancing Lares; for examples, Tinh 1992, 208 no. 47; 209 no. 67; 210 no. 87.

²⁷⁰¹ For discussion on the *himation*, see chap. 3.2.2.4.

²⁷⁰² For discussion on the *chlamys*, see chap. 3.2.2.3.

without the rolled-up *himation*, is belted a second time at the waist to create a relatively long overfall.²⁷⁰³ Perhaps the *kestos* is occasionally added, as a sign of her virginity and beauty (pl. 154a).²⁷⁰⁴

6.1.1.1.2.3 Accessories

The huntresses are occasionally adorned with feminine accessories. First of all, they adopt various types of distinctly feminine headgear.²⁷⁰⁵ Artemis - appearing in a short, masculine tunic - occasionally wears a *stephane* (diadem), to highlight her high-status femininity (pl. 222a).²⁷⁰⁶ She also wears a *tainia* (hairband) (pl. 222b) or a *kekryphalos* (hairnet) (pl. 223a).²⁷⁰⁷ These accessories were valuable for binding the huntress' hair into a simple chignon or a more elaborate *krobylos* on the crown of her head.²⁷⁰⁸ In rare cases, she wears a *sakkos* (snood), which completely contains the hair at the back.²⁷⁰⁹ It is possible to show Atalante with similar headgear as well. For instance, she wears a row of spiked ornaments on her brow, as well as the *kekryphalos* supporting her *krobylos*, while participating in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt (pl. 213a).²⁷¹⁰ Secondly, the huntresses occasionally wear jewellery. Indeed, Artemis and Atalante don short tunics like men, but reveal their feminine side by adorning themselves with necklaces, bracelets and earrings (e.g. pl. 223a).²⁷¹¹

6.1.1.1.2.4 Interactions between Body and Dress

The mythical huntresses and their male counterparts were also set apart through their physical bodies, as well as the interaction between their bodies and their dress. Hunters are frequently depicted in a state of agonal nudity (pl. 35a), whereas the huntresses are as a rule clothed.²⁷¹² The undress of hunters reveals their strong and vigorous bodies, expressing ideals of fortitude, excellence or even heroism.²⁷¹³ For huntresses, on the other hand, any attempt to emulate their male counterparts by undressing ultimately reveals their soft, erotic bodies, carrying traditionally feminine connotations of frailty and beauty.²⁷¹⁴ This is confirmed by the rare cases of huntresses portrayed completely nude. First of all,

²⁷⁰³ It is possible that Artemis actually wears a tunic with a long overfold in some cases (e.g. Kahil - Icard 1984, 646 no. 282). (The distinction between the overfold and overfall on the dress of the huntresses seems to break down over time, perhaps due to an increasing stylization of the dress; this is especially pronounced in Roman art.)

²⁷⁰⁴ For possible examples, Kahil - Icard 1984, 685 no. 853. 856.

²⁷⁰⁵ For discussion on bindings of the head/hair in general, Lee 2015, 158-160. For an overview of the possibilities for Artemis in the Classical Period, Kahil - Icard 1984, 760f.; note, however, that Artemis is more commonly equipped with feminine headgear when wearing longer robes.

²⁷⁰⁶ For examples with a *stephane*, Kahil - Icard 1984, 660 nos. 496. 498.

²⁷⁰⁷ For examples with a *tainia*, Kahil - Icard 1984, 729 no. 1378; 734 no. 1439. For examples with a *kekryphalos*, Kahil - Icard 1984, 651 no. 357; 706 no. 1097; 722 no. 1287; 730 no. 1382.

²⁷⁰⁸ For the hairstyles of Artemis in the Classical Period, Kahil 1984, 750f.

²⁷⁰⁹ For an example with a *sakkos*, Kahil - Icard, 675 no. 711.

²⁷¹⁰ For the image, Boardman - Arrigoni 1994, 941 no. 14.

²⁷¹¹ It has been noted that Artemis wears jewellery, Parisinou 2002, 68. For examples of Artemis, 706 no. 1097. 1097a; 722 no. 1287; 729 no. 1378; 730 no. 1382; 731 no. 1391. For examples of Atalante, Boardman - Arrigoni 1994, 941 nos. 5. 14; 944 nos. 40. 41c.

²⁷¹² This is noted in the case of Atalante, Kottsieper 2008, 209. 215.

²⁷¹³ For discussion on agonal nudity and heroic costume, see chaps. 3.2.1.2; 3.2.3.1.

²⁷¹⁴ E. Parisinou, in contrast, argues that the short clothes display their physical fitness, Parisinou 2002, 61. 65f. There is some truth to this (e.g. Atalante hunting with Meleager in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt on black-figure pottery, e.g. Boardman - Arrigoni 1994, 941 no. 5), but this connection between women and well-trained bodies,

Aktaion committed hubris by watching Artemis bathe nude, and, as a result, was transformed into a stag by the goddess and attacked by his own hunting dogs.²⁷¹⁵ The images typically focus on demise of Aktaion at the hands of Artemis (pl. 215b),²⁷¹⁶ but the bathing scene is uniquely visualized on a relief bowl dating to the middle of the 2nd century BCE.²⁷¹⁷ Here, Artemis is portrayed like a modest Aphrodite, startled by the approaching Aktaion: she barely stands upright, presses her thighs together and pulls a swathe of drapery in front of her pudenda. The mythical episode presumably offered a pretext for exhibiting the body of the virginal goddess, vulnerable to the male gaze.²⁷¹⁸ Secondly, Atalante is occasionally nude (at least in an athletic context), in order to present her as a passive and sensual “lover”.²⁷¹⁹ In a unique image of her fleeing from erotes, she wears a long but transparent *chiton*, to show off her physical beauty (pl. 223b).²⁷²⁰ Thirdly, Kallisto is frequently shown with the drapery falling off her body. It has already been noted that her bare breast is not a sign of “manliness”, but rather of her victimization at the hands of Artemis, who transformed her into a bear and then hunted her down as punishment for losing her virginity to Zeus.²⁷²¹ It seems that the completely nude versions of the huntress are merely an extension of this theme, both displaying her physical beauty - which led to her seduction or violation in the first place - and expressing her state of vulnerability.²⁷²² These images of nude huntresses clearly reveal that their state of undress is inconsistent with the image of a strong, courageous woman. The fact that an alternate, more concealing hunting dress was selected for huntresses confirms that the need to cast them as “masculine” women was prioritized over any impulse to highlight their femininity or desirability.²⁷²³

It is true that the mythical huntresses wear their tunics short like men, but increasingly in a manner that draws attention back to their bodies. In most cases, the bare breast of the huntress is a sign of strenuous action, taken over from the world of men; nevertheless, it ultimately points up the incongruity of the masculine dress on their female bodies. This sartorial feature is, however, uncommon for huntresses. Much more significant is the issue of belting and blousing. An excellent case in point is the Artemis of Gabii, which is a Roman copy of a statue dating to 350-330 BCE (pl. 224a).²⁷²⁴ She wears

comparable to men, breaks down over time. The same trend is attested for female athletes and warriorresses, see chaps. 3.3.2.4; 5.1.1.1.2.4.

²⁷¹⁵ For Aktaion in the literary sources, Guimond 1981, 454f.

²⁷¹⁶ For images of the death of Aktaion in ancient Greek visual culture, Kahil - Icard 1984, 731-733 nos. 1395-1410. Artemis initially prefers long robes and then later shorter tunics, Guimond 1981, 467.

²⁷¹⁷ For the relief bowl, Kahil - Icard, 732 no. 1411a; Siebert 1978, 283 cat. A I. It is possible that a lamp dating to the 2nd century BCE with another representation of Artemis modestly shielding herself deals with the same theme; for the lamp, Kahil - Icard 1984, 731 no. 1394. The images of Artemis bathing increase in popularity in Roman visual culture, see chap. 6.1.1.2.

²⁷¹⁸ Simon - Bauchheness 1984, 836.

²⁷¹⁹ For discussion, see chap. 3.3.2.4.

²⁷²⁰ For the image, Boardman - Arrigoni 1994, 947 no. 90; for discussion, Bérard 1988.

²⁷²¹ For examples, McPhee 1990, 941f. nos. 6. 8.

²⁷²² For examples, McPhee 1990, 941 no. 1; 942 cat. 9. 10.

²⁷²³ It is, however, possible that a few terracotta figurines dating to the Hellenistic Period (from Southern Italy and Sicily) show Artemis as a nude huntress, Kahil - Icard 1984, 694f. nos. 961-963.

²⁷²⁴ For the Artemis of Gabii (possibly a copy of the Artemis Brauronia, created by Praxiteles for the Athenian Akropolis), Kahil - Icard 1984, 640f. no. 190.

a short, high-girdled *chiton* with a fairly long overfall. The bottom edge of the overfall, which sits relatively low on the hips, is thick and loose, indicating that the fold was created by drawing a generous swathe of fabric out from the belt at the waist.²⁷²⁵ In fact, if one were to double the length of the overfall and then add the total excess fabric to the bottom hem, then the tunic would easily reach the ankles. The combination of high girding at the breasts and a flaring overfall at the hips exaggerates the feminine, hourglass figure of the goddess. The elaborate folds are a sign of luxury associated with women in particular - the care required to maintain them stands at odds with their violent actions.²⁷²⁶

6.1.1.1.3 Summary

In summary, the huntresses were primarily presented in “manly” terms, as suggested by their careful, selective emulation of their male counterparts. A full state of undress is increasingly preferred for hunters, but rejected for huntresses, in order to avoid connotations of vulnerability and sexual desirability.²⁷²⁷ Instead, the dress of the huntresses is patterned after their male counterparts in alternate ways, to express qualities like strength and courage.²⁷²⁸ Their costume is nevertheless partially feminized. First of all, the bodies of the huntresses are beautified like elite women (e.g. white skin, long hair).²⁷²⁹ Secondly, the huntresses eventually wear garments that are essentially suitable for their sex, but tailored to suit their “manly” lifestyle: indeed, the *chiton* is hitched-up and their *himation* is tied to their bodies.²⁷³⁰ They are also marked out as women by adding feminine sartorial features (e.g. high girding, long overfall) and other accessories (e.g. *kekryphalos*, jewellery). Thirdly, the dress is draped on their female bodies in a manner that draws attention to, or even exaggerates, their physical features, especially their breasts and hips.²⁷³¹ The result is an indeterminate dress for the huntresses, expressing both their female nature and masculine behaviour. It was presumably desirable to continue to establish sexual difference between hunters and huntresses, in order to promote a binary system of gender based on sexual difference.²⁷³² The secondary, almost derivative role of the huntresses is confirmed by their preferred hunting style: men strike their prey directly with spears, whereas women attack from a distance with a bow and arrow.²⁷³³

It is worth pointing out that dress of the mythical warrioresses and huntresses undergoes similar developments in the visual record between the Archaic and Hellenistic Period.²⁷³⁴ First of all, the women are gradually detached from their feminine identity, by shedding their long robes. Afterwards, their dress is largely adopted from men performing their active roles, as warriors and hunters. The

²⁷²⁵ M. Bieber recognizes that the *chiton* of Artemis is shortened in such instances, Bieber 1977, 71f.

²⁷²⁶ For discussion the symbolic connection between folds and gender, Cleland et al. 2007, 73.

²⁷²⁷ For discussion, see chap. 6.1.1.1.2.4.

²⁷²⁸ For discussion, see chap. 6.1.1.1.1.

²⁷²⁹ For discussion, see chap. 6.1.1.1.2.1.

²⁷³⁰ For discussion, see chap. 6.1.1.1.2.2; 6.1.1.1.2.3.

²⁷³¹ For discussion, see chap. 6.1.1.1.2.4.

²⁷³² For further discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.3.1.

²⁷³³ For discussion, see chap. 6.1.1.1.1.

²⁷³⁴ For discussion on the dress of the Amazons, see chap. 5.1.1.

garments and accessories are then orientalized to some degree. Finally, the dress is increasingly feminized, by including distinctly womanly features and drawing attention back to the female body. The parallel development is hardly coincidental: it is clear that the warrioresses and huntresses were largely viewed in the same terms, as “masculine” women.

6.1.1.2 Reception of the Dress in Roman Visual Culture

The images of Diana - the Roman incarnation of Artemis - are based on various Greek models, created between the Archaic and Hellenistic Period: she is primarily standing or running, and dressed in either long or short tunics.²⁷³⁵ Nevertheless, the statuary types dating to the Late Classical and Hellenistic Period offered particularly beloved models for Diana, not merely for freestanding statuary, but also for other media, such as reliefs, mosaics and painting.²⁷³⁶ She primarily wears the short *chiton* during these periods.²⁷³⁷ It is therefore natural that the statuary types adopted by the Romans tend to feature shorter tunics as well.²⁷³⁸ The Artemis of Versailles-Leptis Magna, with the huntress running in a short *chiton* and reaching for an arrow in her quiver, is especially popular in Roman visual culture (pl. 222a).²⁷³⁹ The short, pinned *chlamys* seemingly disappears from the visual record; instead, she wears the bulkier *himation* in a variety of ways (e.g. wrapped or billowing around the body).²⁷⁴⁰ Her most characteristic attribute is the quiver, hanging from a strap on her right shoulder; it is possible, but not necessary, to include the accompanying bow and arrow here.²⁷⁴¹ She is less often equipped with a spear.²⁷⁴² In terms of footwear, she is typically shown in fur boots, but at times in sandals.²⁷⁴³ Besides that, she is associated with a host of wild and domestic animals, such as deer and hunting dogs.²⁷⁴⁴ It seems that eastern dress more or less falls out of the wardrobe of the huntress. She retains her fur boots - which stand in the tradition of the *embades* - and occasionally wears a *nebris* over her short tunic, but other exotic articles of dress are seemingly lacking (pl. 224b).²⁷⁴⁵ Overall, the huntress costume of Diana is still largely composed of garments and accessories typical of Greek hunters, but

²⁷³⁵ Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 842f. Diana first surfaces on a series of *cistae* from Palestrina, which date to between the late 4th and early 3rd centuries BCE; she wears either a full-length or knee-length tunic, which coexist in the visual record throughout the Roman Imperial Period, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 832 nos. 281a; 833 nos. 296. 297; 837 no. 336; for discussion, 841. The Romans recognized that the longer robes belonged to her original dress, since Diana is only ever portrayed with archaizing features in this dress, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 841.

²⁷³⁶ Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 843.

²⁷³⁷ For discussion, see chap. 6.1.1.1.1.

²⁷³⁸ For examples of Late Classical and Hellenistic statuary types in long tunics in Roman visual culture, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 798-800 nos. 7-10; 801 nos. 14. 15. For examples of Late Classical and Hellenistic statuary types in short tunics in Roman visual culture, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 801-809 nos. 16-36.

²⁷³⁹ Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 805f. no. 27; for discussion, 843.

²⁷⁴⁰ For examples, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 802 no. 17; 803f. no. 22; 808 no. 33.

²⁷⁴¹ Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 843.

²⁷⁴² For examples of Diana with a spear, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 814 nos. 95. 96; 818 no. 136; 821 no. 158; 824 no. 204; 826f. no. 235; 827 no. 238; 830 no. 277; for discussion, 843.

²⁷⁴³ For examples of Diana with sandals, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 802 no. 17; 805 no. 27; 814 no. 95.

²⁷⁴⁴ Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 844.

²⁷⁴⁵ For examples with the *nebris*, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 802f. no. 20c; 808 no. 34b; 830. no. 275; for discussion, 843. For discussion on the fur boots of Artemis in Roman visual culture, Goette 1983, 414f. 421.

with clear limits: she is invariably clothed, refrains from adopting a *chlamys*, and basically always prefers the bow and arrow over stabbing implements.²⁷⁴⁶

At the same time, Diana's dress tends to exhibit feminine features. She is portrayed with an array of complex and highly feminine hairstyles (e.g. Venus-bow) (pl. 225a).²⁷⁴⁷ The hair is left uncovered, but at times adorned with a diadem (pl. 222a).²⁷⁴⁸ Her garments are technically long and voluminous, but drastically manipulated to suit her active, "manly" lifestyle. Indeed, her *chiton* is shortened to just above her knees, by adding a relatively long overfall.²⁷⁴⁹ It is almost invariably belted just below the breasts with a thin, knotted cord, at times overlain by a rolled-up *himation*.²⁷⁵⁰ The manner in which the fabric is draped on the body retraces and exaggerate its hourglass shape.²⁷⁵¹

The body of Diana is also frequently revealed in Roman visual culture. At times the short tunic is only attached one shoulder, thus revealing one of the goddess' breasts (pl. 225b. 226a).²⁷⁵² This motif is typically attested when Diana is running, suggesting that the tunic either inadvertently comes undone in the hunt, or is deliberately unpinned for the sake of movement - it nevertheless reveals her beautiful form in an incidental manner. It is possible to portray her with drapery slipping off the shoulder, in order to accentuate her beauty, but the motif is exceedingly rare.²⁷⁵³ She is more commonly shown nude than beforehand (pl. 226b), especially due to the increasing popularity of images of Aktaion spying on the bathing goddess (pl. 227).²⁷⁵⁴ The startled goddess is modeled after a variety of statuary types for the "modest" Aphrodite (e.g. Medici Venus, Crouching Venus).²⁷⁵⁵ This mythological episode offered a pretext for presenting this fiercely celibate goddess in a state of nudity, which presumably appealed to voyeuristic tastes in Roman society.²⁷⁵⁶

In summary, Diana wears similar dress as in ancient Greek visual culture: it is generally taken over from men, but more feminized than ever. Her erotic body also comes more into focus than ever.

²⁷⁴⁶ Other attributes of Diana include the patera, torch and moon, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 844. These attributes are, however, more common for the goddess in long robes.

²⁷⁴⁷ For examples with a Venus-bow hairstyle, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 804 no. 24a; 804f. no. 26c; 809 no. 36b.

²⁷⁴⁸ For examples with a diadem, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 802f. no. 20c; 805 no. 27; 826 no. 277.

²⁷⁴⁹ Bieber 1977, 71f. For examples, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 802 no. 18b; 805 no. 27; 807 no. 30e; 808 no. 35a; 809 no. 35h. It is, however, possible that Diana actually wears a tunic with a long overfold in some cases. (The distinction between the overfold and overfall on the dress of huntresses seems to break down over time, perhaps due to an increasing stylization of the dress; this is especially pronounced in Roman art.)

²⁷⁵⁰ For examples with a high-girdled short *chiton*, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 802 nos. 17-19.

²⁷⁵¹ Also note that the overfall often exhibits a billowing quality, which mirrors the lower hem of the tunic.

²⁷⁵² For examples, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 808 no. 32; 812 no. 62; 813f. no. 81; 814 nos. 84. 86. 87; 815 no. 102; 815f. no. 105; 817f. no. 129; 818 no. 130; 819 no. 141. In the Greek East, Artemis also appears in a breast-baring tunic during the Roman Imperial Period, Kahil - Icard 1984, 650f. nos. 337. 342. 348. 351; 726 no. 1340.

²⁷⁵³ For examples, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 801f. no. 16; 818 no. 135.

²⁷⁵⁴ For examples, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 836f. nos. 328-335; for discussion, 836. The same theme is also attested in the Greek East during the Roman Imperial Period, Kahil - Icard 1984, 732f. nos. 1411. 1412.

²⁷⁵⁵ Simon - Bauchhenss 1984, 836. The statuary types for Aphrodite date to the Hellenistic Period.

²⁷⁵⁶ Simon - Bauchhenss 1984, 836.

In the second half of the 5th century BCE, the presentation of Atalante had started to transition from that of an active, manlike athlete and huntress, to that of a docile, sensual “lover”.²⁷⁵⁷ However, the visual interest in the heroine lapses during the transition to the Hellenistic Period, and with it the distinct feminization of her dress.²⁷⁵⁸ By the time Atalante reappears in Roman visual culture, she is primarily shown in her role as a huntress, associated with Meleager in particular.²⁷⁵⁹ She usually participates in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, but, by the 4th century CE, in generic hunting scenes with Meleager as well, at times even on horseback.²⁷⁶⁰ Besides that, she is frequently shown resting with Meleager (as well as other hunters) after their successful hunt.²⁷⁶¹ Quite interestingly, Atalante is hardly distinguishable from contemporary representations of Diana (pl. 90b).²⁷⁶² She is typically dressed in the short *chiton*, which is feminized in the same manner.²⁷⁶³ She prefers the bow and arrow, but at times hunts with a spear.²⁷⁶⁴ She tends to wear fur boots. She occasionally bares a breast while hunting, to highlight the incongruity between her female nature and masculine actions (pl. 228a).²⁷⁶⁵ A few items of dress differentiate her from Diana (e.g. *petasos*, *chlamys*), but these are not common (pl. 228b).²⁷⁶⁶ The eastern features of her dress completely drop out of the visual record.

It seems that the visual interest in the huntress as a “lover” intensified in Roman visual culture. According to Suetonius, the Emperor Tiberius owned a painting featuring Atalante fellating Meleager.²⁷⁶⁷ The surviving images are not sexually graphic, but the relationship between the two is at least hinted at. Particularly significant are the scenes of Meleager and Atalante with the spoils of the Kalydonian Boar Hunt,²⁷⁶⁸ which primarily evoke the symmetrical relationship between a man and

²⁷⁵⁷ This shift in the identity of Atalante is most pronounced in her role as a female athlete; for discussion, see chap. 3.3.2.4. Atalante is most often portrayed in masculine dress in ancient Greek visual culture; she occasionally assumes feminine features in her role as a huntress (e.g. short *peplos* with overfold, *kestos*), but the trend is not nearly as pronounced as with Artemis; for discussion, see chap. 6.1.1.

²⁷⁵⁸ The latest image of Atalante in ancient Greek visual culture dates to ca. 330 BCE, Boardman 1984, 942 no. 27. She is nevertheless shown in Etruscan art as a beautiful, nude woman, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 949.

²⁷⁵⁹ Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 949f.

²⁷⁶⁰ Atalante is shown participating in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt on Roman sarcophagi; for examples, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 942 nos. 22-25; for discussion, 949. Atalante is shown hunting with Meleager on mosaics; for examples, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 944 nos. 46-50; for discussion, 949f.

²⁷⁶¹ Atalante is shown resting after the hunt with Meleager on wall-paintings and mosaics; for examples, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 943 nos. 34-39; 944 nos. 44, 45; for discussion, 949.

²⁷⁶² Boardman 1984, 949.

²⁷⁶³ For examples, Boardman 1984, 942 nos. 23-26; 944 nos. 46, 55; 945 nos. 56, 58. It is, however, possible that Atalante actually wears a tunic with a long overfold in some cases. (The distinction between the overfold and overfall on the dress of huntresses seems to break down over time, perhaps due to an increasing stylization of the dress; this is especially pronounced in Roman art.) Note that in a few mosaics dating to Late Antiquity, the Greek *chiton* is seemingly replaced by the Roman *tunica*, to complement that of Meleager (with its distinctive *clavi*); for examples, Boardman 1984, 944 nos. 47, 49.

²⁷⁶⁴ For examples of Atalante with a spear, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 942 no. 26; 943 nos. 34, 36; 944 no. 54; 945f. nos. 54, 55, 59.

²⁷⁶⁵ For examples, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 944 nos. 46, 53. For a possible example (which is, however, indistinguishable from Diana), Koch 1975, 91 cat. 17.

²⁷⁶⁶ For examples with a *chlamys*, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 942 no. 24; 943 nos. 34, 35, 37; 944f. no. 55. For examples with a *petasos*, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 943 nos. 34, 36; 944 no. 44.

²⁷⁶⁷ Suet. Tib. 44, 2. For the painting (attributed to Parrhasios), Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 944 no. 42.

²⁷⁶⁸ For examples, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 943 nos. 34-39; 944 nos. 44, 45.

woman in love.²⁷⁶⁹ Besides that, Meleager exhibits virtues like strength and courage, whereas Atalante exhibits both “manly” qualities and feminine beauty - these characteristics of the huntress are weighted to varying degrees in the imagery, depending on the precise manipulation of the iconography, including her dress.²⁷⁷⁰ The most obvious means of eroticizing Atalante is to put her body on display. First of all, she is dressed in a skimpy, transparent gown with the drapery slipping off her shoulder (pl. 229a).²⁷⁷¹ Secondly, she is portrayed with a bare breast: the motif is introduced not to signify her “manliness”, but rather for erotic effect, considering that the subject of the image is Meleager admiring his beloved (pl. 229b).²⁷⁷² Thirdly, she is portrayed entirely nude, with the exception of a mantle tracing her curvaceous form (pls. 230. 231a).²⁷⁷³ This state of undress is completely unrelated to the agonal nudity of Meleager: she is, rather, the incarnation of Venus, but with incongruous hunting implements, and consequently presented as a charming object of desire.²⁷⁷⁴ At the other extreme, the beauty and femininity of Atalante is expressed by modestly covering her body with garments appropriate for her sex. The effect is usually achieved by draping a mantle over her lower body (pl. 231b).²⁷⁷⁵ In all of these scenes expressing the love between Meleager and Atalante, her role as a huntress is unequivocally alluded to by her accessories (e.g. quiver, spear, *chlamys*, *petasos*, boots), but her outfit is frequently feminized: indeed, the long robes and erotic nudity divert attention from her masculine role in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, and instead accentuate her feminine qualities, like sexual desirability or modesty. The focus here is on Atalante as the lover of Meleager, who metaphorically divested him of his “manly” honours. It is well known that he awarded her the spoils of the hunt not only due to her worthy performance, but also due to his consuming passion for her.

To summarize, Atalante’s masculine dress hardly receives any feminine features in ancient Greek visual culture. In Roman visual culture, however, her dress is strongly patterned after that of Diana - with her hitched-up, high-girdled *chiton*, as well as a rolled-up *himation* - and thus more feminized than ever. In fact, the huntresses are practically indistinguishable in several instances. Furthermore, the imagery tends to place more emphasis on the physical beauty and femininity of Atalante, especially in scenes where she is the love interest of Meleager.

²⁷⁶⁹ In the Pompeian wall-paintings, Meleager and Atalante have been identified as lovers, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 949. K. Lorenz argues that the main theme is the symmetrical relationship between a man and woman in love (with Meleager and Atalante serving as role models for the viewer), Lorenz 2008a, 75. 82f.

²⁷⁷⁰ In the Pompeian wall-paintings, the characterization of Atalante shifts between that of a skilled, active huntress (i.e. *virtus*) in the wild, and that of a physically beautiful, erotic woman (i.e. *pulchritudo*) in the domestic context, depending on the careful manipulation of the iconographic features (e.g. dress, stance, context) in individual scenes, Lorenz 2008a, 55-75. 82f. For further discussion, see chap. 6.3.3.2.2.

²⁷⁷¹ For an example, Lorenz 2008a, 64f. fig. 9.

²⁷⁷² For an example of Atalante hunting with a bare breast, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 944 nos. 48. 53. For an example of Atalante standing before Meleager with a bare breast, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 943 no. 39.

²⁷⁷³ For examples, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 943 no. 39; 945 no. 57.

²⁷⁷⁴ Lorenz 2008a, 59.

²⁷⁷⁵ The length of the tunic is no longer clear in these cases. For examples, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 943 nos. 34. 39; 944 nos. 44. 45.

The other huntresses - that is, Diktyнна, Kallisto, Kyrene and Prokris - are not nearly as common in Roman visual culture. In any case, the surviving examples are strongly modeled after Diana as well, with the same combination of masculine and feminine dress elements (pl. 232a).²⁷⁷⁶ The appearance of Kyrene is particularly striking: she is dressed much like the other huntresses, but uniquely strangles a lion with her bare hands (pl. 232b).²⁷⁷⁷ It is also possible to highlight the beauty and vulnerability of the other huntresses by undressing them. An excellent case in point is a silver ladle featuring Jupiter in the form of Diana assaulting Kallisto, dating to the second half of the 3rd century CE: here, he takes over the standard huntress costume of the goddess, whereas the actual huntress is portrayed as a nude, cowering woman, with the *himation* slipping off of her body (pl. 233a).²⁷⁷⁸ As such, the other, lesser-known huntresses assume similar dress as well.

6.1.1.3 Conclusions

In ancient Greek visual culture, the dress of mythical huntresses is primarily taken over from Greek men, performing their “manly” roles as hunters,²⁷⁷⁹ but already differentiated from their male counterparts by partially orientalizing²⁷⁸⁰ and feminizing their outfits.²⁷⁸¹ By the time the huntresses enter into Roman visual culture, the costume established for Artemis by the Hellenistic Period was adopted by other huntresses as well; they are therefore instantly recognizable in the visual record, but with the possibility to adjust their outfits, in order to bring out different facets of their identities.²⁷⁸²

The huntress costume in Roman visual culture primarily consists of masculine garments and accessories (e.g. short *chiton*, boots, lethal arms), which shows their preference for an active lifestyle, outside the confines of the household.²⁷⁸³ It marks its wearer as a social deviant, opposed to traditional gender roles and institutions.²⁷⁸⁴ At the same time, their dress is more feminized than ever: their essentially feminine garments (e.g. *chiton*, *himation*) are drastically manipulated (e.g. shortening, wrapping) to suit their vigorous, “manly” lifestyle, but also draped on their bodies in a manner that draws attention back to their physical characteristics (e.g. breasts, hips). Their female bodies are also more visible than ever. Sexual difference is therefore established at the same moment that the huntresses “cross-dress”, probably to hint that these women are in some sense different, or perhaps even inferior to their male counterparts. In contrast, the eastern dress basically drops out of their wardrobes. Elements like the fur boots and *nebris* remain, but fit well into their characterization as wild, untamed women. The

²⁷⁷⁶ For examples of Diktyнна, Boulotis 1986, 292 nos. 2-4. For a possible example of Kallisto, McPhee 1990, 943 no. 15. It appears that Prokris entirely drops out of Roman visual culture.

²⁷⁷⁷ For examples, Zagdoun 1992, 168 nos. 4-9. The closest iconographic parallel is Artemis/Diana attacking a deer with her bare hands; for discussion of the motif, see chap. 6.2.2.3.

²⁷⁷⁸ For the silver ladle, McPhee 1990, 941 no. 4. For another possible example, McPhee 1990, 943 no. 16.

²⁷⁷⁹ For discussion, see chap. 6.1.1.1.1.

²⁷⁸⁰ For discussion, see chap. 6.1.1.1.1.

²⁷⁸¹ For discussion, see chap. 6.1.1.1.2.

²⁷⁸² For discussion, see chap. 6.1.1.2.

²⁷⁸³ Parisinou 2002, 61f. This is argued specifically in relation to huntresses in ancient Greek visual culture, but is valid for Roman visual culture as well.

²⁷⁸⁴ Parisinou 2002, 66.

result is an indeterminate dress, typically foregrounding their masculine social identities, while still revealing their beautiful, erotic bodies.²⁷⁸⁵ It is notable that the dress of mythical warrioresses and huntresses exhibit considerable overlap in Roman visual culture.²⁷⁸⁶ These “masculine” women were clearly viewed in similar terms, despite their varying targets (men vs. beasts).

6.1.2 Towards a Visual Code - The Dress of Queen Dido in Roman Visual Culture

It seems that the adoption of the huntress costume by particular women in Roman visual culture is not merely the result of mindless copying of Greek forms - rather, this sartorial code is a convenient means of identifying them as “masculine” women.²⁷⁸⁷ The capacity of the huntress costume to signify a woman with “manly” qualities in its own right, irrespective of the narrative context, can be tested by examining newly-created heroines wearing these same garments and accessories in Roman visual culture. The following case study focuses on Dido, the legendary founder and ruler of Carthage: her dress is quite varied, but engages with this sartorial code in particular.

Dido is first mentioned in the early Hellenistic Period by Timaios of Tauromenium, a historian supposedly with access to earlier Carthaginian texts.²⁷⁸⁸ According to his account, Dido’s brother Pygmalion - the ruler of Tyre - murdered her husband out of sheer avarice. She managed to flee with their wealth to Libya. The most detailed account of Dido’s life, however, comes from Vergil’s *Aeneid*, which recounts the Trojan hero Aeneas’ sojourn at the Carthaginian court before departing for Italy and thus safeguarding the later foundation of Rome.²⁷⁸⁹ The characterization of Dido in this Augustan narrative is extremely complex. She is initially cast as an exceptional woman, adopting roles usually reserved for men. Quite significantly, Dido is referred to as a *dux femina* - that is, “commander woman” - while orchestrating an expedition to found a new city, which underscores the perceived incongruity between her feeble nature and substantial deeds.²⁷⁹⁰ At Carthage itself, Dido is cast as an intelligent and competent ruler, who successfully directs the foundation and development of the settlement, as well as defending her own people from her vengeful brother; to the Carthaginians she is just, and to the Trojans generous, offering them sanctuary before even meeting Aeneas.²⁷⁹¹ Moreover, Dido participates in the hunt and is even compared to Diana, herself an exceptional, “masculine” woman, who acts independently outside the household.²⁷⁹² It is notable that Dido adopts traditionally masculine dress on the hunt, namely, a *chlamys* and a quiver.²⁷⁹³ Since the audience would associate the short, fastened

²⁷⁸⁵ This is similar to the dress of the Amazons, see chap. 5.1.1.3

²⁷⁸⁶ Parisinou 2002, 61. This is noted specifically in relation to huntresses in ancient Greek visual culture, but is valid for Roman visual culture as well.

²⁷⁸⁷ The overall similarities in the iconography of Diana and other “manly” goddesses like Roma or Virtus, for instance, is often noted, e.g. D’Ambra 2008, 175. 181; Hansen 2007, 112f.

²⁷⁸⁸ Timaios, see FGrH 566 F 82; for discussion, Simon 1997b, 559.

²⁷⁸⁹ Verg. Aen. 1-4.

²⁷⁹⁰ Verg. Aen. 1, 364. Tac. Agr. 16, 1 likewise refers to Boudicca, the female leader of the Iceni, as a *dux femina*; for discussion on Boudicca, see chap. 2.1.2.2.4.

²⁷⁹¹ Verg. Aen. 1, 505-508; 1, 571-574; for discussion, James 2012, 389.

²⁷⁹² Verg. Aen. 1, 497-504; 4, 129-159.

²⁷⁹³ Verg. Aen. 4, 137-139.

cloak with political or military rule, the *chlamys* of Dido evokes masculine qualities like independence and leadership, thus reinforcing her characterization as a “commander woman”.²⁷⁹⁴

At the same time, Dido exhibits typically feminine characteristics, some of which are considered exemplary for women in Roman patriarchal society. She is described as *pulcherrima*, or extraordinarily beautiful.²⁷⁹⁵ Such adjectives are commonly used to praise Roman women in funerary epitaphs.²⁷⁹⁶ She acts in a motherly way toward Ascanius, the orphaned son of Aeneas.²⁷⁹⁷ She accepts Helen of Troy’s *palla* (i.e. mantle) and *velamen* (i.e. veil) as gifts from Aeneas, garments that are suggestive of not only her femininity, but also of her sense of modesty.²⁷⁹⁸ The mantle and veil are typical sartorial markers of the Roman *matrona*.²⁷⁹⁹ Moreover, the garments are particularly ornate: the mantle is embroidered with gold figures, while the veil is bordered with saffron-coloured acanthus leaves, which is an especially feminine pigment.²⁸⁰⁰ Even the traditionally masculine hunting dress adopted by Dido is feminized by adding a touch of luxury: indeed, the *chlamys* is dyed purple, adorned with an embroidered border and finally clasped with a golden fibula, while the quiver is crafted from gold.²⁸⁰¹ From the Roman perspective, the colours and materials are certainly signs of status, but also of foreign luxury, which accompanying effeminate connotations.²⁸⁰² As such, despite Dido’s traditionally masculine roles, the female nature of the ruler is never entirely suppressed here.

As the narrative progresses, the conflict between her female nature and masculine roles is increasingly problematized. She gradually succumbs to her own emotions, thus revealing a lack of self-control.²⁸⁰³ Her descent into madness commences when, under the influence of Venus, she is struck with excessive desire for Aeneas.²⁸⁰⁴ The more she “nourishes the wound in her veins, and is consumed by an unseen flame,” the more she is seen to neglect her political and religious duties: indeed, she allows the state projects to come to a standstill, and even misuses sacred ritual for erotic ends.²⁸⁰⁵ She eventually takes Aeneas as a lover, but their sexual union only leads to catastrophe: the Trojan hero inevitably departs

²⁷⁹⁴ Bender 1994, 150.

²⁷⁹⁵ Verg. Aen. 1, 496.

²⁷⁹⁶ For discussion, Von Hesberg-Tonn 1983, 214.

²⁷⁹⁷ Verg. Aen. 4, 83-85; for discussion, James 2012, 389.

²⁷⁹⁸ Verg. Aen. 1, 647-650. For discussion on the *palla* in general, Cleland et al. 2007, 136f. For discussion on the *velum* in general, Cleland et al. 2007, 206. H. Bender ascribes an alternate significance to the garments of Helen, namely, the tragedy of love leading to the downfall of a nation, Bender 1994, 150f.

²⁷⁹⁹ Sebesta 1994, 48f.

²⁸⁰⁰ For the connotations of saffron-coloured garments, Olson 2017, 141; see also chap. 3.3.1.1.2.

²⁸⁰¹ Verg. Aen. 4, 137-139.

²⁸⁰² For the connotations of purple garments (i.e. status, but potentially effeminacy), Olson 2017, 109-111. For the connotations of garments woven or embroidered with gold (i.e. luxury), Olson 2017, 115. Aeneas also wears a *laena* that is dyed with Tyrian purple and embroidered with gold (Verg. Aen. 4, 262-264), but this is a gift from Dido, signalling her desire to make him her equal partner and to integrate him into her culture; see also Bender 1994, 149f. There is another case in the text in which the *chlamys* is more obviously feminized (Verg. Aen. 11, 777): here, the eunuch Chloereus assumes the role of military leader and wears the *chlamys*, which is, however, a feminine saffron colour, in order to signify the inappropriateness of this action, Bender 1994, 150.

²⁸⁰³ For more on gendered virtues and vices, see chap. 2.1.2.1.

²⁸⁰⁴ Verg. Aen. 1, 748-749; 4, 1.

²⁸⁰⁵ Verg. Aen. 4, 2 (translation in Keith 2012, 394); for discussion, Keith 2012, 393f.

because his descendants are destined to found Rome, which leads Dido to commit suicide.²⁸⁰⁶ The case of Dido illustrates how “in Roman thinking, women and power cannot coexist. However well a woman has ruled her country, she will always fall prey to passions, especially sexual desire.”²⁸⁰⁷

Overall, Dido exhibits not only the most praiseworthy virtues in women - namely, physical beauty and motherly affection - but also men: she is a wise leader, ruling justly and even exhibits “manly” courage through the hunt. However, her excessive desire for Aeneas leads to the collapse of political and religious order at Carthage and eventually to her own death. This narrative shows that a “woman is always an unpredictable and changeable thing”, thus precluding members of her sex from wielding positions of power in Roman society as well.²⁸⁰⁸

Aeneas occasionally appears in ancient Greek visual culture, but Dido is not attested at all.²⁸⁰⁹ The first extant image of Dido is probably in a wall-painting from Terzigno, dated to the middle of the 1st century BCE, which shows the queen abandoned by Aeneas.²⁸¹⁰ It therefore seems that earlier versions of the encounter between Aeneas and Dido were known on the Bay of Naples, before appearing in Vergil’s *Aeneid* during the Augustan Period.²⁸¹¹ Afterwards, Dido only occasionally features in Roman visual culture, especially in Pompeian wall-paintings, provincial mosaics and late-antique textiles.²⁸¹² It is true that she is rather difficult to identify in the visual sources. The main issue is that her appearance is never standardized - as such, it is only possible to securely identify her with labels or by illustrating events from Vergil’s *Aeneid*.²⁸¹³ Considering the corpus of images as a whole though, the variability of Dido’s iconography is seemingly reflective of her complex, multifaceted identity. Certain masculine or feminine virtues are emphasized or, conversely, deemphasized, not merely according to the narrative context, but according to the intended evocation. It is worthwhile exploring how the artists engaged with a Greek “language of images” to evoke the positive qualities of this “commander woman” in Roman visual culture. Her weakness, on the other hand, is hardly of visual interest (pl. 233b).²⁸¹⁴

At times, the admirable, feminine character of Dido is foregrounded in the imagery. In scenes focused on the connection between Dido and Aeneas, her beauty is highlighted either by elegant, modest dress, occasionally slipping off one shoulder, or by erotic nudity (pl. 234).²⁸¹⁵ Quite notably, this dress is

²⁸⁰⁶ Verg. Aen. 4, 641-665.

²⁸⁰⁷ James 2012, 371; Keith 2012, 393f.

²⁸⁰⁸ Verg. Aen. 4, 569-570 (translation in James 2012, 371).

²⁸⁰⁹ Simon 1997a, 561. For Aeneas in the visual sources, Canciani 1981.

²⁸¹⁰ Simon 2009, 170 no. add. 4.

²⁸¹¹ Simon 2009, 170.

²⁸¹² For Dido in the visual sources, Simon 1997a; Simon 2009. The images of Dido first emerge in Italy by the middle of the 1st century BCE, but remain relatively scarce throughout the Roman Period, Simon 1997, 561.

²⁸¹³ Simon 1997a, 561; Stefanou 2006, 16f.

²⁸¹⁴ When she is abandoned by Aeneas, for instance, she is portrayed mourning but beautifully arrayed and sitting upright on her throne; for examples, Simon 1997a, 561 no. 13; Simon 2009, 170 nos. add. 4. add. 5.

²⁸¹⁵ For examples, Simon 1997a, 560 no. 7; 561 nos. 10. 10a; Simon 2009, 169 nos. add. 1. add. 2; 170 no. add. 3. Regardless of the exact narrative here, the majority of these images clearly deal with themes of love, due to either

selected to evoke sexual attractiveness independently of narrative context. This is especially clear in the case of a late 4th-century CE mosaic from a Roman villa at Low Ham (England), which is the only extant pictorial cycle of Vergil's *Aeneid* from antiquity (pl. 235).²⁸¹⁶ At the heart of the mosaic is Venus, flanked by cupids, which immediately indicates an amorous theme. Around the central field are a series of events from Vergil's *Aeneid*: the arrival of the Trojans at Carthage, Dido's reception of Aeneas, the infamous hunting expedition, and finally, Aeneas and Dido's sexual encounter. Quite notably, Dido is invariably represented nude but for the mantle, which is draped around the body to produce different effects. From a narrative standpoint, the dress is hardly fitting for the majority of the scenes.²⁸¹⁷ To focus on the hunt scene in particular, Ascanius, Aeneas and Dido ride on horseback, with Aeneas gazing back longingly at Dido. Aeneas is nude but for a bonnet, cloak and boots: this is of course unrealistic, but a common visual convention to evoke the physical fitness of men.²⁸¹⁸ Dido's dress, on the other hand, is extremely unusual: she sits astride the horse much like a man, but completely nude, with the exception of a winding mantle and boots.²⁸¹⁹ This combination of dress and actions is anomalous, since nude women on horseback are normally carried side-saddle (pl. 236a).²⁸²⁰ Overall, the cynegetic theme is almost completely subordinated to the amatory theme.²⁸²¹ Despite the queen's foray into the traditionally masculine domain, her erotic beauty is nevertheless foregrounded by her dress - or rather, her unusual state of undress in this context. The lack of interest in the hunt itself is also suggested by the absence of wild animals and even hunting gear from the scene.²⁸²²

Other times, Dido's exceptional, masculine character is foregrounded in the imagery.²⁸²³ This is especially the case in hunting scenes: here, Dido usually hunts on horseback, with a short *chiton*, *chlamys*, boots and spear, which overall evokes the "manly" courage of the woman.²⁸²⁴ Quite notably, however, her dress is to some extent feminized. On a late-antique mosaic from Hama (Syria), Dido appears to have just struck down a lion with her spear (pl. 236b).²⁸²⁵ She is dressed in the short *chiton* and *chlamys*, but a few typically feminine sartorial features are evident as well, such as the high girdling and long overfall; moreover, she wears a diadem, bracelets and earrings. A similar case is offered by a late-antique mosaic from a villa at Halicarnassus, which is no longer extant.²⁸²⁶ The visual

the actions of Aeneas and Dido (e.g. making eye contact, embracing), or due to the inclusion of other attributes related to love (e.g. Venus, cupids).

²⁸¹⁶ For the mosaic, Simon 1997a, 560 no. 7; 561 nos. 10. 10a; Stefanou 2006, 25-32.

²⁸¹⁷ It is only naturally fitting for the lovemaking scene.

²⁸¹⁸ Ascanius wears a bonnet and contemporary hunting dress (i.e. long-sleeved, belted tunic, cloak, boots).

²⁸¹⁹ The Nereids, for instance, are portrayed nude on the backs of hippocamps, but are always carried side saddle, just like proper women; for examples, Icard-Gianolio - Szabados 1992, 790-795 nos. 25-121.

²⁸²⁰ For examples, Icard-Gianolio - Szabados 1992, 790-795 nos. 25-121.

²⁸²¹ Stefanou 2005, 29.

²⁸²² Stefanou 2006, 29.

²⁸²³ Dido is depicted as a city founder on coins minted at Tyros during the first half of the 3rd century CE, Simon 1997, 560 no. 1. Unfortunately, the appearance of her dress is not so clear here.

²⁸²⁴ For examples, Simon 1997a, 560f. nos. 4. 6. 7a. 7b. 8. 9; Simon 2009, 169 nos. 6. 7.

²⁸²⁵ For the mosaic, Simon 1997a, 560 no. 7b; Simon 2009, 169 no. 7b; Stefanou 2006, 25.

²⁸²⁶ For the mosaic, Simon 1997a, 560 no. 6; Simon 2009, 169 no. 6; Stefanou 2006, 19-25. A description from the 19th century indicates that Aeneas and Dido were labelled and shown hunting on horseback, see Newton 1962, 285.

format mirrored that of Meleager and Atalante on the opposite side of the room (pl. 237). Dido took aim at a predatory animal, while seated sidesaddle on the horse, which is a particularly feminine mode of riding in the ancient visual culture (e.g. Diana, Epona).²⁸²⁷ Furthermore, Dido wore a sort of close-fitting, knee-length tunic, which was on the one hand standard for the hunt, but on the other hand feminized: it was not only saffron-coloured, but also revealed one breast. She wore a red mantle over the shoulders. Overall, her takeover of masculine roles and dress is generally accompanied by feminizations. These slightly diverge from the norms of hunters, in order to reinforce sexual difference.

Of considerable interest to the current examination is a children's sarcophagus featuring the hunting expedition from Vergil's *Aeneid*, produced in the middle of the 2nd century CE and discovered at the Via Cassia near Grottarossa (pl. 238a).²⁸²⁸ Despite the traditionally masculine theme, a seven-year-old girl was interred here.²⁸²⁹ Whether the sarcophagus was specially commissioned for the young girl, or merely selected from the available stock, is uncertain.²⁸³⁰ On the one hand, the subject matter is unique, suggesting that this sarcophagus was in fact custom-made;²⁸³¹ on the other hand, specially commissioned sarcophagi for children are hardly viable, considering that their deaths are usually sudden.²⁸³² Nevertheless, since the body was mummified, there was presumably sufficient time to commission a sarcophagus, however unexpected her death might have been.²⁸³³ In either case, the material offers valuable insight into the selection of a traditionally masculine theme to honour the female deceased, as well as the manner in which the symmetrization of the sexes and their virtues is negotiated in the visual language.

The start of the visual narrative on the left side primarily indicates the geographic context: here, Africa sits next to a mountain god, as Venus watches the events unfold.²⁸³⁴ The front side is divided into three sections: the departure for the hunt, the journey to the hunt, and finally the hunt itself. In the first section, Dido stands between Aeneas and Ascanius outside an arched gateway, while the others assist with hunting preparations. The sexual interest between Dido and Aeneas is clearly indicated by the

²⁸²⁷ For examples of Diana riding side saddle, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 821 no. 159; 828f. nos. 262. 266. 266a. 267. Epona is virtually always depicted riding side-saddle, see Boucher 1990.

²⁸²⁸ For the sarcophagus, Backe-Dahmen 2006, 214f. cat. S 16; Dimas 1998, 130-132 cat. 351; Geyer 1989, 192; Grassinger 1999, 91-98; 222 cat. 68; Huskinson 1996, 27 cat. 2.4; Koch - Sichtermann 1982, 24f. footnote 15; 134; Simon 1997a, 560 no. 4.

²⁸²⁹ For discussion on the burial, Grassinger 1999, 98. Another girl, named Saturnina, was buried in a sarcophagus with a hunting theme as well, Huskinson 1996, 51 cat. 6.44; 115.

²⁸³⁰ For general discussion on the production of Roman sarcophagi for children, Huskinson 1996, 79f. In general, specially commissioned sarcophagi for children were presumably uncommon, since the death was usually unexpected. There are, however, possible examples of specially commissioned sarcophagi for children, which perhaps even play with gender (e.g. sarcophagus of Octavia Paulina, see chap. 7.3; app. C).

²⁸³¹ Backe-Dahmen 2006, 112; Huskinson 1996, 25f.; Koch - Sichtermann 1982, 134.

²⁸³² Huskinson 1996, 80.

²⁸³³ J. Huskinson suggests that the girl died in Egypt and was mummified so that the body could be preserved and transported back to Rome for burial, Huskinson 1996, 103.

²⁸³⁴ The river personification identified by D. Grassinger (see Grassinger 1999, 93) is probably better understood as a mountain divinity, since he is holding a tree and sitting on a rock, and attributes typically associated with river divinities are absent (the horns are merely auxiliary attributes, not identifying ones).

cupid between them, whose lowered torch signifies either an ill-fated desire,²⁸³⁵ or one that is not yet fully inflamed.²⁸³⁶ The iconography of Aeneas and Ascanius is standard in Roman visual culture: the former wears a military outfit, and the latter an eastern costume.²⁸³⁷ Dido's dress merits particular consideration here. She wears a diadem in her hair. She also wears a knee-length *chiton*, but with feminine sartorial features (e.g. high girdling, relatively long overfall). A *chlamys* is fastened on her right shoulder, and then draped over her left arm. She wears fur boots. She also has a quiver on the right shoulder, and carries two spears in the right hand. Since the overall costume is typically worn by huntresses like Diana and Atalante, the same role is clearly ascribed to Dido as well.²⁸³⁸ The diadem and the *chlamys* are, however, not standard features of other huntresses.²⁸³⁹ The diadem signifies her role as the ruler of Carthage, as a sign of her high-class femininity. The short, fastened cloak probably references the well-known Sidonian *chlamys* mentioned in Vergil's *Aeneid*, which reinforces the characterization of Dido as a "commander woman".²⁸⁴⁰ At the very least, the *chlamys* is adopted from male figures: indeed, her cloak is the same as those worn by Aeneas and Ascanius here, but perhaps the fabric was originally feminized through colour and decoration.

In the following two scenes - namely, the journey and the hunt itself - Dido drops out of the narrative entirely. The central scene features Ascanius in eastern costume, heading to the hunt on horseback and accompanied by men carrying nets and leading a dog on foot. In the final scene, Ascanius hunts a fleeing stag on foot, assisted by a mature, bearded man, probably Aeneas himself.²⁸⁴¹ Here, Ascanius exchanges his eastern costume for an *exomis*, cloak and boots, which is typical hunting dress. If the bearded hunter is in fact Aeneas, then the hero likewise resurfaces in hunting dress. On the right side of the sarcophagus, Ascanius appears once more in the same outfit, but on horseback, attempting to spear a charging boar. The lid features a "realistic" hunting scene with feline predators.

The significance of the iconography to the young girl in the sarcophagus is debated. Mythological imagery on Roman funerary monuments is a valuable site for self-representation and commemoration, opening up an imaginary space not only for the expression of private emotions of love and loss, but also of the virtues of the deceased.²⁸⁴² By the middle of the Antonine Period, the visual metaphor is occasionally intensified by furnishing the mythological protagonists with individualized portraits of the deceased or other family members. This is not, however, the case here. In the absence of direct identifications, the mythological imagery for funerary monuments is freely selected, even irrespective

²⁸³⁵ Aichholzer 1983, 34f.

²⁸³⁶ Grassinger 1999, 93.

²⁸³⁷ Grassinger 1999, 94.

²⁸³⁸ Grassinger 1999, 94.

²⁸³⁹ Artemis/Diana sometimes wears the diadem, but the attribute is connected to her divinity and femininity. If Diana and Atalante wear a mantle at all, then the fabric is either rolled-up and wrapped under their breasts or lightly draped on their bodies.

²⁸⁴⁰ Simon 1997a, 560 no. 4. For the significance of the Sidonian *chlamys*, Bender 1994, 150.

²⁸⁴¹ The man is bearded, just like Aeneas in the first scene, Dimas 199, 131f. Training young men to hunt was considered an ideal, Simon 1970, 216-219.

²⁸⁴² For discussion on interpreting mythological imagery on Roman sarcophagi, see chap. 1.3.

of gender. For instance, the majority of Roman funerary altars featuring the abduction of Proserpina are actually dedicated to men, to express the suddenness and violence of death in a general way.²⁸⁴³ On the other hand, the imagery might partially align with gender, especially in the case of specially commissioned or freely re-worked funerary monuments. For instance, the sarcophagus of Octavia Paulina - who died at the age of six - features a victorious female athlete, which is a special adaption of a *palaestra* iconography that is usually completely male (pl. 238b).²⁸⁴⁴ Both factors require examination here: that is, the inexhaustibility of mythical imagery to explore the emotions and virtues of mortals, as well as the considerations of sex and gender that could nevertheless occur.

The main theme of the sarcophagus, as well as its relevance to the deceased, deserves consideration in its own right, especially by casting aside gender expectations. The focus of the sarcophagus with the hunt scene from Vergil's *Aeneid* is not Aeneas or Dido, but rather Ascanius.²⁸⁴⁵ He not only features four times on the casket, but also assumes the central position on the front side. For this reason, the deceased is commemorated with particular reference to Ascanius: his youthful exploits are suitable for honouring a child, whose future had seemed bright and promising.²⁸⁴⁶ There is, however, seemingly more to the connection. The deer hunt is an act through which Ascanius displays his budding *virtus* ("manliness"), signifying qualities like strength, bravery and overall excellence.²⁸⁴⁷ It is true that striking down a fleeing deer is not particularly challenging or courageous, and hence more suitable for children.²⁸⁴⁸ Nevertheless, his subsequent confrontation with the foaming boar indicates that his *virtus* will fully blossom. As such, the seven-year-old girl was celebrated for her *virtus* in particular, regardless of her immaturity and female sex.²⁸⁴⁹ Whether or not the sarcophagus was specially commissioned, the theme was evidently considered suitable for a maiden.²⁸⁵⁰ It is possible that the hunting imagery celebrates her family as well, as a potential reference to their equestrian rank.²⁸⁵¹

Whether Dido presents any special gendered significance to the female burial deserves further consideration. At one extreme, it has been argued that Dido is shown in huntress costume merely to indicate that the first scene features the departure for the hunt, since Aeneas is in military dress and Ascanius is in eastern costume.²⁸⁵² There are, however, other clear references to the hunt: the father and son at least hold spears; there is a horse leader and net carrier in the background; and the

²⁸⁴³ Newby 2016, 277f. 318.

²⁸⁴⁴ For the sarcophagus, see chap. 7.3; app. C.

²⁸⁴⁵ Grassinger 1999, 96. 98; Dimas 1998, 130-132.

²⁸⁴⁶ Grassinger 1999, 96. 98. As argued by H. Wrede, mythological imagery serves to elevate children, whose stolen, unformed lives lack clear achievements, Wrede 1981, 108.

²⁸⁴⁷ S. Dimas argues that the overall format (i.e. the departure and then action) is similar to the *profectio*/hunt format, which was invented to express the *virtus* of the emperor, and then adopted into private memorials, Dimas 1998, 130. For discussion on the hunt as a sign of *virtus* in Roman visual culture, see chap. 6.2.3.4.

²⁸⁴⁸ For discussion on Roman perspectives on the deer hunt, Grassinger 1999, 94f.

²⁸⁴⁹ Dimas 1998, 132; Backe-Dahmen 2006, 112. 117.

²⁸⁵⁰ For discussion on women and *virtus*, see chap. 7.5.1.

²⁸⁵¹ Grassinger 1999, 98; Dimas 1998, 131.

²⁸⁵² Grassinger 1999, 94f.

subsequent scenes clarify this matter. This interpretation unnecessarily downplays the significance of her role as a huntress. At the other extreme, attempts have been made to reconcile the use of a hunt sarcophagus for a young girl by arguing that the deceased was likened to Dido in particular.²⁸⁵³ It has even been claimed that Dido is presented as particularly childlike for this reason, but there is no clear indication of this.²⁸⁵⁴ The connection between Dido and the female deceased is seen to depend primarily on their untimely deaths, as well as their extraordinary beauty.²⁸⁵⁵ Even the huntress costume of Dido is interpreted as a sign of her beauty, since she is praised for this quality while being compared to Diana in Vergil's *Aeneid*.²⁸⁵⁶ The overall interpretation is problematic, since Dido is treated as the sole role model for the girl. Moreover, she is understood in exclusively feminine terms, as a paragon of beauty, to align with gender expectations for the commemoration of the girl.

As such, the significance of Dido has been either overemphasized or entirely downplayed - neither approach seems useful for understanding her relevance to the female deceased. Since direct portrait identifications are lacking here, a more holistic, integrative approach to the imagery is merited. The main theme of the sarcophagus is the budding *virtus* ("manliness") of Ascanius, which is evoked through the hunt and conferred on the maiden. It therefore seems that the representation of Dido in traditionally masculine dress, departing for the hunt, should be understood in this connection: she is presented as a female analogue to the hunters, as a woman who exhibits *virtus* through the same pursuit. Dido mirrors Aeneas in terms of her stance and outfit: indeed, both wear a short tunic and *chlamys* (draped over one arm), as well as fur boots, and ready their spears for the hunt, so that the sexes are partially symmetrized. Even in Vergil's *Aeneid*, Dido's connection to Diana is understood not merely in terms of beauty, but also in terms of initiative and leadership.²⁸⁵⁷

The extension of *virtus* to the female deceased nevertheless entails a careful negotiation of gender in the imagery. Dido's dress is closely modeled after that of Diana, with feminine sartorial features that establish sexual difference. Moreover, Dido is absent from the hunt itself. Since Aeneas likely assists Ascanius with the stag, her absence from the trio is all the more striking: indeed, she dresses for the act, but in the end, only the males follow through. In fact, Dido's most significant relationship is not with the hunting party as a whole, but with Aeneas: the two face each other, and the presence of cupid reminds the viewer of the desire between them.

Overall, the imagery of the hunt sarcophagus reveals a complex negotiation of gender, presumably because it commemorates a young girl.²⁸⁵⁸ Perhaps the sarcophagus was even specially commissioned

²⁸⁵³ Geyer 1989, 194f.; Simon 1997a, 561.

²⁸⁵⁴ Simon 1997a, 561.

²⁸⁵⁵ Geyer 1989, 194f.; Simon 1997a, 561.

²⁸⁵⁶ Verg. Aen. 1, 495-503, Simon 1997a, 561.

²⁸⁵⁷ Verg. Aen. 1, 495-503.

²⁸⁵⁸ It is true that Dido's adoption of masculine roles and dress usually involves some degree of feminization in Roman visual culture, but the phenomenon is particularly pronounced here.

with such concerns in mind. The girl is celebrated in terms of *virtus*, which is, however, seen to manifest itself differently, or perhaps even inferiorly, in members of her own sex. Indeed, Dido is typically dressed as a huntress to actually engage in the hunt, but here the role is ultimately left to Ascanius and, quite likely, Aeneas. Instead, the amorousness between Aeneas and Dido is highlighted, which perhaps touches on the theme of *concordia*, necessary for conjugal happiness.²⁸⁵⁹ In scenes in which Dido wears her huntress costume, the theme of sexual desire is typically only of subordinate importance, so the focus on this theme here is rather marked.²⁸⁶⁰ The evocation of love (or even *concordia*) is probably intended to lament the un-lived life of the little girl: indeed, the maiden will never assume her traditional roles as wife and mother. As such, the “manly” *virtus* of the female deceased is highly qualified here, as well as balanced by other virtues.

To summarize, Dido is not attested in the visual record until the middle of the 1st century BCE in Campania. She was of no interest to the Greeks, unlike the Romans, especially after the release of Vergil’s *Aeneid*. Although Greek models for Dido were entirely lacking, the Romans clearly engaged with a Greek “language of images” to create an iconography for Dido that reflects her multifaceted identity. For the evocation of “manly” virtues like strength and courage, there was already a suitable Greek model at hand: the overall huntress costume - i.e. short tunic, boots, weapons - situates Dido within a broader semantic system developed by the Greeks and consciously adopted by the Romans to signify a “masculine” woman. The outfit is not merely practical, but also symbolic: indeed, it is possible for Dido to appear in a hunting setting not only in the huntress costume, to foreground her “manly” qualities, but even nude, to foreground her sexual desirability. A few supplementary attributes are added to the huntress costume as well: the diadem identifies Dido as a female ruler, whereas the *chlamys* reinforces her characterization as a “commander woman”. It is true that she wears traditionally masculine dress, for a traditionally masculine pursuit. Nevertheless, her arrogation of masculine privileges is usually accompanied by a certain degree of feminization, to reinforce sexual difference. This visual negotiation of gender is especially pronounced on the children’s sarcophagus featuring the hunting expedition from Vergil’s *Aeneid*, presumably because the imagery refers to the virtue of the female deceased.²⁸⁶¹ It undoubtedly confers *virtus* on her, but without calling traditional hierarchies into question.

²⁸⁵⁹ Dimas 1998, 131. Aeneas and Dido are not physically touching, but perhaps other details in the iconography (i.e. facing each other, cupid with the lowered torch) signal the (lost) potential for conjugal harmony between them; for discussion on *concordia* in Roman visual culture in general, see chap. 7.5.2.5.1.

²⁸⁶⁰ One possible exception is a 5th-century CE ivory diptych, which perhaps depicts Aeneas and Dido next to each other, as a pendant to Hippolytus and Phaedra; for the diptych, Simon 1997a, 561 no. 11; Volbach 1976, 57 cat. 66. Here, Aeneas and Dido wear similar hunting outfits. The main theme, however, is not the hunt, but the desire between Aeneas and Dido. Indeed, Aeneas and Dido stand isolated in a frame, with Dido affectionately touching Aeneas’s chin and cupid hovering between them.

²⁸⁶¹ This unique, perhaps specially commissioned sarcophagus offers insight into the issue of ascribing *virtus* to the female deceased on funerary monuments, even without direct portrait identifications. It is beyond the scope of this analysis to explore this issue further. The rest of this analysis explores this phenomenon in the case of funerary monuments with direct portrait identifications, where the deployment of a traditionally masculine code is even more problematic and limited.

6.2 Portraits of Women as Diana

6.2.1 Introduction

Diana had many faces in antiquity, as a virginal goddess concerned with not only fertility and rites of passage, but also sickness and death.²⁸⁶² As a huntress, she rejects traditional role for women like marriage and childbearing, and instead takes on roles reserved for men. Quite strikingly, preadolescent girls and married women alike were immortalized in the guise of Diana in freestanding statuary, altars and sarcophagi.²⁸⁶³ These commemorative monuments are attested between the late 1st century CE and into the 3rd century CE, especially in the sepulchral context of Rome and its environs.

At first glance, the creation of such portraits not only for maidens, but also for wives and mothers, is surprising. The image of a wild woman engaging in the hunt would seem difficult to reconcile with traditional female roles and virtues: indeed, it might recall women like Maevia, who is criticized for baring her breasts and spearing Tuscan boars.²⁸⁶⁴

The following analysis evaluates how Diana became a beloved role model for girls and women alike in private portraiture. Since the extant portraits are fairly heterogeneous, each case demands consideration on an individual basis, before offering a synthesis of the monuments.²⁸⁶⁵ Were there perhaps imperial models for this kind of portraiture? Finally, an overarching interpretation of the portraiture will be offered, especially in terms of its capacity to express private emotions and virtues.

6.2.2 Overview of the Monuments

6.2.2.1 Portraits of Girls as Diana

There are a few altars portraying girls in the guise of Diana, or at least with the divine attributes of the goddess. The first example is the marble altar featuring Aelia Procula as Diana, which is now located in

²⁸⁶² For Artemis/Diana in the literary sources, Kahil - Icard 1984, 618-621; Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 792-795.

²⁸⁶³ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, DIA1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. This assessment also includes portraits of women (or their stand-ins) closely associated with the attributes of Diana, see DIA 3. 9. It also includes demythologized portraits of women as Diana (i.e. portraits of women who look like Diana, but are not necessarily identifiable as Diana), see DIA 16. 17. 18.

²⁸⁶⁴ Iuv. 1, 22-23; Wrede 1981, 148.

²⁸⁶⁵ A number of alleged portraits have been excluded from the analysis here: 1) a statue of Diana in the Vatican's Gabinetto delle Maschere because the portrait head of Domitia Longina did not originally belong to the statue; for the statue, Wrede 1981, 222f. cat. 82; 2) a statue of Diana in the Palazzo Colonna (Giardino), since the head is modern; for the statue, Wrede 1981, 225 cat. 89; 3) a statue of Diana in the Palazzo Colonna, since there is considerable doubt that the portrait head (from ca. 230 CE) originally belonged to the statue (seemingly dating to the Hadrianic or Antonine Period); for the statue, Carinci 1990, 114f. cat. 61; 4) three portrait busts of girls in the Davis Museum at Wellesley College, the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Yale University Art Gallery respectively, since the attributes are not sufficient to secure an identification as Diana; for the portrait busts, Backe-Dahmen, 200f. cat. F 101; 201 cat. F 102; Fittschen 1992; Allen 1996; Matheson 2014; 5) a statue of a nude female with a strap across the chest at the Soprintendenza in Milan, since this is probably identifiable as an armed Venus; for the statue, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 845 no. 360; 6) a painting of Diana in a tondo from the Casa di Loreio Tiburtino at Pompeii, since the identification as a portrait of a girl is not certain (the identification of portraits in wall-paintings is fraught with difficulties in general, due to the idealizing tendencies); for the wall-painting, Nowicka 1993, 132; Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 817 no. 119.

the Musée de Louvre (pl. 15a).²⁸⁶⁶ It dates to ca. 140 CE.²⁸⁶⁷ The altar was discovered in Rome, along the Via Appia Antica near S. Sebastiano: as such, it was probably set up in a tomb precinct in the area. The block was hollowed out to receive the remains of the deceased and then covered with a crowning ornament.²⁸⁶⁸ The front side of the altar displays the portrait figure in an *aedicula* in the upper-middle section, surrounded by an inscription. The text fills much of the surface: D. M. / SACRVM / DEANAE ET / MEMORIAE / AELIAE / PROCVLAE / P. AELIVS ASCLEPIACVS / AVG. LIB. / ET VLPIA PRISCILLA FILIAE / DVLCISSIMAE FECERVNT.²⁸⁶⁹ The funerary altar was therefore dedicated not only to Aelia Procula, but also to the goddess Diana herself.²⁸⁷⁰ Furthermore, she was commemorated by her own mother and father, P. Aelius Asclepiacus and Ulpia Priscilla. The father's name is accompanied by the abbreviation AVG. LIB., which identifies him as a freedman of Hadrian; moreover, the *cognomen* refers to the god of medicine, suggesting that he worked as a doctor for the imperial family.²⁸⁷¹ The mother's name likewise hints at her descent from a freedman of Trajan.²⁸⁷² She is also praised for her sweet nature.

While the epigraphic commemoration of Aelia Procula is entirely conventional and honours her in traditionally feminine terms, the same is hardly true of the portrait figure. This is set into an arched niche flanked by two pilasters, which resembles the *aediculae* of personal portrait galleries in tombs.²⁸⁷³ Her head - which faces the viewer directly - exhibits the individualized features of a young girl, like a round face, chubby cheeks and small chin; nevertheless, her overall dour expression, with its intense gaze and pursed lips, lends the portrait an air of maturity and seriousness.²⁸⁷⁴ As such, the physiognomy contains "markers of a sullen or headstrong character," which stand in striking contrast to the sweetness attributed to her.²⁸⁷⁵ The hairstyle, with a braid down the central part and ringlets at the temples, is also typical of portraiture for young girls.²⁸⁷⁶ The portrait head of Aelia Procula is combined with the body of the Versailles-Leptis Magna Artemis (pl. 222a).²⁸⁷⁷ This statuary type - usually attributed to Leochares - was first created in Attica about 350/340 BCE, and frequently reproduced in the Roman Imperial Period; it is, in fact, the most popular version of Diana running in short attire.²⁸⁷⁸ It is notable that the Versailles-Leptis Magna Artemis strongly emphasizes her role as huntress: she

²⁸⁶⁶ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, DIA1.

²⁸⁶⁷ Wrede 1981, 226 cat. 91.

²⁸⁶⁸ Backe-Dahmen 2006, 161f. cat. A 33.

²⁸⁶⁹ For the inscription, CIL 06, 10958.

²⁸⁷⁰ The abbreviation D.M. indicates that the altar is also dedicated to the Dii Manes, the spirits of the dead. The fact that the funerary altar is dedicated not only to Aelia Procula, but also to Diana, raises questions about the additional motivations for depicting this girl in her guise. Perhaps the family had a special connection to Diana, or perceived her as a special protector for their daughter. In any case, the mythological portrait would have still functioned as usual, as an expression of emotions and virtues.

²⁸⁷¹ D'Ambra 2008, 172.

²⁸⁷² D'Ambra 2008, 172.

²⁸⁷³ D'Ambra 2008, 172f.

²⁸⁷⁴ For the portrait features, Wrede 1981, 226 cat. 91; D'Ambra 2008, 173f.

²⁸⁷⁵ D'Ambra 2008, 173f.

²⁸⁷⁶ Wrede 1981, 226 cat. 91. For examples of portraits of girls with a braid down the central part, Backe-Dahmen 2006, 167 cat. F 8; 168f. cat. F 13; 169f. cat. F 15; 173 cat. F 24.

²⁸⁷⁷ Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 818f. no. 137.

²⁸⁷⁸ For the Versailles-Leptis Magna Artemis, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 805f. no. 27.

actively strides forward with her hunting dog, reaching for an arrow in the quiver on her right shoulder, to shoot with the bow in her outstretched left hand.²⁸⁷⁹ She nevertheless gazes in the opposite direction as her prey, admiring the broader landscape. As such, Aelia Procula “embodies the goddess’ grace, her swiftness, agility, and fierce pursuit of her prey, demonstrating her prowess in the hunt.”²⁸⁸⁰ Her dress combines a mixture of masculine and feminine elements, primarily taken over from the Versailles Leptis-Magna Artemis. She is dressed in a sleeveless, high-girdled *chiton*, hitched up to just above the knees. The material reveals finer details of the underlying body (e.g. the navel) and billows due to the swift movement. Unlike the Versailles-Leptis Magna Artemis, however, her *chiton* is detached at the shoulder, thus exposing the right breast.²⁸⁸¹ Mythical huntresses are occasionally shown with a bare breast to accentuate their active, manlike behaviour, but the motif also draws attention back to their female nature.²⁸⁸² Moreover, her *himation* is not coiled under the breasts as usual, but draped over the left shoulder, with the fabric billowing out to either side. She wears sandals on the feet. Overall, Aelia Procula is portrayed with a short tunic and hunting gear, which is masculine dress, but softened by a host of feminine traits. She is also accompanied by her loyal dog, running with her.²⁸⁸³

The second marble altar, now in the Museo delle navi romane di Nemi, shows Aelia Tyche as Diana (pl. 15b).²⁸⁸⁴ It is dated to between 140-150 CE.²⁸⁸⁵ The altar was discovered at Rome, at the vineyards of the Aquari on the Via Latina, in the area of a burial chamber attributed to the *gens* Allidia. The upper surface has three cavities to receive the remains of the deceased, which were covered with a crowning ornament.²⁸⁸⁶ The front of the altar displays the portrait figure, whereas the sides are decorated with an *urceus* and *patera*. There is also an inscription on its base: DIS MANIBVS / AELIAE TYCHE P. AELIVS HELIX ET AELIA TYCHE / PARENTES FILIAE PISSIMIAE ET AELIA MARCIANA / SORORI OPTIMAE FECERVNT ET SIBI POSTERISQVE SVIS.²⁸⁸⁷ This indicates that the funerary altar was dedicated to Aelia Tyche by her mother and father, P. Aelius Helix and Aelia Tyche, as well as by her sister, Aelia Marciana.²⁸⁸⁸ She is merely praised as a loyal daughter and the best sister.

²⁸⁷⁹ Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 805f.

²⁸⁸⁰ D’Ambra 2008, 174.

²⁸⁸¹ D’Ambra 2008, 174.

²⁸⁸² For discussion on the bare breast of huntresses, see chaps. 6.1.1.1.1; 6.1.1.1.2.4. E. D’Ambra offer a similar explanation: she argues that the general overlap in the nature of the Amazons and Diana (as untamed virgins, assuming active roles in the wild) allows for the transfer of the bare breast of the Amazons to Diana on DIA1 and DIA2; she also notes the connection to “manly” personifications like Virtus and Roma, D’Ambra 2008, 175. 181.

²⁸⁸³ Both the stag and the dog were options for copies of the Versailles-Leptis Magna Artemis (see Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 805 no. 27), but the dog was favoured here.

²⁸⁸⁴ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, DIA2.

²⁸⁸⁵ Wrede 1981, 226f. cat. 92.

²⁸⁸⁶ Granino Cecere 2001, 287.

²⁸⁸⁷ For the inscription, CIL 06, 6826.

²⁸⁸⁸ The abbreviation D.M. indicates that the altar is also dedicated to the *Dii Manes*; moreover, the standard dedication “et sibi posterisque suis” means that the funerary altar is also dedicated to their descendants. For discussion on patrons preparing funerary monument for themselves during their lifetimes, Bielfeldt 2019.

The portrait figure of Aelia Tyche fills the entire front side of the funerary altar. Her physiognomic features indicate that she is not so young anymore and seemingly on the verge of maturity.²⁸⁸⁹ She is shown with a rounded face, but relatively sharp cheekbones, pursed lips and jutting ears.²⁸⁹⁰ These features evoke a severe and even uncompromising character.²⁸⁹¹ Moreover, the coiffure - with braids coiled into a bun on the summit of the head - is typical of women in the middle of the 2nd century CE.²⁸⁹² The hairstyle was not common for girls, suggesting that she is portrayed as exceptionally mature here.²⁸⁹³ The portrait figure is modeled after the Versailles-Lepta Magna Artemis, and therefore nearly identical to that of Aelia Procula.²⁸⁹⁴ The main difference is that Aelia Tyche wears fur boots in order to evoke her active, “manlike” nature - due to their association with men - as an untamed female outside of the normal social order.²⁸⁹⁵ She runs with her dog through the forest, as indicated by the tree in the background, which is clearly a vestige of a freestanding statue support.²⁸⁹⁶ Overall, the monument praises her traditional feminine virtues (i.e. piety, general excellence), but shows her in an unconventional, masculine role and dress.

The final marble funerary altar of interest, now in the Musée de Louvre, portrays Cornelia Tyche and her daughter Iulia Secunda, who are identified with Fortuna and Diana respectively (pl. 16a).²⁸⁹⁷ The funerary altar is dated to between 160-170 CE.²⁸⁹⁸ The monument first surfaced in the Campus Martius at Rome.²⁸⁹⁹ The front side of the altar resembles a funereal *aedicula* with busts of the deceased, accompanied by a variety of inscriptions. The standard dedication to the Dii Manes is located in the pediment. The inscription in the architrave, directly above the two portrait busts, indicates that Iulius Secundus dedicated the monument to his daughter, Iulia Secunda, and to his wife, Cornelia Tyche.²⁹⁰⁰ Beneath each bust is yet another inscription, extolling the virtues of the deceased. The text under Iulia Secunda reads: ET FORMA SINGVLARI ET / MORIBVS PIISSIMIS DOCTRI/NAQ. SVPER LEGITIMAM / SEXVS SVI AETATEM PRAE/STANTISSIMAE QVAE VIXIT / ANNIS XI MENS VIII / D XX.²⁹⁰¹ This indicates that she died at the age of eleven. She is honoured for her unique beauty, her pious habits and her learning, which surpasses the expectations of girls her age.²⁹⁰² The text under Cornelia Tyche reads: ET

²⁸⁸⁹ E. D’Ambra suggests that the girl is between the ages of 10 and 14, D’Ambra 2008, 175.

²⁸⁹⁰ For the portrait features, D’Ambra 2008, 175.

²⁸⁹¹ D’Ambra 2008, 175.

²⁸⁹² Wrede 1981, 222 cat. 92.

²⁸⁹³ This bun of coiled braids is common for adult women, but attested among girls as well; for examples, Backe-Dahmen 2006, 184 cat. F 55; DIA7.

²⁸⁹⁴ DIA1.

²⁸⁹⁵ For discussion on fur boots, see chaps. 3.2.3.3; 3.4. See also E. D’Ambra’s commentary on the boots of Diana on DIA4 (apparently with panthers’ heads), D’Ambra 2008, 177f.

²⁸⁹⁶ Granino Cecere 2001, 288.

²⁸⁹⁷ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, DIA3.

²⁸⁹⁸ Wrede 1981, 227 cat. 93.

²⁸⁹⁹ Backe-Dahmen 2006, 162f. cat. A 35.

²⁹⁰⁰ The inscription reads: VLIAE SECVNDAE FILIAE CORNELIAE TYCHES VXORIS. (The name of the husband and father is on the lost inscription on the side of the funerary altar).

²⁹⁰¹ For the inscription, CIL 06, 20674.

²⁹⁰² Note that praise of the prodigiously clever child, who equals or surpasses adults in her or her short life, is popular in epitaphs, Huskinson 1996, 94.

INCOMPARABILIS ERGA / MARITVM AFFECTVS SANCTI/TATISQUE ET EXIMIAE ERGA LIBEROS PIETATIS
QVAE / VIXIT ANNIS XXXVIII MENS / IIII D VII EXIS MECVM / AN(N...).²⁹⁰³ This indicates that she died at the age of thirty-nine. She is honoured for her incomparable affection and devotion to her husband, as well as for her dutifulness to her children. The side of the altar featured an epigram about the tragic death of the mother and daughter, who were shipwrecked off the Spanish coast (pl. 16b).

The portrait busts of the deceased are displayed in high-relief within the recess of the *aedicula*, flanked by Corinthian columns. The portrait bust of Iulia Secunda to the right is slightly smaller than that of Cornelia Tyche to the left; their heads are nevertheless raised to the same level by acanthus calyxes, which are typically associated with funerary portraiture.²⁹⁰⁴ The two portrait busts are slightly inclined towards each other, with the mother turning her head to look at her daughter. The facial features of the woman are mature, but exhibit a classicizing beauty. Her hairstyle - which is parted down the middle, with waves of crimped hair falling over the temples, and braids coiled into a bun on her head - first became fashionable in the Hadrianic era, but seems to resemble that of Faustina Maior in particular.²⁹⁰⁵ Her daughter exhibits a more youthful physiognomy. Her coiffure - which is parted down the middle, with wispy hair over the temples, and stands gathered into a node at the back - is similar to that of Lucilla.²⁹⁰⁶ The dress of the mother and daughter is nearly identical. Both wear a tunic with v-shaped folds, which outline the curves of their breasts, although the fabric of the girl's tunic is softer and more revealing. Their mantles are draped over the shoulders.

Neither Cornelia Tyche nor Iulia Secunda is portrayed in the guise of a specific mythical figure. For the divine identification, it is necessary to turn to the iconography of the curved pediment above the busts.²⁹⁰⁷ At the center is a double-throne, referred to as a *bisellium*. To the left are the bow and quiver, the divine attributes of Diana; to the right are the cornucopia, torch, wheel and rudder set on a sphere, which are the divine attributes of Fortuna. The overall iconography hints at the allegorical "private apotheosis" of these women. Indeed, the *bisellium* is typically reserved for deities, in this case Diana and Fortuna due to the attributes next to them. That the double-throne is nevertheless intended for Iulia Secunda and Cornelia Tyche is evident, due to the careful alignment of the dedicatory inscriptions and portrait busts with the *bisellium* and the divine attributes. Moreover, the cognomen of the mother already refers to the goddess of fortune and therefore confirms the identification.²⁹⁰⁸ Overall, Iulia Secunda and Cornelia Tyche are not dressed as Diana and Fortuna, but identified with the goddesses through the *bisellium* with divine attributes.

²⁹⁰³ For the inscription, CIL 06, 20674.

²⁹⁰⁴ For the funerary significance of the acanthus calyxes, Wrede 1981, 224 cat. 86.

²⁹⁰⁵ Backe-Dahmen 2006, 162f. cat. A 35.

²⁹⁰⁶ Backe-Dahmen 2006, 162f. cat. A 35.

²⁹⁰⁷ For discussion, Backe-Dahmen 2006, 162f. cat. A 35; Wrede 1981, 227 cat. 93.

²⁹⁰⁸ Wrede 1981, 227 cat. 93.

There are also a few instances of girls commemorated as Diana in freestanding statuary. Due to a lack of secure proveniences and accompanying inscriptions, the circumstances of these dedications are often uncertain. The first marble statue, which measures 1.49 m, is located in the Palazzo Massimo alle Terme (pl. 17a.b).²⁹⁰⁹ It is frequently dated to the Flavian Period.²⁹¹⁰ The statue was discovered at Ostia Antica, in a lime kiln in the Terme di Cisiarii. It is therefore likely that it was taken from a tomb on one of the nearby sepulchral streets leading to the city, either the Via Ostiensis or the Via dei Sepolcri.²⁹¹¹ The facial features are characteristic of a preadolescent girl, on the cusp of maturity, but highly idealized.²⁹¹² She is shown with an oval face with high cheekbones, large, almond-shaped eyes and a rounded chin.²⁹¹³ The wide-open eyes, slightly parted lips and turn of the head might evoke a state of vigilance during the hunt.²⁹¹⁴ The hairstyle - with tresses of hair combed from the central part and then gathered at the back, into a bun with loose curls - is clearly taken over from the Artemis of Dresden.²⁹¹⁵ A similar melon coiffure was, however, adopted into female portraiture of the 1st century CE, but with additional ringlets framing the face, as well as a braid at the back.²⁹¹⁶ The overall schema is attested in a few other Roman statues, which seem to copy a late Classical or early Hellenistic original.²⁹¹⁷ The *contrapposto* stance exhibits Polykleitan influence.²⁹¹⁸ The action - that is, standing and reaching for the quiver on the right shoulder, with the left arm resting at the side (perhaps holding a bow) - is ultimately taken over from the Artemis of Dresden (pl. 239a),²⁹¹⁹ which was probably invented by Praxiteles in the second half of the 4th century BCE.²⁹²⁰ It became the most frequently replicated version of Diana standing in long attire during the Roman Imperial Period.²⁹²¹ Since all of the extant copies of the Artemis of Dresden are slightly under life size and the goddess has not quite reached adulthood, the statuary type was especially suitable for the commemoration of a maiden.²⁹²² Quite

²⁹⁰⁹ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, DIA4. The head needed to be restored, but clearly belongs to the statue, D'Ambra 2008, 179. B.M. Feletti Maj proposes an imperial identification, Feletti Maj 1953, 70f. cat. 119. Despite the high quality of the statue, an imperial identification is unlikely due to a lack of comparative portraiture; rather, this is probably a private portrait, set-up by the girl's family, D'Ambra 2008, 177; Helbig 1969, 116f. cat. 2195; Wrede 1981, 223 cat. 83.

²⁹¹⁰ Backe-Dahmen 2006, 176 cat. F 33; Wrede 1981, 223 cat. 83; Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 802 no. 18. The date is, however, heavily disputed, with suggestions anywhere between the Claudian and Flavian Periods; for a detailed overview of the suggested dates, D'Ambra 2008, 177 footnote 21.

²⁹¹¹ Giornetti 1979, 24 cat. 24.

²⁹¹² Backe-Dahmen 2006, 176 cat. F 33; D'Ambra 2002, 178f. As noted by J. Fejfer, female portraits heads are typically more idealized than male portrait heads, to the point that it is difficult to distinguish them from goddesses, Fejfer 2008, 351f.

²⁹¹³ For the portrait features, D'Ambra 2008, 178.

²⁹¹⁴ D'Ambra 2008, 178.

²⁹¹⁵ Helbig 1969, 116 cat. 2195; Felletti Maj 1953, 70 cat. 119.

²⁹¹⁶ D'Ambra 2008, 178.

²⁹¹⁷ For other examples of the statue type, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 802 nos. 18a-c.

²⁹¹⁸ Felletti Maj 1953, 71 cat. 119.

²⁹¹⁹ Felletti Maj 1953, 71 cat. 119; Giornetti 1979, 23 cat. 24. For the Artemis of Dresden, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 799f. no. 9. Whether the lowered left hand once held a bow is unclear. This is true of the extant copies of the Artemis of Dresden as a whole, as well as the portrait statue under analysis here.

²⁹²⁰ Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 799f. no. 9.

²⁹²¹ Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 799f. no. 9.

²⁹²² Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 799f. no. 9.

notably, the *peplos* of the Artemis of Dresden has been traded in here for a sleeveless, short *chiton*.²⁹²³ It is girdled under the breasts with a Hercules-knot and hitched up to just above the knees. It is seemingly detachable on the left shoulder, which would have allowed her to run with a bare breast.²⁹²⁴ Moreover, the sandals of the Artemis of Dresden have been traded in here for fur boots, in order to accentuate her active, “manlike” behaviour.²⁹²⁵ There is also a hunting dog against her right leg.²⁹²⁶

The second marble statue is located in the Museo delle Terme (pl. 17c.d).²⁹²⁷ It originally measured about 1.00 m in height. It dates to the late 1st century CE.²⁹²⁸ The exact findspot is unknown, but just like the previous monument, it probably came from the funerary context at Rome and its environs.²⁹²⁹ The head exhibits the individualized features of a young girl: she has a round, childlike face, with chubby cheeks and plump lips.²⁹³⁰ The coiffure is nevertheless ideal. The portrait figure is largely modeled after an elaborated version of the Louvre-Ephesos Artemis, wearing a *nebris*, which probably emerged in the late Hellenistic Period (pl. 239b).²⁹³¹ She strides lightly forward, reaching for the quiver on her right shoulder and holding ready her bow in the left hand.²⁹³² She wears a sleeveless *chiton*, hitched up to just above the knees. She also wears a *nebris* over her tunic: this is draped over the right shoulder and then fastened around her torso with a belt. The head of the fawn is visible at the top of her left thigh. She has bunched her *himation* on her left shoulder and gathered the falling fabric over her left forearm. She probably once wore fur boots.²⁹³³

The third marble statue - measuring 1.06 m in height - has been placed in storage at the Commune di Fondi (pl. 18a).²⁹³⁴ It is dated to the Trajanic Period.²⁹³⁵ The statue was discovered in Fondi, allegedly in the Via Cardinale.²⁹³⁶ Since this street is located near the Via Appia Antica, the monument probably came from a tomb there. The head exhibits the individualized features of a roughly eight-year-old girl: she has a round, childlike face, with large, sunken-in eyes with wide eyelids, full cheeks with small dimples, a wide nose, full lips and an indistinct chin.²⁹³⁷ The distinct nasolabial folds and pursed lips

²⁹²³ Note that the numerous fine folds in the fabric is reminiscent of the 5th-century BCE statues of the Wounded Amazons, Felletti Maj 1953, 71 cat. 119; Giornetti 1979, 23 cat. 24.

²⁹²⁴ This is due to the small knot of fabric bunched on the left shoulder, which is not on the other shoulder.

²⁹²⁵ For discussion on fur boots, see chaps. 3.2.3.3; 3.4. For a similar interpretation (but which identifies the footwear as boots with panthers' heads, and thus as a bacchic attribute), D'Ambra 2008, 177f.

²⁹²⁶ Traces of the dog's leg are still visible.

²⁹²⁷ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, DIA5.

²⁹²⁸ Paribeni 1981, 329.

²⁹²⁹ E. Paribeni proposes that it represents a deceased girl, Paribeni 1981, 329.

²⁹³⁰ Paribeni 1981.

²⁹³¹ For the Louvre-Ephesos Diana, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 807f. no. 31. For other statues of Diana in this format with a *nebris*, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 808 no. 34.

²⁹³² Based on the parallel examples, she probably once held a bow, see Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 808 no. 34.

²⁹³³ Based on the parallel examples, she probably once wore boots, see Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 808 no. 34.

²⁹³⁴ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, DIA6. The head was broken off (and is now lost) but certainly belonged to the statue, Gercke 1968, 68-70 cat. FM 28.

²⁹³⁵ Gercke 1968, 68-70 cat. FM 28.

²⁹³⁶ Mustilli 1937, 69 cat. 8.

²⁹³⁷ Gercke 1968, 68-70 cat. FM 28. E. Varner proposes that this is actually a portrait of a boy as Diana, due to the boyish facial features and more masculine looking coiffure for this period; otherwise, it is a girl with highly

lend the maiden an air of maturity. The hairstyle - consisting of a nearly closed “cap” of hair, which is combed from the top of the head into fine, flat strands in all directions - is typical of the Trajanic Period.²⁹³⁸ The body and dress is patterned after the Versailles-Leptis Magna Artemis: she reaches for the quiver on her right shoulder, with the bow in her left hand, while striding forward in pursuit of her prey.²⁹³⁹ The most notable deviation is that her head faces directly forward, rather than glancing back to admire the landscape.²⁹⁴⁰ She wears a sleeveless *chiton*, hitched up to just above the knees. A rolled-up mantle is wrapped just under her breasts, draped up over her left shoulder and then tucked back into itself. She also wears sandals. On her left side is a springing dog.

Finally, there is a marble bust of a girl as Diana in the Collezione Torlonia, which measures 0.40 m (pl. 18b).²⁹⁴¹ It is dated to 130-140 CE.²⁹⁴² The bust was discovered in the *zona urbanistica* of Centocelle at Rome. The exact findspot is uncertain, but the fact that the bust terminates with an acanthus calyx indicates its funereal significance.²⁹⁴³ The portrait head is turned slightly to the right. The face is of a young girl, but inflected with mature features.²⁹⁴⁴ The round face, with wide-open eyes, full cheeks and an indistinct chin, is extremely childlike, but the resolute stare and pursed lips lend the portrait an air of maturity. She not only wears a melon coiffure with a tripartite braid running over the central part, which is typical for girls in general, but also an elaborate coil of braids on the crown, which is a characteristic of women in the middle of the 2nd century CE.²⁹⁴⁵ The girl is therefore deliberately represented beyond her years. Turning to the dress, she is only identifiable as Diana due to the quiver on the right shoulder, with the strap falling across her chest. She seems to wear a sleeveless tunic, as well as a mantle draped over the left shoulder.

6.2.2.2 Portraits of Women as Diana

The portraits of girls in the guise of Diana, ranging from young to preadolescent girls, on the cusp of maturity, have received the bulk of attention.²⁹⁴⁶ This form of commemoration is, however, by no means limited to this age group, marked out by sexual immaturity and hence gender ambiguity. Portraits of women as Diana were produced as well, as revealed by both the textual and material evidence. Statius's *Silvae* praises Abscantis - an imperial freedman of Domitian - for commissioning a

masculinized features, Varner 2008, 195. It seems more likely that this is in fact a girl, since there are no secure parallels for boys being represented in the guise of Diana.

²⁹³⁸ Gercke 1968, 68-70 cat. FM 28; Wrede 1981, 223 cat. 84. Portraits of girls from the Trajanic Period often have additions at the back (e.g. long strands, buns), but whether such features were included here cannot be determined from extant photo (and the head is no longer extant).

²⁹³⁹ For the reconstruction of the statue, Gercke 1968, 68-70 cat. FM 28; Wrede 1981, 223 cat. 84. For the Versailles-Leptis Magna Artemis, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 805f. no. 27.

²⁹⁴⁰ Gercke 1968, 68-70 cat. FM 28; Wrede 1981, 223 cat. 84. This is, however, also possible in copies of the Versailles-Leptis Magna Artemis, see Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 805 no. 27d.

²⁹⁴¹ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, DIA7.

²⁹⁴² Wrede 1981, 224, cat. 86.

²⁹⁴³ For the funerary significance of the acanthus calyxes, Wrede 1981, 224 cat. 86.

²⁹⁴⁴ D'Ambra 2008, 173f.

²⁹⁴⁵ Wrede 1981, 224 cat. 86.

²⁹⁴⁶ E. D'Ambra identifies the portraits of females in the guise of Artemis on altars and freestanding statuary as girls and young women (i.e. on the cusp of maturity), D'Ambra 2008, 172-179.

stately tomb for his wife Priscilla along the Via Appia Antica at the edge of Rome, which was filled with a gallery of mythological portraits.²⁹⁴⁷ The text indicates that Priscilla was immortalized as four goddesses - Ceres, Diana, Maia and (a not immodest) Venus - which confers certain qualities on her.²⁹⁴⁸ Turning to the visual evidence, there are just as many portraits of women as maidens in the guise of Diana. This underappreciated category of portraiture demands further consideration here.

First of all, a marble altar in the Musée de Louvre features a woman as Diana (pl. 19a).²⁹⁴⁹ It is dated to 80-100 CE.²⁹⁵⁰ It first surfaced at Rome.²⁹⁵¹ Unlike the other altars, there is no epigraphic evidence to indicate the purpose of the monument, but it probably belonged to a funerary context as well.²⁹⁵² The portrait figure fills the front side of the altar. Her head faces the viewer directly. The physiognomy exhibits mature features: the oval face has flat cheekbones, large eyes with bushy eyebrows, a long nose, a small mouth with delineated nasolabial folds and tightly pursed lips, as well as a relatively strong chin. The toupet coiffure, with a fairly modest wreath of ringlets in this case, is typical of the Flavian Period.²⁹⁵³ Considering the physiognomic features and the hairstyle together, the identification of the portrait head as a woman is the most probable here.²⁹⁵⁴ Indeed, the portraits of girls from this period have rounded heads and the curls appear more “plastered” to their scalp (pl. 240a).²⁹⁵⁵ The relief does not quote any well-known sculptural type for Diana.²⁹⁵⁶ She stands in stiff frontal view on a low base. She reaches for the quiver on her right shoulder, and holds up the bow in her left hand. She wears a short-sleeved *chiton*, which is shortened to around the knees by adding a long overfall. The tunic is girdled a little below the breasts, with a thin cord tied into a Hercules knot at the front. The excess material flares out sharply, emphasizing the hips; the lower hem billows in a similar manner. She wears fur boots. She is flanked by a dog on her right and a deer on her left, both of equal size, standing heraldically and gazing up at her expectantly. This is reminiscent of the well-established formula for

²⁹⁴⁷ For discussion on the portrait gallery in the tomb of Priscilla, Hallett 2005, 209; Stewart 2003, 103.

²⁹⁴⁸ Stat. silv. 5, 1, 231-235. Note, however, that the interpretation of “hoc lucida Gnosis” here is disputed. H. Wrede identifies her as Diana in the form of the Cretan Diktyнна, since *lucida* (shining) is a popular epithet for the goddess, Wrede 1981, 76. J.H. Mozley also notes that Statius refers to Diana as Dikytnna at Stat. Theb. 9, 632, Mozley 1928, 285 footnote e. However, D.R. Shackleton Bailey identifies her as Ariadne, due to Bacchus’ transformation of her crown into a constellation, Shackleton Bailey - Parrott 2003, 329 footnote 23.

²⁹⁴⁹ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, DIA8.

²⁹⁵⁰ The hairstyle of the portrait figure is typical of the Flavian Era; other details suggest that the altar was not created until somewhat after 80 CE, Wrede 1981, 225f. cat. 90.

²⁹⁵¹ Wrede 1981, 225 cat. 90.

²⁹⁵² H. Wrede argues that it belonged to a funerary context, Wrede 1981, 225 cat. 90.

²⁹⁵³ Wrede 1981, 225 cat. 90. For discussion on the hairstyles of women in portraiture dating to the Flavian Period, D’Ambra 2013, 523f.

²⁹⁵⁴ H. Wrede identifies this as a matron, Wrede 1981, 225f. cat. 90.

²⁹⁵⁵ For examples, Backe-Dahmen 2006, 149f. cat. A 9; 175 cat. F 30.

²⁹⁵⁶ H. Wrede suggests that the portrait figure quotes the Versailles-Leptis Magna Artemis, but turned to the front, Wrede 1981, 225 cat. 90. This is, however, not the case, since the goddess is not running and the dress also significantly differs. G. Lippold notes the variety of other statuary types of Diana standing in short dress, which are mostly Roman variations on Late Classical or Hellenistic models, Lippold 1950, 265.

Artemis as the *Potnia Theron*, or Mistress of the Animals.²⁹⁵⁷ The dog and stag are, however, merely common attributes of the goddess Diana in the Roman Imperial Period, with no deeper significance.²⁹⁵⁸

It is worthwhile briefly mentioning the funerary altar for Fulvia Trophima Benedicta from Rome, which but is now lost, but documented in the Codex Pighianus (pl. 19b).²⁹⁵⁹ It was discovered in the Via Appia, in the vineyards of Giovanni Battista Leni at Rome. The altar is inscribed: D. M. / FVLVIAE TROPHIMAE / BENEDICTAE / M. SERGIVS PHOEBVS CO/IVGI SANCTAE CVM QVA / VIXIT ANN. XL IN QVIB. / ANNIS NIHIL VMQVAM / DE EA QVESTVS EST.²⁹⁶⁰ As such, the altar is dedicated to Fulvia Trophima Benedicta by her husband M. Sergius Phoebus.²⁹⁶¹ He praises his wife for her piety towards him. He also claims that in their forty years of living together, he never once complained about her. The imagery on the altar clearly refers to Diana, in her role as a huntress. A dog springs toward a stag between two trees at the middle; to the right is a bow and arrow, and to the left a quiver. The female deceased is not portrayed on the altar at all, but the inclusion of Diana's attributes identifies her with the huntress.²⁹⁶²

There are also several freestanding portrait statues of women as Diana. The first marble statue, now located in the Collezione Torlonia (pl. 20a), is rather fragmentary: the lower legs are entirely missing, as well as the right arm and left forearm.²⁹⁶³ It now measures 1.08 m in height, but was probably originally closer to 1.60 m.²⁹⁶⁴ It is dated to 130-150 CE.²⁹⁶⁵ The statue was discovered in the Villa dei Quintili, just beyond the fifth milestone along the Via Appia Antica near Rome. The villa was constructed in the later Hadrianic Period.²⁹⁶⁶ It belonged to the brothers Sextus Quintilius Valerius Maximus and Sextus Quintilius Condianus, both consuls in 151 CE; the property was later seized by the Emperor Commodus and merged with the Setti Bassi.²⁹⁶⁷ It is possible the statue was originally set up in the domestic context there, but it seems more probable that it came from a tomb along the Via Appia Antica. While the face exhibits no obvious signs of age, it also lacks childlike features: as such, the portrait subject is not a girl, but rather a woman with an idealized physiognomy.²⁹⁶⁸ Several features are reminiscent of Vibia Sabina in particular, including the narrow nose, and the clear edging of eyelids,

²⁹⁵⁷ For examples of Artemis *Potnia Theron* from ancient Greece, Kahil - Icard 1984, 624-629 nos. 11-71. Here, however, Artemis does not hold the animals at the sides.

²⁹⁵⁸ Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 844.

²⁹⁵⁹ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, DIA9. It seems that the funerary altar was discovered at Rome because it was attested there by the middle of the 16th century, Wrede 1981, 230 cat. 103.

²⁹⁶⁰ For the inscription, CIL 06, *1929.

²⁹⁶¹ The abbreviation D.M. indicates that the altar is also dedicated to the Dii Manes.

²⁹⁶² This is similar to the funerary altar of Cornelia Tyche and Iulia Secunda, DIA3.

²⁹⁶³ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, DIA10. The statue was discovered in fragments and a break in the neck indicates that the portrait head was once broken off as well; P.E. Visconti and C. Gasparri considered the portrait head to belong to the statue (see Visconti 1883, 3f. cat. 6; Gasparri 1980, 156 cat. 6), but H. Wrede was not able to make a judgment due to the inaccessibility of the monument for further examination, Wrede 1981, 224 cat. 85. At the moment, there is no reason to exclude this possibility.

²⁹⁶⁴ This estimate is based on the reintegration of the lower legs, probably about a third of the total height.

²⁹⁶⁵ Wrede 1981, 224 cat. 85.

²⁹⁶⁶ Paris 2000, 23.

²⁹⁶⁷ Paris 2000, 22f.

²⁹⁶⁸ H. Wrede identifies the portrait figure as a girl, Wrede 1981, 224 cat. 85. She does not have childlike features.

brows and mouth.²⁹⁶⁹ The coiffure - a diadem formed from three braids on the forehead, connected by strands of hair to an elaborate coil of braids on the crown - was also common at her time.²⁹⁷⁰ Due to the insufficient state of preservation, the exact composition of the statue is uncertain. She is clearly stationary. Her left arm rests at her side and perhaps once held a bow. The position of the right arm cannot be securely reconstructed, but the typical gesture of reaching for the quiver on her shoulder is conceivable. She wears a sleeveless *chiton*, which - to judge from the bloused material - was probably shortened to around the knees. Finally, there is a thin cord just under the breasts, knotted at the front.

The second marble statue is located in the Antiquarium of the Münchener Residenzmuseum (pl. 20b).²⁹⁷¹ It has been cut into bust format in modern times, but probably once measured about 1.65 m in height. The provenience is unknown. It dates to about the middle of the 2nd century CE or shortly thereafter.²⁹⁷² The head is turned slightly to the left and tilted forward. She has the physiognomy of a woman, including a low forehead, almond-shaped eyes, with pupils drilled directly beneath the heavy upper lids, wide and fleshy lower lids, narrow cheeks, as well as a small mouth and chin.²⁹⁷³ Her face exhibits individualized features: indeed, “the differentiation of the cheeks, and the protruding cheekbones and advanced mouth area go beyond what is usual in ideal sculpture.”²⁹⁷⁴ In contrast, the ideal coiffure is taken directly over from Diana.²⁹⁷⁵ The hair is parted at the middle, with the strands at the forehead knotted to form a Venus-bow on the crown, and the remaining strands combed to the back to form a bun.²⁹⁷⁶ Due to the fragmentary state of preservation, the precise composition of the statue is uncertain. It is nevertheless clear that she once raised her right arm to reach for her arrows, whereas the left upper arm rests at her side. She wears a sleeveless, high-girdled *chiton*, which is buttoned on the shoulders, but the length of the garment is uncertain. She also wears a baldric across her chest, which once held a quiver on her right shoulder.²⁹⁷⁷

The third marble statue - measuring 1.85 m in height - is located in the Musée de Louvre (pl. 21a).²⁹⁷⁸ It is dated to 150-170 CE.²⁹⁷⁹ The statue was discovered at Cumae. The physiognomy is of a woman, yet slightly masculine in appearance: she has an oval, but fairly fleshy face, conspicuous eyebrows, eyes with pupils incised directly under her sharply defined upper eyelids, a somewhat bulbous nose, a broad mouth and an almost double chin.²⁹⁸⁰ The coiffure - consisting of relatively thin hair, parted at the

²⁹⁶⁹ Wrede 1981, 224 cat. 85. For the portraiture of Vibia Sabina in general, Carandini 1969.

²⁹⁷⁰ Wrede 1981, 224 cat. 85.

²⁹⁷¹ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, DIA11.

²⁹⁷² Weski - Frosien-Leinz 1987, 165.

²⁹⁷³ For a detailed description of the facial features, Weski - Frosien-Leinz 1987, 165.

²⁹⁷⁴ Weski - Frosien-Leinz 1987, 165. (Translation by the author).

²⁹⁷⁵ Weski - Frosien-Leinz 1987, 165.

²⁹⁷⁶ For a detailed description of the hairstyle, Weski - Frosien-Leinz 1987, 165.

²⁹⁷⁷ There are still traces of the quiver, Weski - Frosien-Leinz 1987, 165.

²⁹⁷⁸ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, DIA12.

²⁹⁷⁹ Wrede 1981, 225 cat. 88. The head was once broken off, but surely belongs, Wrede 1981, 225 cat. 88.

²⁹⁸⁰ She has been identified as a woman, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 804f no. 26b. She has also been identified as a young girl, Backe-Dahmen 2006, 187f. cat. F 65. However, she does not have distinctly childlike features.

middle, heavily crimped and drawn into bun at the back - is reminiscent of that of Faustina Minor.²⁹⁸¹ The overall schema is attested in other Roman statues of Diana, which seem to copy a Hellenistic original from ca. 200 BCE.²⁹⁸² The statuary type is essentially a subgroup of the Seville-Palatine ("Laphria") Artemis, which is the most beloved version of the goddess standing in short dress in the Roman Imperial Period.²⁹⁸³ The woman is portrayed standing with her weight on the right leg and her left knee slightly bent. She reaches for the quiver on her right shoulder and holds out the (restored) bow in the left.²⁹⁸⁴ The overall attitude of the woman is somewhere between vigilance and repose, enjoying a quiet interlude in the hunt. She is dressed in a sleeveless *chiton*, hitched-up to just above the knees. It is belted just under the breasts, with a thin cord tied into a Hercules-knot at the front. She also wears a rolled-up mantle around her waist, which is draped up over the left shoulder from behind. On her feet are fur boots. Next to the right leg sits a dog, looking up at her.

The fourth marble statue is located at the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (pl. 21b).²⁹⁸⁵ It is poorly preserved: all that remains are the head, torso and the upper arms. It was probably originally about 1.00 m in height. It is dated to 150-170 CE.²⁹⁸⁶ The statue was discovered at Pentalophos, Aetolia (Greece). Her facial features are soft but mature: she has an oval face, prominent eyebrows, eyes with pupils incised directly under her sharply defined upper eyelids, a straight nose, small but full lips and a round chin. The coiffure is similar to that of Faustina Minor: it is parted at the middle and consists of a wavy crown of hair, extending from the forehead and gathered into a knot at the nape of the neck; the hair on the top of the head is combed smoothly at approximately right angles to the crown of hair.²⁹⁸⁷ The body and dress is modeled after the Colonna Artemis, which probably emerged in the early Hellenistic Period and became the most popular version of Diana running in long attire in the Roman Imperial Period (pl. 240b).²⁹⁸⁸ She strides vigorously forward, reaching for the quiver on her right shoulder and holding out her bow in the left hand. Despite her "manly" behaviour, she is dressed like a proper woman in multiple layers of clothing. Indeed, she wears a ungirded *peplos* over a gap-sleeved *chiton*, which are highly feminine garments.²⁹⁸⁹ Only her weapons identify her as a fierce huntress.

The final marble statue - measuring 1.88 m in height - is located in the Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini (pl. 22a).²⁹⁹⁰ It is usually dated to about the middle of the 2nd century CE,²⁹⁹¹ and comes

²⁹⁸¹ Wrede 1981, 225 cat. 88.

²⁹⁸² Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 804f. no. 26b.

²⁹⁸³ For the Seville-Palatine ("Laphria") Artemis, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 803f. no. 22. The portrait figure is categorized under the subgroup Vatican-Paris, which essentially differs from the Seville-Palatine ("Laphria") Artemis because the two ends of the mantle, pulled through the rolled-up mantle, are further apart from each other, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 804 no. 26b.

²⁹⁸⁴ The bow seems to belong, Wrede 1981, 225 cat. 88.

²⁹⁸⁵ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, DIA13.

²⁹⁸⁶ K. Fittschen dates the coiffure to the middle Antonine Period, Fittschen 1982, 53f. footnote 34.

²⁹⁸⁷ Fittschen 1982, 53f. footnote 34.

²⁹⁸⁸ For the Colonna Artemis, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 801 no. 15.

²⁹⁸⁹ For the *peplos*, Bieber 1928, 17-18; Cleland et al. 2007, 143; Lee 2005; Lee 2015, 100-106. For the gap-sleeved *chiton*, Croom 2000, 76-78.

²⁹⁹⁰ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, DIA14.

from Sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine at Rome.²⁹⁹² The identity of the woman, the dedicants of the statue, as well as its overall function remain uncertain.²⁹⁹³ Unlike the other monuments considered so far, the portrait of the woman as Diana does not stand alone. Rather, she forms part of a statue group with Iphigenia: the goddess swoops in and grabs a cervid by its antlers, while the girl cowers at her feet. According to the literary sources, Agamemnon gravely offended Artemis by killing a deer in her sacred grove, and she retaliated by preventing him from setting sail for Troy.²⁹⁹⁴ The only means of appeasing the goddess was to sacrifice his daughter Iphigenia. In one version of the myth, Artemis intervenes in the sacrifice and exchanges Iphigenia at the altar for a sacrificial animal,²⁹⁹⁵ which clearly forms the subject matter of this statue group.

The face exhibits soft, but mature traits, surely the physiognomy of a woman. Her facial features - such as the oval face and the “sleepy” eyes with pupils drilled directly beneath the heavy lids - are similar to Faustina Maior, whose husband Antoninus Pius founded the sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine.²⁹⁹⁶ The deeply drilled coiffure, parted down the middle and crowned with a Venus bow, is idealized; nevertheless, the overall format, with wavy tresses framing the forehead and the “bun” on the crown, is vaguely reminiscent of Faustina Maior as well.²⁹⁹⁷ The head therefore exhibits a mixture of ideal and individual traits that are similar to imperial portraiture.

The statue group is clearly modeled after that of Diana and Iphigenia discovered in the *Horti Sallustiani* at Rome (pl. 241a).²⁹⁹⁸ The date of the work is debated: it is either a copy of a monument dating to the Hellenistic Period, or produced by Roman commission around 50 BCE, perhaps for the garden display in particular.²⁹⁹⁹ The statue group is poorly preserved.³⁰⁰⁰ There is enough extant material to allow for a reconstruction as Diana striding forward and supporting Iphigenia, who is collapsing at her feet; with the left hand, the goddess grabs the antlers of a fallow deer, which is perhaps intended here as a

²⁹⁹¹ The statue group is usually dated to around the middle of the 2nd century, since the sanctuary was founded by Antoninus Pius and the portrait features are reminiscent of Faustina Maior, Brendel 1935, 551; Helbig 1966, 39 cat. 1190d; Hørig - Schwertheim 1987, 227 cat. 361; Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 838 no. 338; Sorrenti 1996, 337 cat. 6. H. Wrede, on the other hand, is not convinced that the individualized features are similar to those of Faustina Maior, and dates them to between 150-170 CE, Wrede 1981, 224f. cat. 87.

²⁹⁹² It is certain that the statue was discovered in the sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine, but a more detailed findspot is not recorded by the excavator A.M. Colini (he believed that the material was already in secondary context at the time of the sanctuary's destruction, and did not feel the need to record the findspots in more detail for this reason), Colini 1935, 150 cat. 1. For discussion on the sculpture discovered in the Sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine at Rome, Sorrenti 1996.

²⁹⁹³ For discussion, see chap. 6.2.3.7.

²⁹⁹⁴ For Iphigenia in the literary sources, Kahil et al. 1990, 706-708.

²⁹⁹⁵ For examples, Eur. Iph. A. 1578-1614; Apollod. epit. 3, 21.

²⁹⁹⁶ Helbig 1966, 39 cat. 1190d; Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 838 no. 338; Sorrenti 1996, 337 cat. 6.

²⁹⁹⁷ Brendel 1935, 551; Helbig 1966, 39 cat. 1190d; Wrede 1981, 224 cat. 87. Note that other portraits of girls/women as Diana also have an ideal hairstyle, DIA4. 5. 10.

²⁹⁹⁸ Brendel 1935, 554f.; Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 838 no. 338. For the statue group, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 837f. no. 337.

²⁹⁹⁹ For the proposed dates, Kahil - Icard 1984, 729 no. 1374; Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 837f. no. 337.

³⁰⁰⁰ Only the torsos of Artemis and Iphigenia, as well as part of the legs, are preserved; the head of the fallow deer is also extant, with the right fingers of Artemis still on the antlers (the hand is preserved separately), Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 837f. no. 337.

mount for the girl's escape.³⁰⁰¹ She wears a short, high-girdled *peplos*, with a relatively short, over-belted overfold.³⁰⁰² The strap across Diana's chest indicates that she wears a quiver on the back, and the small support on her right hand suggests that there was a bow there as well.³⁰⁰³ It is not clear if there was an altar in the scene or not.³⁰⁰⁴

The statue group from the Sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus exhibits some notable variations. Diana is portrayed with the same active stride, but with the head turned to face the viewer directly.³⁰⁰⁵ The attributes that typically characterize Diana as a huntress - namely, the bow and quiver - are omitted here,³⁰⁰⁶ yet her active lifestyle is hinted at by the short dress and fur boots. Diana is once again dressed in a short *peplos*, reaching to just above the knees, with an overfold of moderate length. The tunic is, however, belted in a different manner: it is not girdled high over the overfold, but instead low underneath it, allowing the flap of fabric to hang loosely. There are, moreover, new attributes. Diana carries a long torch in the lowered left hand, which generally refers to her astral nature in Roman visual culture.³⁰⁰⁷ Moreover, she wears a mantle, which billows in a *velificatio* format over the shoulders. The motif not only evokes swift movement, or the sudden epiphany of the goddess,³⁰⁰⁸ but also her cosmic power.³⁰⁰⁹ The attributes demonstrate that Diana shares in the nature of Luna - yet another significant deity in the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus - regardless of the conspicuous absence of the crescent moon.³⁰¹⁰ Finally, it is significant that both Iphigenia and the cervid (in this case, either a goat or a gazelle) are drastically reduced in size, to the status of mere attributes.³⁰¹¹ Iphigenia is depicted cowering at Diana's feet, in an attitude of supplication: she props herself up with her left hand, looking up at Diana towering above her and even raising her right hand towards her. Her face is round and generic, with the hair hanging loosely. She wears a high-girdled *chiton*, with one breast exposed to express vulnerability. Diana heeds little attention to Iphigenia herself, but actively responds to her pleas by grabbing the cervid by the horns, in order to offer it as a sacrificial animal in the maiden's stead.³⁰¹²

³⁰⁰¹ Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 837f. no. 337; 844.

³⁰⁰² Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 837f. no. 337.

³⁰⁰³ Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 837f. no. 337.

³⁰⁰⁴ For an overview of the opinions, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 837f. no. 337.

³⁰⁰⁵ Helbig 1966, 38 cat. 1190d.

³⁰⁰⁶ Brendel 1935, 554; Hörig - Schwertheim 1987, 227 cat. 361.

³⁰⁰⁷ The semantic range of the torch for Artemis was much wider in Greek art than in Roman art, where it is typically reduced to its astral significance, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 844.

³⁰⁰⁸ For this significance of the *velificatio*, Rehak 2006, 111.

³⁰⁰⁹ For this significance of the *velificatio*, Turcan 1966, 466. 483. 554.

³⁰¹⁰ Brendel 1935, 554; Helbig 1966, 38 cat. 1190d; Hörig - Schwertheim 1987, 228 cat. 361; Sorrenti 1996, 376 cat. 6.

³⁰¹¹ Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 838 no. 338; Hörig - Schwertheim 1987, 228 cat. 361.

³⁰¹² The reduced size of the cervid probably means that it is a sacrificial animal, rather than a mount for Iphigenia, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 838 no. 338; 844.

6.2.2.3 Towards Demythologization - Portraits of Women as Artemisian Huntresses

The remaining portraits of women as Diana appear alongside their husbands as Hippolytus on Roman sarcophagi. Hippolytos, the son of Theseus, was an avid devotee of Artemis.³⁰¹³ He rejected the worship of Aphrodite in order to completely dedicate himself to Artemis, as well as to a life of chastity and hunting. Aphrodite retaliated by causing Hippolytos' step-mother Phaedra to fall in love with him, setting off a chain of events that led to his death in a chariot accident.

In the portraiture under consideration, the identification of the married couple as Hippolytus and Diana in particular increasingly breaks down. It has already been demonstrated that the image of Hippolytus hunting a boar and closely followed by Virtus on sarcophagi was progressively emptied of mythological content between 220-230 CE: this gave rise to the popular series of Roman Hunt Sarcophagi.³⁰¹⁴ The portrait groups of a married couple in the position of Hippolytus and Diana were produced precisely during this period of transition, for the departure scene at the left end of the front side of the casket. The husband then reappears at roughly the middle of the front side, as the main rider in the hunt scene. It is possible to trace the progressive demythologization of the portrait figures by examining three caskets, beginning with a mythological sarcophagus featuring legend of Hippolytus, and ending with the earliest Roman Hunt Sarcophagus. The imagery will be considered in detail, before pinpointing the successive phases of demythologization.

The first sarcophagus, in all likelihood featuring the myth of Hippolytus, is lost (pl. 23a).³⁰¹⁵ It was produced in a Roman workshop, probably during the first few decades of the 3rd century CE.³⁰¹⁶ The monument is poorly preserved: the left side of the frontal relief was reused as a threshold in the Middle Ages and then discarded in the Tiber River,³⁰¹⁷ but the whereabouts of the rest of the casket are unknown. As such, all that remains is the portrait group of the married couple as Hippolytus and Diana in the departure scene, whereas the following hunting scene is missing.³⁰¹⁸ The head of the man is severely worn, but the individualized features are still discernible. He is portrayed in more or less frontal view, but turning his head and orienting himself towards his wife. He appears in heroic costume: that is, in a state of undress, with the exception of the *chlamys* bunched on his left shoulder and the spear in his left hand. The cloak is, however, draped in a highly unconventional manner, presumably to cover as much of the body as possible. Indeed, the fabric falls down over the left arm, but is then

³⁰¹³ For Hippolytos in the literary sources, Linant de Bellefonds 1990, 445f.

³⁰¹⁴ For discussion, see chap. 5.3.3.1.

³⁰¹⁵ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, DIA15. There is no indication that the imagery is already being emptied of mythological content here, as on the related monuments (DIA16. 17); on the other hand, the monument is only partially preserved.

³⁰¹⁶ H. Wrede dates this to the second quarter of the 3rd century CE, Wrede 1981, 228f. cat. 97. Since the monument probably precedes the process of demythologization, it seems unlikely that it dates to after 230 CE (i.e. the emergence of the first Roman Hunt Sarcophagus).

³⁰¹⁷ Robert 1904, 218f. The fragment measures 0.82 m in length, 0.50 m in height, and 0.10 m in depth.

³⁰¹⁸ This assessment assumes that the format of the monument is similar to DIA16 and DIA17.

thrown around the lower torso in order to conceal his genitals.³⁰¹⁹ He is accompanied by a hunting dog. The head of the woman is severely worn, but her coiffure was fashionable in the 3rd century CE.³⁰²⁰ She is portrayed in three-quarter view, turning towards her husband and even gently touching him on the shoulder with her right hand. She wears a sleeveless *chiton*, hitched up to just above the knees. The tunic is belted under the breasts with a rolled-up *himation*, draped up over the left shoulder from behind. There is a quiver on her right shoulder, hanging from the baldric across her chest. In her right hand is a bow. She also wears fur boots. Behind the portrait group is an assistant.³⁰²¹

The second sarcophagus - often referred to as the Venator Sarcophagus - has been transformed into a fountain for the Palazzo Lepri-Gallo at Rome (pl. 23b).³⁰²² The monument was produced in a Roman workshop between 220-230 CE.³⁰²³ The front side of the casket is framed by trees, indicating an outdoor setting, and divided by an archway into two visual fields. The majority of the space is dedicated to the hunt scene to the right, featuring a portrait of a man as Hippolytus pursuing a boar on horseback (pl. 24a). The head is rather worn, but clearly furnished with individual features: the facial hair and coiffure are characteristic of the Severan Period.³⁰²⁴ He raises a spear and takes aim at the boar in front of him. He is nude but for the *chlamys*, pinned on the shoulder and billowing out behind him. There is also a sword hanging on a baldric at his side. He is accompanied by the goddess Virtus, who follows him and even touches him on the side of his torso.³⁰²⁵ In front of the man are two hunting assistants, likewise in heroic costume and on horseback, who look back and admire their leader's exceptional prowess in the hunt. The iconography is relatively consistent with other sarcophagi featuring the legend of Hippolytus (pl. 241b).³⁰²⁶ There are, however, a few notable modifications.³⁰²⁷ The boar usually emerges directly from a cave or the woods, ready to attack. Here, however, it feels threatened and seems to assume an attitude of retreat, by suddenly halting and almost collapsing on its hind legs. Moreover, the hunter has already managed to slay another, smaller boar, lying dead on the ground before him. These alterations to the iconography give the impression that the hunter will successfully slay the boar, rather than meeting an untimely end.³⁰²⁸

³⁰¹⁹ It has been suggested that he grasps the end of the *chlamys* with the right hand here, Borg 2013, 175f.; Koch - Sichtermann 1982, 152f. The issue is that there is no clear indication from the material remains that Hippolytus was holding the tip of his *chlamys* in this manner; moreover, men typically do not actively shield their own private parts with drapery in their portraiture (for an exception, see Robert 1919, 498-500 cat. 423).

³⁰²⁰ For discussion on the portraiture of women in the 3rd century CE (and early 4th century CE), Bergmann 1977, 29f. 39-44. 89-101. 180-200.

³⁰²¹ C. Robert claims that a *parapetasma* hangs in the background as well, Robert 1904, 218f. cat. 179¹.

³⁰²² For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, DIA16. The monument measures 2.27 m in length, 0.75 m in height, and 0.69 m in depth.

³⁰²³ Andrae 1980, 171 cat. 164; Wrede 1981, 228 cat. 95.

³⁰²⁴ Robert 1904, 218 cat. 179; Andrae 1980, 20.

³⁰²⁵ There is no evidence for individualized features here: her face is generic and her hair hangs loosely.

³⁰²⁶ For the sarcophagi featuring the myth of Hippolytus, Robert 1904, 169-219 cat. 144-179¹.

³⁰²⁷ For discussion on the modifications, Andrae 1980, 19f.

³⁰²⁸ Andrae 1980, 20. Hippolytus dies in a chariot accident. His success here is confirmed by the first scene on the casket, where the portrait group of a man and woman as "Hippolytus" and "Diana" address each other

The scene to the left presumably features the aftermath of the boar hunt, with the same man reappearing next to his wife as a huntress (pl. 24b). He has large eyes, with pupils incised right beneath his wide upper eyelids. The hairstyle - consisting of strands of hair brushed from back to front and forked over the forehead - is especially similar to that of Elagabalus.³⁰²⁹ He stands in frontal view, turning his head towards his wife and putting his weight on the right leg to produce an S-shaped curve in his body. He is no longer portrayed in heroic costume like in the hunt scene, but as a contemporary *venator* (i.e. “matador”) from the Roman arena.³⁰³⁰ The outfit consists of a long-sleeved *tunica* reaching to mid-thigh, a belt wrapped around the lower torso, and leggings. He also holds a spear in the left hand and a piece of fabric in the lowered right, presumably to provoke the animals in the arena.³⁰³¹ It seems that the *venator* outfit was intended from the outset, rather than the result of re-carving.³⁰³² The woman turns her head towards her husband. She also has large eyes, with pupils incised just below the upper eyelids. The coiffure - with the hair divided at the middle and combed into waves down the back and sides, but leaving the ears exposed - is fashionable among the successors of Iulia Domna.³⁰³³ She is portrayed in three-quarter view, turning towards her male companion and touching him on the chest with her right hand. She is dressed like Diana as a huntress (e.g. shortened *chiton*, rolled-up *himation*, quiver, spear, fur boots). She is also accompanied by a dog. Next to the portrait group is an older assistant, leaning against his horse and watching the couple, which is directly taken over from the mythological sarcophagi featuring the legend of Hippolytus.³⁰³⁴ It is true that the scene to the left on sarcophagi with hunting themes is typically one of departure. Nevertheless, the inclusion of the dead boar on the ground probably indicates that the scene features the moments after the hunt.³⁰³⁵

The sides of the sarcophagus are decorated as well. On the right side, an irate bull with a sunken head charges towards a straw hut. On the left side, a stag flees from a dog. The imagery generally fits into the themes of hunting, whether in the arena or in the wilderness.

affectionately, with the vanquished boar at their feet. In any case, the actual death of Hippolytus is always avoided on sarcophagi, see Robert 1904, 169-219 cat. 144-179¹.

³⁰²⁹ H. Wrede dates the hairstyle to anywhere between the middle of the Severan Period until the reign of Elagabalus, Wrede 1981, 228 cat. 95. B. Andreae notes that the hairstyle is especially similar to that of Elagabalus, but still fashionable during the reign of Gallienus, Andreae 1980, 20.

³⁰³⁰ A. Kalkmann identifies this as the costume of a *venator*, Kalkmann 1883, 83.

³⁰³¹ For this interpretation of the piece of fabric, Andreae 1980, 18f.

³⁰³² B. Andreae argues that this is the original dress, since the piece of fabric could not be added later; as such, the casket was personalized for the man from the beginning, Andreae 1989, 18f. It has also been argued that the heroic costume of Hippolytus (as seen on DIA15) was re-carved here, with the end of the *chlamys* merely transformed into this piece of fabric (which would also explain the partial visibility of the body through the dress, e.g. belly button, as well as the disproportionate feeling), Borg 2013, 175f; Koch - Sichtermann 1982, 152f. The issue is that there is no clear indication from the material remains on DIA15 that Hippolytus was holding the tip of his *chlamys* in this manner; moreover, men typically do not actively shield their own private parts with drapery in their portraiture (for an exception, see Robert 1919, 498-500 cat. 423).

³⁰³³ For discussion on the portraiture of women in the 3rd century CE (and early 4th century CE), Bergmann 1977, 29f. 39-44. 89-101. 180-200. C. Robert compares the hairstyle to that of Iulia Acquila Severa, Robert 1904, 218 cat. 179. B. Andreae compares the hairstyle to that of Fulvia Plautilla, as well as the three wives of Elagabalus, Andreae 1980, 20. H. Wrede compares the hairstyle to that of Iulia Avita Mamaea, Wrede 1980, 228 cat. 95.

³⁰³⁴ Koch 1975, 59.

³⁰³⁵ Elsewhere, the scene is seemingly one of departure, DIA15, DIA17.

A *kline* lid is set behind the casket as decoration in the artificial grotto (pl. 25a). Whether or not the lid originally belonged to the monument is not entirely clear, but plausible, due to the similarities in dimensions and style.³⁰³⁶ The reclining figures would have been furnished with portrait heads of the husband and wife.³⁰³⁷ The man is nude, except for the mantle draped over his right shoulder and resting over his left arm. The woman wears a *tunica calasis*, slipping off her right shoulder in imitation of Venus. She also wears a mantle, which is draped over her lap and then over her raised left arm. It is not clear which attributes were held in their hands.

The third sarcophagus is the earliest identified Roman Hunt Sarcophagus, which is located in the Museo de Arqueología de Cataluña (pl. 25b).³⁰³⁸ It was produced in the same Roman workshop as the so-called Venator Sarcophagus just discussed, probably around 230 CE.³⁰³⁹ It seems, however, that the monument has been in Barcelona or its environs since ancient times. The three sides of the casket seem to form a coherent narrative, progressing from left to right.

The tale commences on the short, left side of the casket. Here, a hunter in contemporary dress is portrayed on horseback, raising his right hand towards a statue of Diana on a column.³⁰⁴⁰ He is accompanied by his dog. He is not furnished with individualized features. Nevertheless, his reverence for the goddess of the hunt evokes the virtue of *pietas* (piety) in general.

The front side of the casket is divided into two visual fields. To the left is the departure scene, featuring a portrait group of a man and woman as a hunter and huntress.³⁰⁴¹ The head is worn, but some individualized features are still detectable, including the hard lines on the face and the bags under the eyes (which are understood as an idiosyncrasy of the workshop in the period of Severus Alexander, but which would afterwards feature in the portraiture of Maximinus Thrax and then Decius).³⁰⁴² He is shown in more or less frontal view, but turning his head and orienting his body towards his wife. He is dressed in contemporary hunting dress. The outfit includes a long-sleeved *tunica*, a *sagum* pinned on the shoulder and fur boots. In the left hand is a spear. The head of the woman is individualized as well. Her face is rather worn, but the coiffure is reminiscent of Iulia Mamaea especially.³⁰⁴³ She turns toward her husband and touches him on the shoulder. She is partially dressed like Diana. Indeed, she wears a sleeveless, shortened *chiton*, girdled just under the breasts with a rolled-up *himation*, and fur boots.

³⁰³⁶ Andreae 1980, 171 cat. 164.

³⁰³⁷ The heads attested in 1980 were not already not ancient, Andreae 1980, 171 cat. 164.

³⁰³⁸ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, DIA17. The casket measures 2.40 m in length, 0.76 m in height, and 0.81 m in depth.

³⁰³⁹ Andreae 1980, 144f. cat. 8.

³⁰⁴⁰ The scene is taken over from the short sides of Hippolytus Sarcophagi; for examples, Robert 1904, 208f. cat. 167; 212f. cat. 171a.

³⁰⁴¹ The portrait heads are badly damaged, but some details (e.g. the hairstyle of the portrait of the woman to the left, the beard of the portrait of the man to the right) allow for a date of ca. 230 CE. This date logical: since the casket is manufactured in the same workshop as the Venator Sarcophagus, it must have been produced shortly afterward. For discussion on the portrait heads and dating, Andreae 1980, 21f.

³⁰⁴² Andreae 1980, 21.

³⁰⁴³ Andreae 1980, 21.

Her bow and quiver are, however, conspicuously missing. She instead holds a spear, which is a supplementary arm of the goddess. It nevertheless seems that the cupid behind her once held her bow and quiver.³⁰⁴⁴ At their feet is a hunting dog. The scene probably features the departure for the hunt, which is normally located on the left side of sarcophagi with hunting themes to create a logical narrative progression. The married couple are clearly situated in a domestic setting due to the *parapetasma* hanging in the background, with a youth observing them from behind the curtain to reinforce the intimacy of the moment.³⁰⁴⁵

The hunt scene commences just after the curtain: here, the same man reappears as a hunter on horseback, attempting to spear a springing lion. The head is worn, but exhibits the same individualized features as before; his beard is also visible here, which is merely sketched out, much like that of Alexander Severus.³⁰⁴⁶ He is portrayed in more or less the same contemporary hunting dress as before, but with subtle differences: the *tunica* has slits down the sides to facilitate movement, and beneath this are knee-length *braccae*. An additional sword hangs on a baldric on the left side of his body. He is closely followed by Virtus. Her face is rather worn, but there is no evidence of individualized features here. In front of the man are two assistants, dressed in contemporary hunting dress as well. Although the lion is still springing forward, it has already been struck by spears in the chest and flank. A boar and deer also lie dead on the ground, suggesting that the hunt will have a successful outcome. The final scene, on the short right side of the casket, shows the successful return from the hunt, with two hunting assistants lifting a deer onto the back of a donkey.

It is evident that the portraits of women and men as Hippolytus and Diana were gradually demythologized on these three caskets. This trend is already detectable on the first monument, despite the essentially mythological nature of the imagery.³⁰⁴⁷ First of all, the portrait of the man as Hippolytus is still portrayed in heroic costume, but the unconventional draping of his genitals already suggests a subtle aversion to nudity for self-representation.³⁰⁴⁸ Secondly, the portrait of the woman is certainly dressed like Diana, but the act of affectionately touching a male companion on his shoulder finds no precedent in the iconography of the chaste huntress.³⁰⁴⁹

³⁰⁴⁴ The bow and quiver is reconstructed by B. Andreae for several reasons. First of all, he notes that unlike on the so-called Venator Sarcophagus (DIA16), the portrait of the woman here is lacking a quiver. Secondly, the broken off material at the top must belong to the quiver, while the elaborately carved material on the lower edge must be the horn of the bow, fastened to the quiver, Andreae 1980, 144.

³⁰⁴⁵ For discussion on the voyeur in Roman visual culture (i.e. in Pompeian wall-painting), Clarke 1998, 103.

³⁰⁴⁶ Andreae 1980, 21.

³⁰⁴⁷ DIA15.

³⁰⁴⁸ For other portraits of men as mythical hunters, with the *chlamys* draped in an unnatural manner to cover their genitals (also dating to the 3rd century CE), Calza 1977, 300f. cat. 373; Wrede 1981, 211 cat. 55.

³⁰⁴⁹ Hansen 2007, 110-112 (in reference to DIA16). For the images of Hippolytos and Artemis (i.e. Hippolytos before an altar or the statue of Artemis, Artemis intervening in the death of Hippolytos, Artemis and Hippolytos heroized), Linant de Bellefonds, 1990, 447-448 cat. 15-24.

Both the general composition and the significance of the portrait group of the married couple as Hippolytus and Diana follows familiar patterns for scenes of departure on mythological hunt sarcophagi, which are likewise located on the left side of the casket. The format of the portrait group emerged directly from the representations of Hippolytus rejecting and parting from the lovelorn Phaedra: here, the nurse orients herself towards Hippolytus, at times even touching his arm, in order to deliver the love letter (pl. 241b).³⁰⁵⁰ By merely substituting Hippolytus' nurse with the goddess Diana, the problematic theme of incestuous desire is eliminated on the monument under consideration.³⁰⁵¹ The overall content of the portrait group is, however, more akin to mythical lovers greeting each other or else bidding each other farewell. It is generally similar to the images of Adonis parting from his lover Venus, seated on her throne and reaching out to touch him (pl. 188b).³⁰⁵² The closest parallel, however, is offered by a sarcophagus featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, dated to the middle of the Antonine Period: here, Atalante turns towards her lover Meleager and sets one hand on his shoulder (pl. 242a).³⁰⁵³ This kind of scene would later resurface on caskets produced at the turn of the 4th century CE, but with a far more passionate embrace (pl. 242b).³⁰⁵⁴ As such, the portrait group of the married couple as Hippolytus and Diana developed from preexisting models in departure scenes on mythological hunt sarcophagi: the precise influences are not necessarily clear cut and might easily converge here. It was, in any case, not uncommon to mix iconographies in this period, in order to prioritize essential qualities over a particular narrative.³⁰⁵⁵ The significant point is that the iconography of Hippolytus and Diana was newly formulated in order to recast the chaste hunter and huntress as lovers, specifically for the purpose of commemorating a married couple.³⁰⁵⁶

The Venator Sarcophagus begins to exhibit a mixture of mythological and contemporary motifs.³⁰⁵⁷ In the hunt scene, the portrait of the man as Hippolytus is still shown in heroic costume. In the return from the hunt, however, he is dressed as a *venator* from the Roman arena (pl. 243a). This personalized detail is presumably a reference to his profession.³⁰⁵⁸ The portrait of the woman as Diana is demythologized in the process as well. The fact that she places her hand on the chest of her husband is an innovation here.³⁰⁵⁹ She still wears the quiver, but has traded in her bow for a spear, which is a less common attribute of the huntress³⁰⁶⁰ - in fact, her dress starts to reflect that of her husband. Moreover, she is seemingly ripped out of her original, mythical context by interacting with a *venator* from the

³⁰⁵⁰ Robert 1904, 218 cat. 179. For examples of the nurse touching Hippolytus' arm, Robert 1904, 201f. cat. 163; 209f. cat. 168.

³⁰⁵¹ Borg 2013, 179.

³⁰⁵² Andrae 1980, 19. For an example of Adonis and Venus in this format, Grassinger 1999b, 219 cat. 65.

³⁰⁵³ Koch 1975, 59. For the sarcophagus, Koch 1975, 85 cat. 1.

³⁰⁵⁴ For examples, Koch 1975, 133f. cat. 151; 134 cat. 152.

³⁰⁵⁵ Huskinson 2015, 160f.

³⁰⁵⁶ Hansen 2007, 110-112 (in reference to DIA16).

³⁰⁵⁷ DIA16.

³⁰⁵⁸ Andrae 1980, 19; Robert 1904, 218 cat. 179. This is not an isolated case: for another funerary relief depicting the male deceased in the dress of a *venator*, Stubbe Østergaard 1996, 36f. cat. 8.

³⁰⁵⁹ Hansen 2007, 110-112.

³⁰⁶⁰ For discussion, see chap. 6.1.1.2.

Roman arena. As such, the woman is not necessarily identified with Diana here: rather, the costume of Diana signifies her role as a huntress in general, presumably to complement her husband's role as a hunter. Due to a lack of contemporary models for huntresses, the recourse to mythical models was the only option for producing a sense of symmetry. Overall, the identification of the married couple as Hippolytus and Diana practically breaks down here.³⁰⁶¹ The juxtaposition of contemporary and mythical themes is not unheard of. This is attested, for instance, on the Rinuccini Sarcophagus from ca. 200 CE (pl. 197b): to the right are the scenes of marriage and sacrifice, signifying *concordia* (conjugal harmony) and *pietas* (piety) respectively, but to left is the death of Adonis in the boar hunt, evoking *virtus* ("manliness") and the tragedy of death.³⁰⁶²

The first Roman Hunt Sarcophagus is similar, but completely demythologized.³⁰⁶³ In the departure scene, the portrait of the man is now dressed as a contemporary hunter. The portrait of the woman exhibits the same signs of demythologization as on the last monument, but is even further distanced from Diana: indeed, she is no longer armed with her most characteristic weapons, the bow and quiver, but holds the spear alone. The presence of the cupid might suggest a mythical context, but it is possible to include them in contemporary scenes as well (e.g. wedding scenes).³⁰⁶⁴ The hunt scene receives considerably more space than on the Venator Sarcophagus, in order to bring the portrait of the man on horseback into the limelight.³⁰⁶⁵ He is no longer in heroic costume, but contemporary hunting dress. The same is true of his assistants as well. Moreover, he is no longer hunting a boar, but a lion. As such, the married couple is commemorated in the guise of a generic hunter and huntress. It is true that the iconography is inspired by a variety of mythological hunt sarcophagi, but the combination and modification of these motifs, as well as the intrusion of individualized, contemporary elements, renders any attempt at a specific mythical identification futile. In fact, the only vestige of mythical iconography on the monument is the huntress costume of the wife, which is necessarily retained due to the lack of contemporary dress for casting women in this role.

In conclusion, the portraits of men as Hippolytus and women as Diana were progressively emptied of mythological content on Roman sarcophagi. The men initially appear as Hippolytus in heroic costume, hunting a boar, but then clothed in contemporary hunting dress and pursuing a lion. The women initially take on the role of Diana, but are gradually demythologized, appearing in the costume of the goddess without necessarily being identified with her. This is due to the women's transformation into lovers, their increasing tendency to trade in their bows and quivers for spears, as well as their insertion into

³⁰⁶¹ The portrait figures are most often identified as Hippolytus and Diana here, e.g. Andreae 1980, 18-21; Birk 2013, 305 cat. 593; Hansen 2007, 110-112. 116; Robert 1904, 218 cat. 179. Z. Newby considers the Venator Sarcophagus (DIA16) a mixture of a mythological and *vita humana* sarcophagus, but only notes the demythologization of the man, not of the woman, Newby 2011a, 216f.

³⁰⁶² For the sarcophagus, Grassinger 1999b, 216f. cat. 58.

³⁰⁶³ DIA17.

³⁰⁶⁴ For instance, cupid appears in wedding scenes on Vita Romana Sarcophagi; for discussion, see chap. 5.3.3.4.

³⁰⁶⁵ Andreae 1980, 22. This is surely the same man as in the previous scene.

non-mythological narratives. It seems that the sarcophagi workshops latched onto an established visual code - namely, the mythical costume of Diana - and supplemented this with contemporary arms (e.g. spear), in order to cast the women as huntresses in general, complementing the role of their husbands. As such, the boundaries between the mythical past and contemporary life increasingly breaks down on sarcophagi with hunting themes. It is nevertheless notable that the portraits of women most strongly resist the trend of demythologization on these monuments.³⁰⁶⁶

The same phenomenon is attested in more distant workshops as well. This is testified by the sarcophagus of C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus and Domitia Severa, now located in the Musei Civici di Belluno, Museo Archeologico (pls. 26.27).³⁰⁶⁷ The original lid is missing and the casket is badly weathered, but the monument is otherwise intact.³⁰⁶⁸ It was discovered in the foundations of the choir of Santo Stefano at Belluno.³⁰⁶⁹ The monument is made of local limestone, indicating that it was both produced and displayed at Bellunum (Venetia and Istria).³⁰⁷⁰ The sculptor of the sarcophagus had close contact with the workshops in Aquileia, or even came from there.³⁰⁷¹ It is dated to around 230 CE,³⁰⁷² making it roughly contemporary with the first Roman Hunt Sarcophagus.

At the centre of the front side of the sarcophagus is an inscription, which is carved inside an octagonal frame, supported by two tritons at the bottom and two erotes above (pl. 26a). The text offers valuable information about the burial: C. FL. HOSTILIVS / PAP. SERTORIANVS / LAVR. LAV. PAP. EQ. R. M. / SIBI ET DOMITIAE // T. FILIAE SEVERAE / CONIVGI INCOMPARA/BILI V. F. / ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙ ΧΑΙΡΕ ΟΡΕΣΙ ΑΕΙ // ΜΝΗΜΩΝ.³⁰⁷³ As indicated by the Latin text, the sarcophagus was dedicated by C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus as a memorial to himself and to his wife Domitia Severa, the daughter of Titus.³⁰⁷⁴ The spouses were clearly from the upper echelons of society. Indeed, the husband is described as a Roman equestrian, holding the religious offices of pontiff and priest (in the college of Laurens Lavinias).³⁰⁷⁵ He refers to his wife as incomparable. The significance of the Greek text is disputed, but seems to bid the mountains farewell.³⁰⁷⁶ The inscription is flanked by *aediculae* with portraits figures of C. Flavius

³⁰⁶⁶ This observation is also relevant for the portraits of women as Virtus, see chap. 5.3.3.2.

³⁰⁶⁷ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, DIA18.

³⁰⁶⁸ Rodenwaldt 1937, 134. The length of the casket is 2.65 m, the height 1.30 m, and the depth 1.35 m.

³⁰⁶⁹ The reuse of the sarcophagus for a burial during the Middle Ages is suggested by the lid, which is not ancient, Rodenwaldt 1937, 134.

³⁰⁷⁰ Rodenwaldt 1937, 134; Gabelmann 1973, 73

³⁰⁷¹ Gabelmann 1973, 72f.

³⁰⁷² Gabelmann 1973, 73; Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 819 no. 144. H. Wrede, however, assigns the sarcophagus to 210-220 CE, arguing that the hairstyle of Domitia Severa is similar to Iulia Domna, except that the hair is already tucked behind the ears, Wrede 1981, 227 cat. 94.

³⁰⁷³ For the inscription, CIL 05, 2044.

³⁰⁷⁴ It is common for patrons to prepare funerary monuments for themselves during their lifetimes, especially on the occasion of the death of a spouse or family member; this ensured an appropriate burial that suited the patron's wishes, expressed conjugal and familial bonds, and even showed a willingness to confront death and to cope with this reality by emphasizing one's lasting vitality, Bielfeldt 2019, 68-72.

³⁰⁷⁵ For discussion on the college of the Laurens Lavinias, Saulnier 1984.

³⁰⁷⁶ For discussion on the significance, Rodenwaldt 1937, 134 footnote 2.

Hostilius Sertorianus and Domitia Severa, portrayed as a *togatus* and *palliata* respectively.³⁰⁷⁷ The man holds a scroll in the left hand, but his wife grasps her drapery.³⁰⁷⁸

The rest of the imagery on the sarcophagus is dedicated to hunting themes. The shorter side to the right portrays a man hunting a boar on horseback, which is primarily based on Attic models (pl. 26b).³⁰⁷⁹ He is dressed in a short, unbelted *chiton*, as well as a *chlamys* billowing behind him. He holds the reins of his galloping horse and raises his spear in the air, while his dog bites the hind leg of the boar. The head is extremely worn, but is certainly furnished with the features of C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus.³⁰⁸⁰ The back of the sarcophagus shows the return from the hunt (pl. 27a). It is probably safe to assume that the main hunter on horseback at the centre is C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus, since he wears the same dress as on the short side.³⁰⁸¹ He is flanked by two assistants on foot, throwing out their arms in triumph.³⁰⁸² The assistants to the front carry a baby bear in a net; another assistant at the back drives a mule with nets on its back.³⁰⁸³ The dress of these assistants is largely contemporary (e.g. *tunica*, fur hats), but includes unrealistic elements as well (e.g. *himation* draped around the shoulders and over one arm).³⁰⁸⁴ Two hunting dogs accompany them. It is possible that the overall theme refers to his equestrian rank, but surely to his personal qualities as well.³⁰⁸⁵

The shorter side to the left features a portrait of Domitia Severa in the guise of a huntress (pl. 27b). The face is severely worn, but clearly furnished with individualized features due to the coiffure: the globular hairstyle, which is parted at the centre, arranged into simple waves and tucked behind the ears, is typical of the successors of Iulia Domna.³⁰⁸⁶ Quite remarkably, Domitia Severa is portrayed subduing a deer: she strides powerfully forward, grabbing the deer by its antlers with both hands and driving it into the ground. She wears a short-sleeved, high-girdled *chiton*, which is hitched up to just above the knees. It is possible that she also wears an extremely short *chlamys*, pinned at the front of

³⁰⁷⁷ This is the standard format for representations of spouses on Northern Italian sarcophagi, Rodenwaldt 1937, 135-137; see also Gabelmann 1973, 69f. H. Gabelmann identifies C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus as the *togatus* type and Domitia Severa as the *palliata* type, Gabelmann 1973, 69f.

³⁰⁷⁸ The left hand of the woman is poorly preserved. It is, however, standard for men to hold a scroll and women to clutch at their clothes in this format; for examples, Gabelmann 1973, 210 cat. 31; 215 cat. 59; 216 cat. 65.

³⁰⁷⁹ Rodenwaldt 1937, 138.

³⁰⁸⁰ Gabelmann 1973, 72; Rodenwaldt 1937, 138f.

³⁰⁸¹ Gabelmann 1973, 74; Rodenwaldt 1937, 137.

³⁰⁸² Rodenwaldt 1937, 137.

³⁰⁸³ Gabelmann 1973, 74.

³⁰⁸⁴ For discussion, Gabelmann 1973, 74f.

³⁰⁸⁵ H. Gabelmann finds it significant that C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus features twice on horseback; he connects the imagery to his equestrian status (mentioned in the dedicatory inscription), since it is unlikely that he actually went hunting on horseback in the mountainous terrain around Bellunum, Gabelmann 1973, 76. Nevertheless, the image of the hunter on horseback is also a sign of personal *virtus* by this time, see chap. 6.2.3.4.

³⁰⁸⁶ Gabelmann 1973, 73.

her neck with a brooch.³⁰⁸⁷ The fine folds emphasize the movement of the body, with the bloused fabric and lower hem fluttering dramatically behind her. She also wears fur boots.

The portrait of Domitia Severa is most closely patterned after images of Diana overpowering and killing a deer.³⁰⁸⁸ The iconographic type - which is ultimately indebted to the theme of Nike slaughtering the bull - probably emerged at the end of the 5th century BCE.³⁰⁸⁹ At first, Artemis is portrayed in long robes, grabbing the deer by the horns, to stab it or burn it with a torch (pl. 243b).³⁰⁹⁰ During the late Classical Period and especially the Hellenistic Era, however, she changes into a short tunic and assumes an even more aggressive stance, immobilizing the deer by ramming her left knee into its back.³⁰⁹¹ The overall schema is occasionally replicated in the Roman Imperial Period.³⁰⁹² The most significant example is a freestanding statue from Rome: here, Diana subdues the deer by grabbing its horns and kneeling it in the back, and raises a weapon above her head to deliver the fatal blow.³⁰⁹³ The other examples - mostly votive reliefs - likewise show the huntress armed, either with a lance or a knife.³⁰⁹⁴ The portrait of Domitia Severa closely follows this iconographic type, but differs here, due the lack of weapons.³⁰⁹⁵ She is also portrayed in a less aggressive pose, since she does not ram her knee into its back. Instead, she subdues the deer with her bare hands.

It seems, however, that the portrait of Domitia Severa is practically demythologized here. C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus is not portrayed as a particular mythological hunter (e.g. Hippolytus, Adonis, Meleager), but rather as a generic one.³⁰⁹⁶ He is inserted into a recognizable narrative, pursuing the boar and then triumphantly returning from the hunt. It therefore seems that Domitia Severa is patterned after Diana not to identify her as this goddess in particular, but as a huntress in general, in order to fit her into the overall hunt theme.³⁰⁹⁷ Indeed, the well-established iconography of Diana as a huntress was merely the most suitable, available model for casting the female deceased in this

³⁰⁸⁷ It is difficult to tell from the state of preservation. There is the faint outline of material fastened at the front of the neck with a round detail, as well as an unusual flap of fabric behind her right shoulder. It is, however, probable that these features are merely part of the *chiton*.

³⁰⁸⁸ Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 819 no. 144.

³⁰⁸⁹ For the images of Artemis subduing a deer in ancient Greece, Kahil - Icard 1984, 653f. nos. 396. 397. 397a. 400-403; 748. The earliest attested case is dated to the end of the 5th century BCE, Kahil - Icard 1984, 653 no. 397. For the connection with images of Nike slaughtering the bull, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 819 no. 139d.

³⁰⁹⁰ For examples, Kahil - Icard 1984, 653 nos. 396. 397, for discussion 748.

³⁰⁹¹ For examples, Kahil - Icard 1984, 653f. nos. 397a. 400-403; for discussion 748. Artemis still grabs the deer's antlers and stabs it with a lance (or in one instance with a knife).

³⁰⁹² For examples, Kahil - Icard 1984, 654 nos. 398. 399; Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 819 nos. 139b. 139d. 140; 821 no. 160.

³⁰⁹³ For the sculptural group, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 821 no. 160. It is poorly preserved (with only the right foot of Artemis still extant) but reconstructed based on some similar statues from Delos, dated to the early Hellenistic Period; for the statues from Delos, Kahil - Icard 1984, 654 nos. 402. 403.

³⁰⁹⁴ For examples, Kahil - Icard 1984, 654 no. 398. 399; Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 819 nos. 139b. 139d. 140. The extant examples from ancient Greece are likewise armed, Kahil - Icard 1984, 653f. nos. 396. 397. 397a. 400-403.

³⁰⁹⁵ Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 819 no. 144.

³⁰⁹⁶ Gabelmann 1973, 73.

³⁰⁹⁷ Gabelmann 1973, 74.

unconventional role.³⁰⁹⁸ The general composition of Diana - if not her dress - is even re-purposed for contemporary hunters on sarcophagi with battue scenes of the 3rd century CE; this demonstrates its tremendous versatility in producing a hunting identity for the purposes of commemoration (pl. 244a).³⁰⁹⁹ It is nevertheless notable that Domitia Severa is not directly integrated into the hunt narrative, but portrayed independently of her husband. Overall, the contemporary hunt narrative on the sarcophagus precludes the identification of Domitia Severa as Diana in particular. Instead, the dress and actions of the goddess were latched onto in order to unequivocally present her as a huntress in general. She is situated in the world of her husband, yet partially set apart from him.

6.2.2.4 Synthesis of the Material

There are a fair number of private portraits, appearing on a variety of monuments: freestanding statuary, funerary altars and sarcophagi. The portrait type appears by the Flavian Period at the latest,³¹⁰⁰ but the evidence tends to cluster around the Hadrianic and Antonine Periods.³¹⁰¹ The latest examples appear on sarcophagi, dated to 220-230 CE.³¹⁰² The majority of the monuments were produced and set up at Rome and its environs, or at least in the Italian peninsula (e.g. Latium, Campania, Veneto et Histria).³¹⁰³ It is clear that the monuments also attracted customers further afield: indeed, the first known Roman Hunt Sarcophagus was discovered in Hispania.³¹⁰⁴ The statue of a women modeled after the Artemis Colonna is seemingly unique, insofar as it was produced and set-up in the Greek East.³¹⁰⁵ The altars and sarcophagi were obviously displayed in a funerary setting.³¹⁰⁶ In the case of the freestanding statuary, however, the exact context is often difficult to determine. The bust of a young girl as Diana was certainly produced after her death, due to the presence of the *acanthus calyx* at the base.³¹⁰⁷ It is plausible that the majority of the remaining freestanding statues come from the funerary context as well, since this is the most common display context for private mythological portraits in general.³¹⁰⁸ This hypothesis is supported by the fact that a number of statues were discovered near roads lined with tombs.³¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, the possibility of other display contexts

³⁰⁹⁸ Gabelmann 1973, 74.

³⁰⁹⁹ For examples, Andrae 1980, 143 cat. 4; 147 cat. 27; 153 cat. 57; 153f. cat. 59; 164 cat. 112. Note, however, that other mythological figures also hunt in this manner (e.g. Hercules attacks the Kerynitian Deer in a similar manner; for examples in Roman visual culture, Boardman et al. 1990, 51f. nos. 2213-2233).

³¹⁰⁰ DIA4. 5. 8.

³¹⁰¹ DIA1. 2. 3. 6. 7. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14.

³¹⁰² DIA15. 16. 17. 18. Of course, this only considers the monuments with known proveniences.

³¹⁰³ DIA1. 2. 3. 4. 6. 7. 10. 12. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18.

³¹⁰⁴ DIA17.

³¹⁰⁵ DIA13.

³¹⁰⁶ DIA1. 2. 3. 8. 9. 15. 16. 17. 18.

³¹⁰⁷ DIA7.

³¹⁰⁸ Private mythological portraiture tends to come from a funerary context, see Wrede 1981, 67-175.

³¹⁰⁹ DIA4. 6. 10.

should not be excluded here (e.g. domestic).³¹¹⁰ In fact, the statue group of Diana and Iphigenia is from a cultic context at Rome - this monument is, however, an anomaly in several respects.³¹¹¹

It is significant that not only girls are identified with Diana, but also women. This is evident from the facial features especially, but at times also the coiffures - their bodies, on the other hand, are generally taken over from the goddess and therefore not a reliable indicator for sexual maturity.³¹¹² Girls and women alike are portrayed as Diana on funerary altars.³¹¹³ Both are also commemorated in freestanding statuary, but often with notable differences in size. There are shorter statues for girls (min. ca. 1.00 m),³¹¹⁴ but taller statues for women (max. 1.88 m),³¹¹⁵ or perhaps somewhere in between for those in a state of transition.³¹¹⁶ These findings are consistent with broader trends: the diminutive versions of mythological portraits are typical for girls, but the full size versions are typical for women.³¹¹⁷ The inscriptions indicate that the monuments of girls were dedicated by their parents (as well as close family members),³¹¹⁸ whereas those for women were dedicated by their husbands³¹¹⁹ - this is by far the most plausible scenario anyway.³¹²⁰ The sarcophagi with hunting themes from Roman workshops, featuring portrait groups of married couples, were set up by the man, the woman or both, depending on factors like prior planning and the order of death.³¹²¹

The social status of the portrait subjects, as well as the commissioners of the monuments, varies considerably. Private mythological portraiture was especially popular among imperial freedpersons, mimicking the trends of the imperial court.³¹²² Statius also indicates that Abscantis - the freedman of Domitian - honoured his wife Priscilla as Diana.³¹²³ The connection to this social class is confirmed in two cases here: for the funerary altar of Aelia Procula, whose father was a freedman of Hadrian, and of Aelia Tyche, which was discovered in the *columbarium* of the freedmen of Allidia.³¹²⁴ The woman

³¹¹⁰ For other possible contexts for private mythological portraiture, Wrede 1981, 177-186. For instance, it is possible that DIA10 came from the Villa Quintili.

³¹¹¹ DIA14.

³¹¹² For the portraits of girls as Diana, it is possible to see an incongruity between childish faces and developed bodies, D'Ambra 2008, 175 (DIA1). In some cases, however, the girls have notably flat chests, e.g. DIA6.

³¹¹³ DIA1. 2. 3. 8.

³¹¹⁴ DIA4. 5. 6. It has been argued that smaller statues were suitable for portraits of girls (the corollary being that full-size statues were selected for women), Simon 1984, 842.

³¹¹⁵ DIA10. 12.

³¹¹⁶ DIA5 (ca. 1.00 m) and DIA6 (1.06 m) are smaller than DIA4 (1.49 m), probably because these represent younger girls. DIA10 (ca. 1.60 m) and DIA11 (ca. 1.65 m) are smaller than DIA12 (1.85 m) and DIA14 (1.88 m), probably because these represent younger women. On the other hand, the height of the statue need not be proportionate to the age: for instance, DIA13 (ca. 1.00 m) represents a woman.

³¹¹⁷ Alexandridis 2004, 57.

³¹¹⁸ DIA1. 2. 3.

³¹¹⁹ DIA9. 18.

³¹²⁰ As discussed by A. Backe-Dahmen, there are hardly any funerary altars dedicated to the female deceased aged 15 and up by their parents; indeed, daughters were usually married by the age of 16, and so their husbands would typically dedicate their altar instead, Backe-Dahmen 2006, 89.

³¹²¹ DIA15. 16. 17.

³¹²² Wrede 1981, 159-170.

³¹²³ Stat. silv. 5, 1, 231-235.

³¹²⁴ DIA1. 2.

commemorated on the Venator Sarcophagus probably falls into a similar category as well: if her husband did in fact perform in the arena, then the married couple was surely of humble rank, but nevertheless managed to accumulate a considerable amount of wealth.³¹²⁵ Members of the upper echelons of society are nevertheless attested as well. The sarcophagus of C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus and Domitia Severa indicates their equestrian rank.³¹²⁶ The Roman Hunt Sarcophagus is probably destined for a married couple of higher status as well.³¹²⁷ In particular, the portraits of men in hunting dress (i.e. lacking all military reference) on these monuments have been identified as high-ranking civil servants, belonging as a rule to the senatorial class.³¹²⁸

The female portrait subject is identified with Diana - or as an Artemisian huntress in general - by placing her individualized head directly on the body of the goddess. It is possible for the portrait head to assume idealized facial features in the process, as well as divine coiffures (e.g. hairstyle of the Dresden Artemis, Venus-bow).³¹²⁹ The majority of the portrait figures rely on conventional statuary types, originally created in the Late Classical and Hellenistic Periods.³¹³⁰ The most popular model for girls is the Versailles-Leptis Magna Artemis - here, the goddess is portrayed in short attire, running through the woods.³¹³¹ For women, however, the preferred statuary types portray the goddess in short attire, but completely stationary (e.g. Seville-Palatine ("Laphria") Artemis).³¹³² This is not to suggest that there is a strict dichotomy between active girls and passive women. Both age groups frequently perform the same actions: that is, reaching for the quiver on the right shoulder and holding a bow in the left. Moreover, it is possible to show women vigorously striding forward, subduing a deer, or even sweeping in to rescue a maiden.³¹³³ In most cases, the conventional statuary type of the goddess is taken over with little modification. There are usually only subtle differences, such as an obvious turn in the head,³¹³⁴ loosening the garment on one side,³¹³⁵ bunching the *himation* on the shoulder,³¹³⁶ or disarming the woman.³¹³⁷ The possible portrait of a woman as Diana and Iphigenia from the Sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus is anomalous in this respect: the statuary type is heavily modified in order to accentuate her astral character.³¹³⁸ The only portrait figures that are not dependent on conventional

³¹²⁵ DIA16. Andrae 1980, 136. For discussion on the low social status of arena performers, see chap. 2.1.2.2.3.

³¹²⁶ DIA18.

³¹²⁷ DIA17.

³¹²⁸ Andrae 1980, 30-32. 49-65. 136. For discussion on the social rank of men and women buried in Roman Hunt Sarcophagi, see chap. 5.3.3.1.

³¹²⁹ DIA4. 5. 11. 14.

³¹³⁰ For an exception to the rule, DIA8.

³¹³¹ DIA1. 2. 6. See also DIA5.

³¹³² DIA8. 10. 12.

³¹³³ DIA13. 14. 18.

³¹³⁴ DIA1. 2. 6. 14.

³¹³⁵ DIA1. 2.

³¹³⁶ DIA5.

³¹³⁷ DIA18.

³¹³⁸ DIA14.

statuary types appear on sarcophagi from Roman workshops: the women uniquely appear directly next to their husbands, reaching to embrace them in a manner that is unattested for the huntress.³¹³⁹

To focus on the dress, it is notable that the female portrait subjects almost invariably wear Diana's huntress costume.³¹⁴⁰ It is true that the image of the goddess with a short *chiton*, arms and boots is favoured in the Roman Imperial Period in general, but alternate outfits were available as well. She appears with long robes, sandals and other accessories, whether as a huntress, lunar goddess or saviour, or even completely nude, in scenes casting her as the object of sexual desire.³¹⁴¹ A few cases clearly demonstrate that the huntress costume was preferred over these other possibilities. First of all, the portrait of a girl in the Palazzo Massimo is closely modeled after the Artemis of Dresden, yet her feminine *peplos* and sandals are traded in for a short *chiton* and boots.³¹⁴² Secondly, the statue group of Diana and Iphigenia is heavily modified to foreground her role as a lunar goddess, who usually wears long robes and sandals; in this case, however, she retains the standard huntress costume (i.e. short *chiton*, boots).³¹⁴³ Thirdly, the portraits of women as "Diana" on Roman Hunt Sarcophagi are not dependent on any conventional statuary type and increasingly demythologized; as such, the huntress costume is selected from scratch and freed from the mythical narrative, allowing it to signify her role as a huntress in general.³¹⁴⁴ There is, however, a notable exception to the rule: one woman is modeled after the Artemis Colonna, which produces a heavy contrast between intense, "manly" behaviour and modest, feminine dress.³¹⁴⁵ In addition, the female portrait subjects can wear eastern elements of dress (i.e. *nebris*, bow/arrow, fur boots), yet the latter element is taken up by men in Roman portraiture as well.³¹⁴⁶ They only appear with spears in cases of demythologization.³¹⁴⁷

Overall, the female portrait subjects are generally commemorated as the most masculinized version of the goddess possible. The huntress costume is overwhelmingly favoured. Moreover, she is most often shown participating in the hunt, but with varying degrees of intensity. There are, however, also attempts to partially counterbalance her masculine traits, such as partially feminizing the dress, disarming her, or even pairing her with a male lover. Barbarian features are minimized.

³¹³⁹ DIA15. 16. 14.

³¹⁴⁰ For the huntress costume of Diana, see chap. 6.1.1. Note that they wears sandals in two cases, DIA1. DIA6.

³¹⁴¹ For examples of Diana wearing long dress and sandals, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 796-801 nos. 1-9. 11-15. Non-hunting roles are uncommon, but attested (e.g. Diana is portrayed with one torch as an astral and hence lunar goddess, or with two torches as a *soteira*, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 844). Diana is portrayed nude in the presence of Aktaion, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 836f. nos. 328-335.

³¹⁴² DIA4.

³¹⁴³ DIA14. In the images of Diana holding a torch, the goddess is typically dressed in long robes; for examples, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 810 no. 43; 824 nos. 205. 208; 828 nos. 262. 265. 266. For an exception, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 827 no. 237b.

³¹⁴⁴ DIA15. 16. 14. The same process of demythologization is witnessed elsewhere as well, DIA18. "Diana" is in quotation marks here and elsewhere because this refers to the demythologized version thereof.

³¹⁴⁵ DIA13.

³¹⁴⁶ DIA2. 4. 5. 8. 12. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18.

³¹⁴⁷ DIA16. 17.

In rare cases, the female portrait subject is identified with Diana by adding the goddess' identifying attributes to her grave monument. This is best exemplified by the funerary altar of Iulia Secunda: it features a portrait bust of the girl, with an "apotheosizing" *bisellium* and a bow/quiver directly above her.³¹⁴⁸ The altar of Fulvia Trophima Benedicta is a bit different: the iconography is exclusively dedicated to the attributes of Diana.³¹⁴⁹ It ought to be noted that similar monuments are attested in the Roman Province of Macedonia during the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE.³¹⁵⁰ Here, Artemis is presented as a prominent figure on the grave monuments of girls, in order to establish an indirect connection with between the virginal goddess and the prematurely deceased maidens.³¹⁵¹

The female portrait subjects are praised with varied, but standard epithets. In fact, *dulcissima* (sweetest), *piissima* (dutiful), *sancta* (pious) and *optima* (best) are some of the most common laudatory adjectives for the female deceased on Roman funerary monuments - these are used regardless of class and over the course of generations.³¹⁵² There was, however, the possibility of creating a slightly more individualized dedication, either by enumerating the female deceased's outstanding qualities, or by including unusual laudatory formulas.³¹⁵³ The first method is attested in the case of Iulia Secunda. Here, the eleven-year-old girl is praised for her unique beauty, dutiful habits and even her learning, which surpasses other girls of her age.³¹⁵⁴ She is therefore marked out as exceptional, but still in a gender-specific manner. The second method is attested in the case of Fulvia Trophima Benedicta, whose husband claims to have never complained about her in forty years of living together.³¹⁵⁵ Since epigraphic formulae are stereotypical and standardized over the course of centuries, it seems that "epigraphy was not a medium to challenge the gendered assignments of social norms and roles, but to make them firm, steadfast, even immobile."³¹⁵⁶

6.2.3 Interpretation

6.2.3.1 State of the Question

The capacity for Diana to convey positive messages about the female deceased has received a fair amount of attention, and the essential virtues have been identified.³¹⁵⁷ There is, however, more to do here. First of all, the portraiture has not been analyzed in a comprehensive manner, which takes all of

³¹⁴⁸ DIA3.

³¹⁴⁹ DIA9.

³¹⁵⁰ For examples, Wrede 1981, 229f. cat. 98-102.

³¹⁵¹ For general discussion on the (indirect) identification of the deceased with deities on funerary monuments from the Province of Macedonia, Düll 1975; Terzopoulou 2010.

³¹⁵² Riess 2012, 493. *Incomparabilis* (DIA18) is also frequently attributed to women, Von Hesberg-Tonn 1983, 215.

³¹⁵³ Riess 2012, 493-495.

³¹⁵⁴ DIA3.

³¹⁵⁵ DIA9.

³¹⁵⁶ Riess 2012, 500.

³¹⁵⁷ Traditional interpretations of the portraiture focus on qualities like *castitas* and *pulchritudo*. E. D'Ambra, in her examination of portraits of girls as Diana (DIA1. 2. 4. 7), calls the goddess' strict connection to the feminine world into question and instead highlights her masculine qualities (e.g. *virtus*), D'Ambra 2008, 181. Moreover, I.L. Hansen argues that the portrait group of a man and woman as Diana and Hippolytus on the Venator Sarcophagus (DIA16) are praised for both *concordia* and *virtus*, Hansen 2007, 110-112. 116.

the extant cases into consideration. This selective examination of portraiture leads to insightful, yet incomplete results, which cannot possibly account for its sheer variety. It can even lead to biased results: in fact, it is frequently claimed that the portrait type is especially relevant to girls, or even exclusive to them, which is not the case.³¹⁵⁸ Secondly, the portraiture is traditionally interpreted in light of traditional female virtues. This has been rightfully challenged,³¹⁵⁹ but this reassessment of the material can be strengthened by giving due consideration to the dress especially, as a visual code expressing praiseworthy qualities in its own right.³¹⁶⁰ Thirdly, it is essential to approach the monuments in a chronologically precise manner, which takes both (female) virtues, as well as the changing iconographic expression of those virtues, into consideration.³¹⁶¹ It is therefore worthwhile conducting a fuller, more nuanced reassessment of the monuments, which focuses on the iconography and the dress especially in its own right, as well as in light of contemporary trends in visual culture. The observations on the dress of Diana outlined above will serve as a valuable interpretative key for the portraiture of women of all ages in her guise.³¹⁶²

6.2.3.2 Imperial Models?

The portraits of imperial women in the guise of Diana will be briefly considered here, as a point of comparison for the private portraits. It has been argued that imperial women are frequently portrayed in the guise of Diana, in virtually all periods.³¹⁶³ The trend allegedly started with Livia (the wife of Augustus), reached its apex with Sabina (the wife of Hadrian) and then ended with Iulia Paula (the wife of Elagabalus).³¹⁶⁴ It seems, however, that the majority of the proposed identifications are questionable.³¹⁶⁵ In fact, a renewed look at the monuments has reached entirely different conclusions: it is true that women are regularly identified with goddesses in imperial portraiture, but Diana is not

³¹⁵⁸ E. D'Ambra identifies the portraits of females in the guise of Diana on altars and freestanding statuary as girls and young women (i.e. on the cusp of maturity), D'Ambra 2008, 172-179. She excludes the sarcophagi from her analysis, arguing that these monuments demands separate consideration, D'Ambra 2008, 171 footnote 1; there is, however, an undeniable connection in terms of the huntress costume. The special connection to girls is highlighted by others as well, e.g. Backe-Dahmen 2006, 187f. cat. F 65; Simon - Bauchhenss, 819 no. 144.

³¹⁵⁹ D'Ambra 2008, 181; Hansen 2007, 110-112. 116; see also Birk 2013, 137.

³¹⁶⁰ The signifying power of Diana's dress has received limited attention in the portraiture, D'Ambra 2008, 175. 177f. 181; Hansen 2007, 112.

³¹⁶¹ For example, it is necessary to ask how the portraits of girls and women as Diana fit into contemporary trends in visual culture (e.g. in portraiture of imperial women, in visual expressions of *virtus*).

³¹⁶² For discussion, see chap. 6.1.1.

³¹⁶³ Mikocki 1995b, 95. For the proposed portraits of imperial women in the guise of Diana, Mikocki 1995b, 95f.; Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 822 no. 172; 824 no. 208; 831f. no. 280.

³¹⁶⁴ See footnote 3163.

³¹⁶⁵ Several examples will be listed here: a) the reverse of a *denarius* minted by C. Marius at Rome in 13 BCE allegedly depicts Diana with the portrait features of Iulia, the daughter of Augustus, Mikocki 1995b, 170f. cat. 137; Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 822 no. 172; it seems, however, that the generally Augustan physiognomy is taken over here to cast her as Diana Augusta, Pollini 1990, 353-355; Wood 1999, 63f. 67f.; Varner 2008, 185-187; b) a medallion depicting Faustina Minor on the obverse, as well as Diana with the attributes of Luna and the legend *SIDERIBVS RECEPIT* on the reverse, is likewise identified as a theomorphic portrait, Mikocki 1995b, 203 cat. 367; Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 824 no. 208; the iconography, however, only draws an indirect connection between the empress and the goddess, Alexandridis 2004, 19-25 (for general discussion on the "ladies' mintages"); 325 tab. 23b (for the medallion); c) finally, the Parthian Monument from Ephesos portrays Lucius Verus as the New Sol alongside Diana-Luna, who is identified as Lucilla here, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 831f. no. 280; the identification is, however, not certain, since the head is missing.

one of particular significance.³¹⁶⁶ The most plausible cases are limited to the minor arts (i.e. coins, cameos) (pl. 244b. 247b).³¹⁶⁷ The imperial women are invariably portrayed in bust format, with the divine identification contingent on the quiver on their back.³¹⁶⁸ It is possible that Sabina is portrayed as Diana in portrait sculpture as well, due to the diadem on her head (pl. 245a),³¹⁶⁹ but it is not clear whether this attribute is sufficient to make the identification.³¹⁷⁰

There is also the possibility of establishing an indirect identification with Diana on the “ladies’ mintages” from Rome: these are coins with portraits of imperial women on the obverse, paired with goddesses conveying certain messages about them on the reverse.³¹⁷¹ The association with Diana is first attested with Faustina Maior.³¹⁷² She is not one of the most popular goddesses in the repertoire - with Ceres, Concordia, Juno, Pietas, Venus and Vesta, as well as Fecunditas and Pudicitia, predominating here³¹⁷³ - but appears on the coin issues of nearly all of this empress’ successors.³¹⁷⁴ On the coins with Faustina Maior, Diana is portrayed in long robes and holding a torch in a *quadriga* (four-horse chariot) with the legend CONSECRATIO.³¹⁷⁵ Afterwards, the goddess is as a rule portrayed standing in long robes with a torch in her hands, at times combined with a crescent moon at the shoulders (pl. 245b).³¹⁷⁶ The legend on the reverse is DIANA LVCIFERA, DIANA LVCINA or SIDERIBVS RECEPTA. On one coin issue with Faustina Minor, however, Diana is portrayed in long robes and holding a bow and arrow (pl. 246a).³¹⁷⁷ If there is a legend, then it reads AVGVSTI PII FILIA. The medallions minted at Rome exhibit these same themes,³¹⁷⁸ but also additional ones for Faustina Minor. In one case, Diana is shown in long robes,

³¹⁶⁶ For a summary of the portraits of imperial females as goddesses, Alexandridis 2004, 82-95.

³¹⁶⁷ Lichtenberger 2011, 367f.; Mikocki 1995b, 181 cat. 208; 196 cat. 316; 201 cat. 352; 210 cat. 413.

³¹⁶⁸ Mikocki 1995b, 95.

³¹⁶⁹ Mikocki 1995b, 196f. cat. 317-320.

³¹⁷⁰ As noted by A. Alexandridis, the diadem could provoke an identification with Diana, but the attribute is not so specific (and other features speak against the identification as well), Alexandridis 2004, 183 cat. 179 footnote 3. Even T. Mikocki is not certain that the diadem is sufficient, Mikocki 1995b, 57f. 95.

³¹⁷¹ The following analysis is based on A. Alexandridis’ examination of the “ladies’ mintages” (with coin issues spanning from Livia to Iulia Domna), see Alexandridis 2004, 19-28; 307-378 tab. 15-29c. There is a precedent for the female sovereign being associated with Artemis in this manner in the Hellenistic Period. Lysimachos minted coins at Ephesos between 288-280 BCE, with Arsinoe II on the obverse and the quiver/bow or the deer of Artemis on the reverse (probably to fit into the desire of sovereigns to associate themselves with Apollo), Bottari 2010, 353f.

³¹⁷² Alexandridis 2004, 314 tab. 22c. It is also possible that a coin with Faustina Maior on the obverse features Diana on the reverse, portrayed in a *biga* but with no coin legend, Alexandridis 2004, 319 tab. 22h.

³¹⁷³ Alexandridis 2004, 38.

³¹⁷⁴ For Faustina Minor, Alexandridis 2004, 324 tab. 23b; 325 tab. 23b. For Lucilla, Alexandridis 2004, 342 tab. 24a. For Crispina, Alexandridis 2004, 347 tab. 25a. For Iulia Domna, Alexandridis 2004, 353 tab. 28b; see also 354 tab. 28b. Diana is, however, absent on the coins with portraits of Manlia Scantilla and Didia Clara. Note that imperial women are also shown in conjunction with Diana on coins minted in Asia Minor, which will not receive consideration here, e.g. Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 827 no. 237b; 827 nos. 271a. 271e.

³¹⁷⁵ Alexandridis 2004, 314 tab. 22c.

³¹⁷⁶ Alexandridis 2004, 324 tab. 23b; 325 tab. 23b; 342 tab. 24a; 347 tab. 25a; 353 tab. 28b; see also 354 tab. 28b. (Note, however, that there is a unique exception to the rule on the later coinage featuring Plautilla: here, Diana is shown in a short *chiton*, but still with a torch in her hands.)

³¹⁷⁷ Alexandridis 2004, 324 tab. 23b; 325 tab. 23b.

³¹⁷⁸ For a few examples, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 824 nos. 207. 207a. 208.

holding a torch and riding side-saddle on a deer.³¹⁷⁹ In another case, she wears a short tunic and unfurls her mantle next to a spring in preparation for her bath, with her hunting gear set aside (pl. 246b).³¹⁸⁰

The imperial women are hardly associated with Diana in visual culture, suggesting that the goddess' qualities were not so relevant to their representation.³¹⁸¹ The significance of the portraits of imperial women as Diana is not clear. Perhaps their creation is simply attributable to the popularity of the goddess - especially as the object of local worship - combined with the tendency to portray empresses in divine form.³¹⁸² The messages conveyed by the "ladies' mintages" are more straightforward. The coins with the legends CONSECRATIO or SIDERIBVS RECEPTA refer to the apotheosis of the empress (pl. 247a).³¹⁸³ The coins portraying Diana as an astral divinity in general, through attributes like the crescent moon and torch, or texts like DIANA LVCINA and DIANA LVCIFERA, confer on her the light-bringing qualities of Luna.³¹⁸⁴ The empress as Diana-Luna serves as a pendant to the emperor as Apollo-Sol: together these cosmic divinities evoke CONCORDIA AETERNA,³¹⁸⁵ as an expression of dynastic continuity. The coins with Faustina Minor and AVGVSTI PII FILIA simply identify her as the daughter of the Antoninus Pius; as such, her association with Diana, as a virginal goddess, primarily refers to her *castitas* (chastity), including the hopes for future offspring.³¹⁸⁶ The medallions with Faustina Minor shift the focus to the femininity and physical attractiveness of Diana - whether riding side-saddle or gracefully removing her garments - conceivably to evoke her *pulchritudo* (beauty).

The portraits of imperial women as Diana were not used as models for private portraiture, since the identification with the goddess is provoked in a different manner. The empresses are assimilated with Diana in the simplest way possible: by placing a quiver behind the shoulder, as the most characteristic attribute of the goddess.³¹⁸⁷ The quiver is not even worn in a realistic manner, due to the lack of a baldric across the chest. In the process, the remainder of the huntress costume is practically cut out of the equation here. The incongruous nature of the empresses' outfits is exemplified by a cameo portraying Agrippina Minor in the guise of Diana: here, she is dressed like a traditional *matrona* (i.e. *stola*), with the quiver wondrously "floating" behind her back (pl. 247b).³¹⁸⁸ As such, the full-fledged huntress costume is seemingly unattested in imperial portraits of women as Diana, but then

³¹⁷⁹ For the medallion, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 828 no. 262.

³¹⁸⁰ For the medallion, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 827 no. 237a.

³¹⁸¹ For discussion on the portraiture of imperial women, as well as the main themes, see chap. 7.4.

³¹⁸² Mikocki 1995b, 96; see also Lichtenberger 2011, 367f. T. Mikocki also offers other explanations, such as associations with local cults for Diana, cults for the deified empress, or the world of women in general.

³¹⁸³ Alexandridis 2004, 24.

³¹⁸⁴ The semantic range of the torch for Artemis was much wider in Greek art than in Roman art, where it is typically reduced to an astral significance, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 844.

³¹⁸⁵ Alexandridis 2004, 28.

³¹⁸⁶ Alexandridis 2004, 24.

³¹⁸⁷ Mikocki 1995b, 96. The only comparable examples in the corpus of private portraits are the busts of girls/women in the guise of Diana, but here the quivers hang on baldrics, DIA7. 11.

³¹⁸⁸ Mikocki 1995b, 181 cat. 208.

overwhelmingly favoured in the private portraiture. Moreover, it is possible that imperial women are identified with Diana by a diadem, which is not attested in the private portraiture whatsoever.

Even the portrayal of Diana on the “ladies’ mintages” significantly diverges from the private portraiture. The goddess is most often portrayed in long robes and with astral attributes. She is only presented as a huntress in the case of Faustina Minor, but in a much different manner than the private portraiture. There are two possibilities here. First of all, she wears long robes and daintily holds the bow and arrow in her outstretched hands, without actually using them for the hunt. Secondly, she is portrayed in her standard huntress costume, but in the context of the bath: as such, the short, revealing garments merely offered a pretext to show off her physical beauty, without fully undressing. After her father Antoninus Pius died and her husband Marcus Aurelius came to power, the huntress was transformed into the standard cosmic goddess on her coinage.

In summary, on the monuments relevant to the representation of imperial women (e.g. portraits, coins, medallions), Diana is nearly always dressed like a proper woman - her astral qualities are typically foregrounded, whereas her appearance as a huntress is primarily used to express her virginity and beauty.³¹⁸⁹ The opposite is true of the private portraits of women as Diana: here, the goddess is almost invariably dressed in a short tunic and frequently participates in the hunt, whether running or briefly pausing.³¹⁹⁰ The lack of imperial models suggests that the private portraiture fulfilled different needs for self-representation and commemoration.

6.2.3.3 *Castitas*

Tertullian comments on the practice of commemorating the deceased in the guise of the gods. He criticizes the similarities between the funereal and ritual practices of non-Christians: “Do you offer anything in their [i.e. the gods] honour that you do not already confer upon your deceased in equal measure? You erect temples to your gods. You erect temples to your dead in equal measure. You build altars to your gods. The same for your dead. You confer the same titles on the gods as on the dead. You raise statues to them in the likeness of their talent, their occupation, or their age. Saturn appears as an old man; Apollo is clean-shaven; Diana is a virgin; Mars is a soldier and Vulcan is an iron smith. It is no wonder that you offer the same sacrifices to the divine and the dead and burn the same incense.”³¹⁹¹ Tertullian notes that certain qualities of a divinity - including age, occupation and skills - are relevant

³¹⁸⁹ It is true that that medallions/coins minted at Rome with the emperor on the obverse can feature the same images of Diana just discussed here on their reverse (e.g. Hadrian paired with Diana standing in long robes and holding out the bow and arrow, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 824 nos. 195-199). Nevertheless, it seems that only the emperor (but never the empress) is paired with the image of Diana in a short tunic and actively hunting, e.g. Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 827 nos. 242. 244. 245.

³¹⁹⁰ The possible portrait of a woman as Diana from the Sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus brings out the lunar nature of the goddess, but not to the exclusion of her role as a huntress, DIA14.

³¹⁹¹ Tert. nat. 1, 10, 26-28 (translation in Q. Howe, Tertullian, Ad Nationes, I, <https://www.tertullian.org/articles/howe_adnationes1.htm> (01.06.2021)).

to the selection of an “apotheosizing” funerary portrait for the deceased.³¹⁹² In the case of Diana, the virginity of the goddess is identified as a decisive factor.

The portraits of girls as Diana receive the majority of the attention in the scholarship, and are frequently considered an expression of their virginal state as well.³¹⁹³ Girls like Aelia Procula, Aelia Tyche and Iulia Secunda suffer premature deaths: as such, their identification with Diana shows that the maidens will never wed or bear children, the culminating experiences of a woman’s life. It is considered a poignant expression of an unfulfilled life, as well as the grief of the family at their sudden loss. There is probably some truth to this interpretation. Diana was an exceptionally popular role model for girls.³¹⁹⁴ Unlike a lot of other divinities, the goddess actually has a recognizable childhood in the literary sources: she is reported to sit on the lap of her father Zeus, whether seeking protection from Hera or asking him to grant her various wishes.³¹⁹⁵ Even as an adult, she remains in a state of sexual innocence for her entire life. It therefore seems that the portraits of girls as Diana had a sentimental appeal: their identification with the virginal goddess prompted feelings of tenderness, sadness and nostalgia, suitable for the commemoration of maidens in particular.

The most glaring problem with the interpretation, however, is that it cannot apply to women in general - indeed, there are even monuments dedicated to married women here.³¹⁹⁶ It has been attempted to reconcile this issue by specifying that the divine identification more accurately evokes the virtue of *castitas*, which refers not merely to virginity, but also to notions of modesty or moral purity.³¹⁹⁷ It is not outside the realm of possibility that the viewers projected this mythological baggage - which is never entirely suppressed - onto a marital context.³¹⁹⁸ It is, however, necessary to ask if the signs observable on the monuments actually point to *castitas* in particular. The funerary altar of Fulvia Trophima Benedicta certainly praises her as a *coniunx sancta* (pious wife), which carries notions of chastity and integrity;³¹⁹⁹ it is, however, problematic to interpret the portraits in light of laudatory epithets, since the textual and visual semiotic systems are not interchangeable. Moreover, the iconography of the portraits does not clearly signify the virtue of *castitas* in particular. There were a multitude of modestly draped portrait types for evoking sexual and moral purity in women (e.g. Large Herculaneum Women, Pudicitia).³²⁰⁰ These frequently replicated commemorative monuments represent a cultural ideal, of a

³¹⁹² Tertullian treats these monuments a sort of “private apotheosis”, which is not the case, but it seems reasonable that the text would contain a lot of biased information about non-Christian funerary practices.

³¹⁹³ For examples, Alexandridis 2004, 57; Backe-Dahmen 2006, 187f. cat. F65; Caldwell 2015, 21f.; Candilio 2004, 49-51; Granino Cecere 2001, 293; Kleiner 1987, 85; Matheson 1996, 189f.; Wrede 1981, 59. 109. E. D’Ambra claims that “girls were depicted as Diana in Roman funerary sculpture... because the goddess’s status as chaste maiden reflected the girls’ stage of life,” but for other reasons too, D’Ambra 1998, 107f.; D’Ambra 2008, 181.

³¹⁹⁴ DIA1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.

³¹⁹⁵ Hom. Il. 12, 505-13; Call. h.3, 1-27.

³¹⁹⁶ DIA8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18.

³¹⁹⁷ For examples of this argument, Backe-Dahmen 2006, 187f. cat. F 65; Sande 2009, 62; Wrede 1981, 147-148.

³¹⁹⁸ For further discussion, see chap. 6.2.3.3.

³¹⁹⁹ DIA9.

³²⁰⁰ For discussion on draped statuary types for women and their connotations (e.g. modesty, faithfulness, chastity), see chap. 2.1.3.2.

woman who is not only beautiful and elegant, but also of a “sexually faithful, domestically oriented, heir-producing matron who was reluctant to be seen in the public arena.”³²⁰¹ The goddess Diana, with short, revealing attire, bears no resemblance to these models.

6.2.3.4 *Virtus*

The portraits of girls and women as Diana demand consideration in their own right. The focus is not on her traditional feminine virtues, but rather on her role as a huntress, possessing qualities like strength and courage.³²⁰² This is signified first and foremost by her dress: the short *chiton*, coiled *himation*, fur boots and arms (i.e. quiver, bow, spear) cast her as an active, fierce woman, at home in the world of men.³²⁰³ It is important to recognize that the dress is not strictly functional.³²⁰⁴ Rather, the short, securely fastened garments and hunting accessories characterize the huntress as a “masculine woman”.³²⁰⁵ The costume was developed by the Greeks for Artemis, Atalante and minor huntresses, but then adopted by the Romans for “new” huntresses (e.g. Dido) - the use of this costume in new contexts confirms its power to signify in an independent manner. It is also important to recognize that females in this dress are imbued with “manly” qualities, regardless of their precise actions. Some of them are in active pursuit;³²⁰⁶ others merely stand quietly, whether during the hunt or in another context entirely.³²⁰⁷ It makes little difference. The important point is that the girls and women are dressed up for a role reserved for members of the opposite sex. Indeed, the hunt was the prerogative of men; in contrast, there is no indication that women were encouraged to engage in this activity.³²⁰⁸

It seems that the portraits of girls and women wearing the hunting dress of Diana are consistently celebrated for their *virtus* in particular.³²⁰⁹ This is supported by a broader look at Roman visual

³²⁰¹ Davies 2008, 208.

³²⁰² It has been argued that the portraits of girls and women as Diana evoke *virtus* (or qualities subsumed by *virtus*, e.g. strength, courage), Birk 2013, 137; D'Ambra 2008, 181; Hansen 2007, 110-112; Mander 2013, 58. This examination seeks to reinforce this idea by focusing on the dress in particular - which is sufficient for evoking *virtus* in its own right - as well as by situating this in broader trends for commemoration.

³²⁰³ For the significance of the huntress costume, see chap. 6.1.1 The dress has received limited attention here. E. D'Ambra focuses on select features of the dress. She argues that the general overlap in the nature of the Amazons and Diana (as untamed virgins, assuming active roles in the wild) allows for the transfer of the bare breast of the Amazons to Diana on DIA1 and DIA2; she also notes its connection to “manly” personifications like *Virtus* and *Roma*, D'Ambra 2008, 175. 181. Moreover, she identifies the footwear of Diana on DIA4 as boots decorated with panthers' heads, which are characteristic of the Amazons and maenads; the purpose of this bacchic feature is to mark these worn as the *other*, outside of social control, D'Ambra 2008, 177f. I.L. Hansen treats the entire outfit of Diana on DIA16 as an sign of *virtus*, due to its similarities to that of *Virtus*, Hansen 2007, 110-112. For the most part, the portraits of women as Diana have been ascribed qualities related to *virtus* for other reasons (e.g. literary tradition, ritual practices, rapid movement, connection to hunting scenes), which are of secondary importance here.

³²⁰⁴ E. D'Ambra argues that the majority of the clothing and gear of Diana on DIA4 is strictly functional (e.g. the short *chiton* merely allows for movement), D'Ambra 2008, 177f.

³²⁰⁵ For discussion, see chap. 6.1.1.

³²⁰⁶ DIA1. 2. 5. 6. 13. 14. 18.

³²⁰⁷ DIA4. 8. 10. 12. 15. 16. 17.

³²⁰⁸ Anderson 1985, 90f. 136-138. (he notes, however, the possibility that a girl features in a hare hunt on a mosaic from ancient Thysdrus in Tunisia); D'Ambra 2008, 181.

³²⁰⁹ See footnotes 3188 and 3189. *Virtus* is preferred to qualities like strength, courage, etc. here, as a more encompassing virtue; the connection between hunting dress and *virtus* is also supported by the visual record.

culture.³²¹⁰ The hunt played an important role in ancient Greece,³²¹¹ and the recourse to cynegetic imagery for self-representation had a long pedigree in this society.³²¹² It has been suggested that the hunt is essentially un-Roman: it was originally limited to professional hunters from the lower ranks, and only came to be appreciated by the upper classes through Greek influence, beginning in the 2nd century BCE.³²¹³ There is, however, no compelling evidence for this sort of disdainful attitude towards hunting.³²¹⁴ It seems that the Romans had always hunted not only as a practical necessity (i.e. sustenance, killing predators), but also as a communal activity, “to bind citizens, friends, or allies [of different social ranks] into a successful, mutually cooperative unit,” in several contexts (e.g. rites of passage, preparation for military service).³²¹⁵ Besides this, the aristocratic classes enjoyed the hunt as a pastime, to display their exceptional wealth, skill and virtue.³²¹⁶ The first concrete link between hunting and *virtus* is provided by Polybius: he notes that Scipio Aemilianus’ zeal for the hunt gained him a universal reputation for courage.³²¹⁷ This was certainly not the conventional way for young men to gain honour in Roman society, but granted an equal status to fulfilling the usual civic duties (e.g. making speeches, networking) by his contemporaries.³²¹⁸

It is nevertheless true that hunting only played a minor role in the visual self-representation of Roman men during the Republican and Augustan Periods.³²¹⁹ There was a major breakthrough in imperial portraiture by the reign of Domitian at the latest: by this time, the *virtus* of the emperor is expressed

³²¹⁰ We have seen that the *virtus* of men is evoked in Roman visual culture through military iconography (including dress) by the Republican Period at the latest, see chap. 5.2.3.4. The next question is whether or not hunting iconography already served a similar function by the time the monuments under consideration were being produced. It will be argued here that this was the case.

³²¹¹ See Barringer 2001.

³²¹² Men were occasionally commemorated as hunters on Attic funerary monuments of the Classical Period. For a list of Greek funerary reliefs with young men as hunters, both within and outside Attica, Schild-Xenidou 1997, 257f. footnotes 50-52; for a list of further examples from Attica (including older men as well), Barringer 2001, 256 footnote 13. Philip II and Alexander the Great were shown as hunters as well (e.g. the so-called Alexander Sarcophagus from Sidon, the frieze of Tomb II at Vergina, see Franks 2012; Von Graeve 1970). The hunt proliferated in the elite visual culture of Macedonia and East Greece during the 4th century BCE in general, presumably as a means of constructing and communicating traditional notions of masculinity. For discussion on images expressing dominance (i.e. hunt, war and abduction) in Macedonian visual culture of the 4th century BCE, which presumably appealed to growing expansionist aspirations, Cohen 2010. Hunting imagery was also common in East Greece (e.g. Lykia), especially on funerary monuments, Barringer, 2001, 181-202.

³²¹³ Orth 1916, 562. The notion that Romans of good standing did not start to hunt until the 2nd century BCE, and that this activity only found wider acceptance among the upper classes during the reign of Hadrian, has endured, e.g. Anderson 1985, 83-100.

³²¹⁴ Green 1996.

³²¹⁵ Green 1996, 226.

³²¹⁶ Green 1996, 226.

³²¹⁷ Pol. 31, 29, 1-12; Anderson 1985, 84f.

³²¹⁸ Green 1996, 244-254.

³²¹⁹ S.L. Tuck notes that there is basically no hunting imagery in the Augustan and Republican Periods, Tuck 2015, 221. It is true that hunting imagery proliferates later (beginning with the hunting scenes in the forth-style wall-paintings at Pompeii, see D’Ambrosio 1998, 68-69). However, there are at least some precedents in the Republican and Augustan Periods, which could also have been used as a form of self-representation. It suffices to list a few examples here: a) a *denarius* minted by C. Hosidius Geta at Rome in 68 BCE shows Diana on the obverse and a boar wounded by a spear and attacked by a dog on the reverse, Crawford 1974, 419 cat. 407; b) men are shown hunting bears, boars and cats on Arretine Ware from the workshop of M. Perennius, Porten Palange 2005, 47-50; c) the Mausoleum of the Iulii at Glanum in Gallia Narbonensis (20-30 CE) features a boar hunt, Rolland 1969, 57-60.

not merely through military imagery, but also through hunting imagery.³²²⁰ Indeed, Domitian is the first emperor to be securely honoured as a hunter, in an equestrian statue from the forecourt of the Sacellum of the Augustales at Misenum (pl. 248a).³²²¹ The monument is only partially preserved, but it is clear that the emperor is not trampling a barbarian here: “instead the equestrian seated on a rearing terrified horse and wearing a combination of military and civilian dress finds its closest parallel in the imagery of hunting.”³²²² It is also known that Domitian was a skilled hunter, who - inspired by the Labours of Hercules - regularly hunted at his Alban estate.³²²³ Domitian was probably motivated to incorporate hunting imagery into imperial expressions of *virtus* for various reasons: it not only allowed him to display his “manliness” in a way that suited his own strengths, but also in times of peace, or without requiring him to set off for distant wars.³²²⁴ The hunting theme became especially prominent in imperial portraiture under Hadrian and his direct successors.³²²⁵ Hadrian is portrayed as a hunter on the Tondi Adrianei (from an imperial monument at Rome, but now on the Arch of Constantine),³²²⁶ which include a sacrifice to Diana after the boar hunt (pl. 248b).³²²⁷ Moreover, a series of related medallions show the Antonine rulers pursuing a lion or boar on horseback with the legend VIRTVTI AVGVSTI (pl. 249a), thus clarifying the connection between hunting imagery and *virtus* once and for all.³²²⁸

It is evident that hunting imagery influenced private portraiture from Rome and its environs as well. Generic hunting imagery entered into the private funerary setting: for instance, funerary altars produced at Rome during the 1st century CE feature animal combats, including hunting activities (e.g. dogs attacking a deer).³²²⁹ The earliest known portrait of a man in hunting dress comes from the Tomb of Claudia Semne, the wife of M. Ulpius Crotonensis, a freedman of Trajan.³²³⁰ The tomb - located along the Via Appia Antica - contains a personal portrait gallery, in which the deceased is represented multiple times in different guises to reflect different virtues.³²³¹ Claudia Semne is represented as Venus, Fortuna and Spes. Her son, M. Ulpius Crotonensis Iunior, received four portrait statues: two in

³²²⁰ Tuck 2005; Tuck 2015, 198f.

³²²¹ For the monument, Bergemann 1990, 82-86 cat. P 31. For discussion of the monument, Tuck 2005, 222-240.

³²²² Tuck 2005, 236.

³²²³ Tuck 2005, 242.

³²²⁴ Tuck 2005, 244.

³²²⁵ For discussion, Tuck 2005, 237-240. For discussion on hunting during the reign of Hadrian in general, Anderson 1985, 101-121.

³²²⁶ For the Tondi Adrianei, L'Orange - Von Gerkan 1939, 161-183; see also Anderson 1985, 103f.; Tuck 2005, 237f. There are other historical reliefs depicting Diana in the presence of Roman emperors. For instance, the goddess features twice on the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, as the guarantor of *fides* between the Emperor and the legions, as well as the people of Italy, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 230f. nos. 278a. 278b. She is also depicted with Lucius Verus as Sol in a chariot, on the Parthian Monument from Ephesos, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 831f. no. 280.

³²²⁷ For the tondo, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 812 no. 64.

³²²⁸ For discussion on the medallions, Anderson 1985, 104. 124; Noreña 2011, 81; Tuck 2005, 238-240. The emperors include Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus and Commodus.

³²²⁹ Davies 2011, 38f.

³²³⁰ For the Tomb of Claudia Semne in general, Bignamini - Claridge 1998; Hallett 2005, 209-212; Wrede 1971.

³²³¹ For discussion on personal portrait galleries in general, Galinier 2012, 199-202; Hallett 2005, 208-215; Koortbojian 2008, 73f.

different types of *toga*, one nude, and finally, one in hunting dress (i.e. nude but for the *chlamys*, and with a spear and hunting dog).³²³² The latter is dated to the Hadrianic Period.³²³³

Hunting imagery continued to play an important role in the funerary context.³²³⁴ The mythological sarcophagi featuring Hippolytus, Adonis, and Meleager pursuing a boar offer an indirect reference to the *virtus* of the male deceased³²³⁵ – at times, the connection is intensified by furnishing the mythical hunter with his individualized features.³²³⁶ Also relevant is Hercules, in his role as a slayer of beasts: on a sarcophagus portraying Hercules performing the Twelve Labours, the male deceased is portrayed in the guise of the hero holding up his bow, preparing to shoot the Stymphalian Birds (pl. 135b).³²³⁷ Sometimes the hunting costume is even incorporated into mythological portraiture in a gratuitous manner, with no particular reference to the narrative. This is definitely the case with the sarcophagus of C. Iunius Euhodus and Metilia Acte, which portrays them in the guise of Alcestis and Admetus (pl. 249b).³²³⁸ The husband appears three times as a hunter in heroic costume: first of all, returning from the hunt (still holding a spear and accompanied by his dog), then approaching his dying wife, and finally, shaking hands with Hercules, perhaps bringing his wife back from the underworld. The hunt plays absolutely no role in the myth of Admetus and Alcestis: rather, the hunting dress is added to allude to the husband's *virtus*.³²³⁹ The portrait groups of men and women as Selene and Endymion reveal a similar trend. Endymion is typically portrayed in a state of nudity: the portraits of men in his guise, however, are increasingly dressed like a hunter, in part due to the connections with *virtus* (pl.

³²³² For the statue of M. Ulpius Crotonensis Iunior in hunting dress, Hallett 2005, 212. Appendix M; Wrede 1971, 137f. cat. 14; Wrede 1981, 84f. C. Hallett identifies this as the earliest extant Roman portrait statue of a male in hunting dress, Hallett 2005, 212. Note, however, that the identification of this statue as the one discovered in the Tomb of Claudia Semne is not entirely certain.

³²³³ Wrede 1981, 84.

³²³⁴ In a personal portrait gallery in the Villa Doria Pamphili, dated to the late 3rd century CE, the man is dressed in a *toga* (*togatus*), a *chlamys* (*chlamydatas*) and hunting costume (*venatorio habitu*), Hallett 2005, 208f. Note that hunting imagery influenced funerary monuments outside of Rome as well. For instance, the male deceased is occasionally accompanied by a hunting dog on Greek funerary reliefs, dating from the 1st to 3rd centuries CE, as a sign of their *arete* or *virtus*, see Zlotogorska 1997, 61-65.

³²³⁵ A. B. Borg notes, "it is generally agreed that images of mythological hunters such as Meleager, Hippolytos, or Adonis, referred to their *virtus*, their manly bravery, but also their exemplary character in general," Borg 2013, 178. For the Adonis Sarcophagi, Grassinger 1999b, 70-90; 211-221 cat. 43-67. For the Meleager Sarcophagi, Koch 1975. For the Hippolytus Sarcophagi, Robert 1904, 169-219 cat. 144-179.

³²³⁶ For a portrait of the male deceased in the guise of Adonis on a sarcophagus, Grassinger 1999b, 219 cat. 65. For portraits of the male deceased in the guise of Hippolytus on sarcophagi, Musso 1985 (but note that the imagery here focuses on Phaedra and Hippolytus, who were probably destined to be furnished with the portrait heads of a mother and her son respectively, as an expression of her grief on account his untimely death, Newby 2011a, 218f.; in the process, the hunt scene is cut out, which puts less emphasis on his *virtus*); Robert 1904, 205f. cat. 165; 206f. 166; see also, DIA15. 16. 17. For portraits of the male deceased in the guise of Meleager, Koch 1975, 93 cat. 26; 95f. cat. 30; 96f. cat. 33; 101 cat. 64; 106 cat. 72; 128 cat. 136; 134 cat. 152.

³²³⁷ For the portrait, Robert 1904, 126f. cat. 103.

³²³⁸ For the sarcophagus, Grassinger 1999b, 227f. cat. 76.

³²³⁹ Grassinger 1994, 96f.; Hallett 2005, 216. As noted by G. Gessert, the cowardliness of the man in the guise of Admetus (due to allowing his wife in the guise of Alcestis to die in his stead) was counterbalanced by portraying him in heroic costume and therefore as an *exemplum virtutis*, Gessert 2004, 219f.

250a).³²⁴⁰ The Roman Hunt Sarcophagi, which portray the male deceased in contemporary hunting dress, enjoyed considerable popularity during the 3rd century CE.³²⁴¹

It is significant that the *virtus* of the female deceased is occasionally evoked with the same visual codes as men. First of all, it is possible to inter the female deceased in sarcophagi with hunting imagery - one notable case is the seven-year old girl in a children's sarcophagus, uniquely featuring the hunting expedition of Ascanius.³²⁴² Secondly, at least two Roman Hunt Sarcophagi feature a portrait of the female deceased as the main lion hunter, also accompanied by *Virtus*.³²⁴³

In summary, new avenues for expressing *virtus* in imperial portraiture were opened up by the reign of Domitian at the latest. Beforehand, *virtus* was primarily signified by military imagery; afterwards, the same quality was expressed by hunting imagery as well. Private portraits of men as hunters started to appear shortly afterwards, by the Hadrianic Period at the latest (perhaps due to the hazards of preservation). There are several reasons to believe that the production of the portraits of girls and women as Diana closely follows these trends, with the search for a specifically female model for *virtus* landing on the mythical huntress. First of all, the earliest monuments are not securely dated to before the Flavian Period.³²⁴⁴ Secondly, the monuments are especially popular during the Hadrianic and Antonine Periods, when the hunt was increasingly promulgated as a sign of *virtus* in imperial portraiture, as well as imitated in private portraiture.³²⁴⁵ Thirdly, the connection is unequivocally established on the sarcophagi with hunting imagery: indeed, the men are portrayed in the guise of hunters, to express their *virtus*, with their wives as huntresses either accompanying them or even participating in the hunt.³²⁴⁶ Overall, it appears as though the private portraits of both men as hunters and women as huntresses are a byproduct of the same shifts in imperial representation. It is remarkable that the private portraits of girls and women as Diana find no parallel in the monuments for

³²⁴⁰ For sarcophagi featuring Endymion in general, Sichtermann 1992, 103-163 cat. 27-137; for discussion on this phenomenon, Borg 2013, 167f.; Russenberger 2015, 412f.; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 52. 108. 319-320 (see also chap. 7.3; app. C). The same is true of a portrait of a man as Theseus on a sarcophagus featuring the abandonment of Ariadne (for the sarcophagus, see Wrede 1981, 211 cat. 55), Russenberger 2015, 414. Moreover, it seems that men are increasingly dressed up in mythological portraiture due to a rising aversion to nudity for self-representation and commemoration; for discussion, see chaps. 5.3.3.1; 6.2.2.3.

³²⁴¹ For the Roman Hunt Sarcophagi, Andreae 1980. For discussion on Roman Hunt Sarcophagi, as well as the connotations of *virtus*, Birk 2013, 107-113; Borg 2013, 178-182; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 225-227.

³²⁴² For examples of children's sarcophagi with hunting imagery used for girls, Huskinson 1996, 27 cat. 2.4; 51 cat. 6.44; for further discussion on the Ascanius Sarcophagus, as well as its relevance to the female deceased, see chap. 6.1.2. For examples of women buried in Roman Hunt Sarcophagi, Andreae 1980, 143 cat. 3; 159 cat. 81; 169f. cat. 150; 176 cat. 198.

³²⁴³ For discussion, see chaps. 7.3; 7.5.1.3.2.2; app. C.

³²⁴⁴ DIA4. 5. 8.

³²⁴⁵ DIA1. 2. 3. 6. 7. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. As a whole, the portraits of emperors as hunters precede the portraits of private men as hunters (indeed, there is a portrait of Domitian as a hunter, but no private portraits of men as hunters are attested until the reign of Hadrian). This is, of course, only based on the extant evidence, but perhaps the influence flowed in the opposite direction instead.

³²⁴⁶ DIA15. 16. 17. 18.

empresses,³²⁴⁷ but seemingly look to the emperor himself as a role model. Of course, the explanatory model provided here is based on the extant portraiture, which is rather limited.³²⁴⁸

The portraits of girls and women as Diana seem to follow overarching trends in portraiture, with hunting imagery conferring *virtus* on members of both sexes. It seems, however, that the *virtus* of the huntresses is carefully negotiated by their dress. It is true that the portraits of men and women in hunting dress indicate a similar capacity for *virtus* - the distinction between the sexes is to some extent flattened, but never completely abolished.³²⁴⁹ First of all, the huntress costume consists of garments that are essentially suitable for women (e.g. *chiton*, *himation*), but worn according to male patterns of dress: indeed, the tunic is shortened and the mantle is secured around the torso, to suit their active behaviour. Secondly, the garments are draped on the body in a manner that reinforces sexual differences: the high girding, as well as the tunic occasionally detached on one shoulder, draws attention to the breasts, whereas the long overfall draws attention to the hips. Thirdly, their preference for the bow and arrow differentiates them from hunters, who tend to use a spear for closer confrontations.³²⁵⁰ The huntress costume expresses *virtus* in a gender-specific manner, and therefore offered a suitable vehicle for conferring this masculine quality upon women.³²⁵¹

The process of demythologization on sarcophagi with hunting themes produces yet another imbalance.³²⁵² The men increasingly trade in their heroic costume for contemporary garments and weapons - whether of the *venator* in the arena or the huntsman in the forest - whereas their wives retain their mythical costumes. The outfits of the men are iconic signs, with a clear referent for men in

³²⁴⁷ For discussion, see chap. 6.2.3.2.

³²⁴⁸ It is important to keep in mind, however, that the earliest extant portraits of women as Diana (DIA4. 8) might still predate the portrait of Domitian as a hunter, and certainly predate the earliest extant private portraits of men as hunters by several decades. It is therefore possible to interpret the evidence in a completely different manner: that the private portraits of Diana came first. This could have occurred in the following manner. Hunting imagery surely carried all of its traditional connotations in Roman visual culture (i.e. sign of strength, bravery, excellence), and was already used as a general form of self-representation at Rome and its environs (e.g. coins, tableware, wall-paintings, funerary altars etc.), see this section (i.e. chap. 6.2.3.4) above. The private portraits of women as Diana were therefore invented to confer *virtus* on the female deceased. The portraits of emperors as hunters were likewise created to evoke *virtus* (probably as a parallel phenomenon), which had an influence on male private portraiture. This is, however, a radical stance: it seems highly unlikely that private portraits of women as huntresses were produced to celebrate their *virtus* before the same form of commemoration was established for imperial and/or private men, since this quality is properly seen to belong to men, and therefore the iconographic influence tends to flow from men to women and not vice versa. (Alternatively, perhaps these earlier portraits of Diana were not necessarily connected to *virtus* at first, and underwent a resemanticization, but this seems unlikely as well.) The precise chronology and development of the phenomenon requires further consideration.

³²⁴⁹ For discussion, see chap. 6.1.1.

³²⁵⁰ Domitian hunts with a bow and arrow in a game park, whereas his successor Trajan hunts honourably in the forest; Domitian's rejection of traditional Roman arms in favour of barbarian arms was presumably intended to cast him in a negative light, Plin. paneg. 81, 1-3; Suet. Dom. 19; Anderson 1985, 101f. Otherwise, the portraits of girls and women as Diana rarely assume distinctly eastern items (e.g. *nebris*).

³²⁵¹ In a unique case, the standard huntress costume is entirely rejected: the woman instead wears a *peplos*, but strides forward like a man with her bow and arrow, DIA13.

³²⁵² DIA15. 16. 17. 18.

Roman society, regardless of whether these particular men actually participated in these pursuits.³²⁵³ As such, the contemporary dress reinforces that fact that men are actually permitted to display their *virtus* in hunting contexts. The portraits of women in huntress costume, on the other hand, find no referent in the “real world”, since women were actually excluded from the hunt. As such, the mythical dress is necessarily perceived as a symbolic sign: the fact that their dress is distanced from reality does not imply that the *virtus* of women is somehow unreal, but that it should manifest itself in a different manner and in different contexts than men.³²⁵⁴

In a unique case, the huntress costume is entirely rejected. The woman instead wears a *peplos*, yet still hastens forward with her bow and arrow.³²⁵⁵ Her actions alone reveal her “manly” qualities, whereas the outfit stresses her ultrafeminine nature. As the sole monument produced in the Greek East, perhaps this notable difference in dress can be attributed to local influences.

Quite significantly, the *virtus* of the huntresses are barely negotiated by their actions. The girls and women commemorated as Diana in their own right are permitted to assume an active role. They are, in fact, invariably engaged in the hunt.³²⁵⁶ Most of the girls are running,³²⁵⁷ whereas most of the women are standing, briefly pausing during the hunt.³²⁵⁸ It therefore seems that more active visual codes for *virtus* were preferred for girls, whereas less active ones were preferred for women.³²⁵⁹ This is, however, not a hard and fast rule.³²⁶⁰ An excellent case in point is the sarcophagus of C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus and Domitia Severa.³²⁶¹ The main purpose of this monument is to express their moral equality. On the front side, the spouses are presented on relatively equal terms: they are each placed in their own *aedicula* and celebrated not only for their individual virtues (i.e. *romanitas*, *pudicitia*), but also for their shared learnedness (*eruditio*).³²⁶² The rest of the monument is dedicated to the hunt, in order to put their mutual, equal personal strength (*virtus*) on display.³²⁶³ The man is shown as the main actor in the Roman boar hunt. The woman is shown as a huntress in her own visual field, subduing a deer with force and determination, which implicitly connects her to her husband on this

³²⁵³ It is beyond to the scope of the current analysis to determine whether the men portrayed as military commanders actually held this rank, or whether the men portrayed in hunting costume actually hunted.

³²⁵⁴ For further discussion, see chaps. 7.5.1.3.1; 7.7.

³²⁵⁵ DIA13.

³²⁵⁶ DIA1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 8. 10. 12. 13. 18 (of course, the actions of DIA7 and DIA11 are unclear, due to the bust format). The only exception to the rule is the possible portrait of a woman rescuing Iphigenia, DIA14.

³²⁵⁷ DIA1. 2. 5. 6.

³²⁵⁸ DIA8. 10. 12.

³²⁵⁹ For further discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.3.2.

³²⁶⁰ e.g. DIA4. 13. 14.

³²⁶¹ DIA18.

³²⁶² The man wears a *toga*, which expresses Roman citizenship, Gabelmann 1973, 70. The man holds a scroll and makes a gesture of speech, which are common signs of learnedness on sarcophagi of the 3rd century CE; for further discussion on learned men and women on Roman sarcophagi, especially their gendered representation, Birk 2013, 73-94; Hansen 2008; Huskinson 1999. The woman is shown as a *palliat*a figure; for men, the *palliat*us (i.e. wearing the Greek *himation* with the arm resting like in a sling) shows an appreciation for literature and learning, which were presumably transferred to women as well, Gabelmann 1973, 70. At the same time, the fact that the woman is heavily draped and clutches at her clothing is probably a sign of her modesty.

³²⁶³ This is similar to the portraits groups of spouses in the guise of the lion hunter and Virtus, see chap. 5.3.3.2.

monument. It seems that her *virtus* is only qualified in minor ways. First of all, the husband receives more room to perform virtuous deeds than his wife. Secondly, the two of them are placed in a clear hierarchy, due to their different targets: pursuing a foaming boar is a life-threatening activity, whereas chasing a fleeing deer is not particularly challenging or courageous.³²⁶⁴ In any case, she confronts the deer directly, rather than using trickery (e.g. nets, traps).³²⁶⁵ Thirdly, she attacks the deer with her bare hands rather than with a knife - unlike in the visual models - perhaps since arming her to kill was considered an inappropriate form of commemoration.³²⁶⁶ Fourthly, the hunt scenes featuring her husband certainly offer a constructed evocation of *virtus*, but there is at least a certain degree of “realism” to them.³²⁶⁷ In other words, the boar hunt is a plausible pursuit for a man of equestrian rank in Bellunum, in a way that the deer hunt was not for women. The recourse to mythical models to cast his wife as a huntress only heightens the artificiality of her “manly” pursuits.

The portraits of women as huntresses portrayed directly next to their husbands are, however, considerably more limited in their actions.³²⁶⁸ The sarcophagi featuring the legend of Hippolytus were gradually demythologized in Roman workshops, causing the portrait of the married couple in hunting dress to defy any straightforward identification. Their precise identity is, however, a moot point: what is essential here is that the visual code evokes the virtues of the spouses in a straightforward manner.³²⁶⁹ Quite significantly, the woman assumes a relatively passive role.³²⁷⁰ She is dressed like a huntress, but, unlike her husband, never actually participates in the hunt,³²⁷¹ which in the course of time receives increasingly more space on these monuments. On the Venator Sarcophagus, she rests with her husband outdoors after the hunt, due to the dead boar at her feet, but is conspicuously absent from the preceding events.³²⁷² The first Roman Hunt Sarcophagus even confines her to the domestic context.³²⁷³ The huntress costume is entirely gratuitous, since she never actually leaves the household. It is perhaps significant that the cupid behind the woman is playing with her bow and quiver. This is probably a sign of disarming love.³²⁷⁴ The motif is typically introduced to demonstrate the subordination of powerful men to women of extraordinary beauty, but here it is used to reaffirm traditional

³²⁶⁴ For discussion on Roman perspectives on the deer hunt, Grassinger 1999, 94f.

³²⁶⁵ Direct confrontation was valued in a Roman hunter, not trickery (e.g. nets, traps), Anderson 1985, 119.

³²⁶⁶ Images of women bearing arms are generally viewed negatively; for discussion on the phenomenon in ancient Greek visual culture, see chap. 3.3.2.1.

³²⁶⁷ J.K. Anderson notes that C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus is placed into a contemporary hunt scene, but Domitia Severa is not shown as a realistic huntress, Anderson 1985, 129.

³²⁶⁸ DIA15. 16. 17.

³²⁶⁹ The intention was probably to produce a more open iconography, onto which the viewers could construct their own narratives.

³²⁷⁰ I.L. Hansen suggests that the representation of the married couple on DIA16 follows a traditional format of active-male and passive-female, Hansen 2007, 117. This is true for the monument as a whole, but not for the scene with the husband and wife, since the woman is actually the main actor in terms of showing affection to her husband; otherwise, the husband and wife are equally inactive in terms of the hunting narrative here.

³²⁷¹ S. Sande finds it notable that the women as Diana are never shown as participants in the hunt, but standing quietly beside their husbands, Sande 2009, 62.

³²⁷² DIA16.

³²⁷³ DIA17.

³²⁷⁴ For discussion on disarming love, see chap. 4.1.2.

patriarchal institutions. Indeed, the cupid is seemingly in the process of disarming the wife, so that she assumes a less active role than her husband.³²⁷⁵

There are a few instances in which preadolescent girls and married women are identified with Diana by simply adding her quiver and bow to their grave monuments.³²⁷⁶ As with the portraits of imperial women as Diana, it is possible that the masculine dress and active roles were simply not appealing to these patrons, even if the general association with the goddess was. The portrait of a married couple as Hercules and Omphale seems to offer a parallel example for the phenomenon: here, the mythical figures were presumably selected in order to express their love for each other, but their cross-gendered attributes were relegated to the lower panel.³²⁷⁷

6.2.3.5 *Pulchritudo*

The portraits of the female deceased as Diana is traditionally seen to evoke *pulchritudo*, which is a quality relevant for both girls and women.³²⁷⁸ It is, however, necessary to ask if the signs observable on the monuments actually point to *pulchritudo* in particular. In Statius' *Silvae*, the portrait of Priscilla as Diana is described as *lucida* (bright, shining).³²⁷⁹ It is possible that *lucida* merely refers to the luster of the statue,³²⁸⁰ but it could also refer to the light-bringing qualities of the goddess herself or, in a transfigurative sense, to her beauty.³²⁸¹ The funerary altar of Iulia Secunda certainly praises the maiden for her *forma singularis* (unique beauty), but it is not methodologically sound to interpret the portraiture based on these conventional inscriptions.³²⁸² Looking at the iconography, it is clear that their physical beauty is only expressed in an incidental and hence roundabout manner. The exquisite hairstyles carry connotations of beauty and elite femininity, but this is true of female portraiture as a whole.³²⁸³ Diana is of course a beautiful woman, whose imitation of men paradoxically draws attention back to her female form.³²⁸⁴ There are, however, no signs in the portraiture expressing this traditional female virtue in particular. The bare breast of the huntresses is not an erotic feature.³²⁸⁵ The fact that the motif appears exclusively in portraits of girls (i.e. Aelia Procula, Aelia Tyche) supports the hypothesis that motif primarily signifies not sexual desirability, but rather an active, "manly" lifestyle.³²⁸⁶ Other signs of beauty like erotic nudity or drapery slipping from the shoulder are missing

³²⁷⁵ At the moment, she still retains the spear, but she does not actually depart for the hunt.

³²⁷⁶ DIA3. 9.

³²⁷⁷ OMP4.

³²⁷⁸ For examples, Candilio 2004, 49-51; Kleiner 1987, 85; Wrede 1981, 59. 109.

³²⁷⁹ Stat. silv. 5, 1, 231-235.

³²⁸⁰ Gibson 2006, 163.

³²⁸¹ C.T. Lewis - C. Short 1879, 1090 (s.v. lucidus).

³²⁸² DIA3.

³²⁸³ For discussion on female coiffures in Roman portraiture as a sign of adornment and culture, Bartman 2001.

³²⁸⁴ For discussion, see chap. 6.1.1.1.2.4.

³²⁸⁵ For discussion, see chap. 6.1.1.1.1. This is similar to the Amazons, see chap. 5.1.1.1.1.4.

³²⁸⁶ DIA1. 2. E. Quite similarly, E. D'Ambra argues that the general overlap in the nature of the Amazons and Diana (as untamed virgins, assuming active roles in the wild) allows for the transfer of the bare breast of the Amazons to Diana on DIA1 and DIA2; she also notes the connection to "manly" personifications like Virtus and Roma, D'Ambra 2008, 175. 181.

here. It seems that the *pulchritudo* of the female deceased is only explicitly referenced in additional portraits on the same monuments. On the Venator Sarcophagus, the married couple reappears on the lid, reclining together.³²⁸⁷ Here the traditional gender roles are more strictly adhered to: the man is portrayed nude, to show off his physical qualities, but the woman is celebrated for her Venus-like beauty. In summary, there is probably some truth to the view that portraits of girls and women celebrate their *pulchritudo*, but the evocation of their *virtus* takes precedence here.

6.2.3.6 *Concordia*

The portrait groups of married couples primarily express their conjugal harmony and loving relationship, whereas personal qualities like strength and bravery are merely a secondary consideration, conveyed by the hunting dress alone.³²⁸⁸ The woman turns towards her husband and touches his shoulder or chest, which is a clear indication of *concordia*,³²⁸⁹ he reciprocates by meeting her gaze and affectionately swaying his body toward her.³²⁹⁰ The inclusion of these affectionate gestures is completely innovative here and serves to restore the proper order: indeed, the chaste hunter and huntress do not reject marriage, but are recast as proper Roman “yokemates”.³²⁹¹ Moreover, the presence of the cupid next to the couple on the first Roman Hunt Sarcophagus reinforces the loving relationship between them.³²⁹²

Their dress strengthens their partnership as well, not only in terms of expressing moral equality (i.e. shared *virtus*), but also in terms of creating a “partner look”. At first, the husband and wife as Hippolytus and Diana are portrayed in Greek hunting outfits - the eastern features that serve to characterize this huntress as the “other” are absent here,³²⁹³ even if there are no concrete similarities in their dress. At the end of the development, the husband and wife are shown as generic hunters, both wearing short tunics, fur boots, and even holding spears.³²⁹⁴ As such, the man is progressively clothed, like his wife, whereas the woman progressively casts off the standard arms of Diana (i.e. bow, quiver) in favour of the arms of her husband (i.e. spear), to present them as fitting partners.³²⁹⁵

It is notable that the expression of conjugal harmony is not entirely symmetrical here. Their interaction is suggestive of reciprocity, but the woman more strongly orients herself towards her husband than vice

³²⁸⁷ DIA16.

³²⁸⁸ DIA15. 16. 17. I.L Hansen identifies *concordia* as one of the main virtues of the man and woman commemorated on DIA16, Hansen 2007, 110-112. 116. For discussion on the evocation of *concordia* in Roman visual culture (and on the monuments under consideration), see chap. 7.5.2.5.

³²⁸⁹ I.L Hansen highlights this gesture on DIA16, as a sign of *concordia*, Hansen 2007, 110-112. 116.

³²⁹⁰ I.L. Hansen notes the mutual gaze on DIA16, Hansen 2007, 111. The S-shape body of the male portrait figure on the Venator Sarcophagus (DIA16), allowing him to sway toward the woman, is a typical sign of affection of Roman marriage sarcophagi, Andreae 1980, 19.

³²⁹¹ I.L. Hansen argues that Diana is recast as a proper Roman *matrona*, Hansen 2007, 110-112. 116. (in reference to DIA16). It should be added that Hippolytus is transformed in the process as well.

³²⁹² DIA17.

³²⁹³ DIA15. This is, however, not so surprising, considering that eastern elements were not so common for Diana in Roman visual culture as a whole, see chap. 6.1.1.2.

³²⁹⁴ DIA17.

³²⁹⁵ DIA15. 16. 17.

versa, which casts her in a primarily supportive role.³²⁹⁶ Her visual resemblance to the goddess Diana seems fitting in this sense. Indeed, Hippolytus - in the mythical narrative at least, if not here - devotes himself to Diana, so that she will grant him a successful hunt. This is alluded to on the first Roman Hunt Sarcophagus: here, a contemporary hunter venerates a statue of Diana on a column before the hunt. It is therefore possible to imagine a patron-protégé relationship, reinforcing both the personal *virtus* of the wife and her exemplary support of her husband, especially in proving his own *virtus*.³²⁹⁷ Moreover, the dress casts them as partners, but also in a complementary sense, due to the gender-specific features. In the end, the husband alone participates in the hunt, leaving his wife at home, so that “the tenderness and pathos of the man’s departure from his wife is stressed”.³²⁹⁸ Overall, the woman possesses her own outstanding qualities, but she portrayed in a slightly subordinate position here,³²⁹⁹ with their mutual interests ultimately directed towards her husband’s needs and benefit.³³⁰⁰

In summary, the women are primarily celebrated for their *concordia* on these monuments.³³⁰¹ They are dressed like huntresses to fit into the overall theme of the hunt sarcophagi, as an expression of their moral equality (i.e. shared *virtus*) with their husbands.³³⁰² The iconography is, however, formulated in a manner that presents the women as primarily responsible for ensuring conjugal harmony, whereas their husbands look beyond their private relationships as well.

Finally, it is possible that the grave altar dedicated by M. Sergius Phoebus to his wife Fulvia Trophima Benedicta celebrates their conjugal harmony. On the one hand, the monument is exclusively decorated with the hunting accessories of Diana (i.e. bow, arrow, quiver, dog and stag), as an expression of *virtus*. On the other hand, Fulvia Trophima Benedicta is cast as the Diana to her husband M. Sergius Phoebus (i.e. Sol), which probably summons up connections with Luna in particular. As seen in imperial imagery, the combination of Sol and Luna evokes *concordia*.³³⁰³ It is interesting, however, that the hunting imagery is still favoured over astral features, suggesting that the evocation of *virtus* is ultimately prioritized over the evocation of *concordia*.

³²⁹⁶ C. Russenberger notes that the mutual glance is typical for married couples in *concordia* scenes, to show their mutual bond, but it is not uncommon for women to turn more towards their husbands than vice versa, Russenberger 2015, 394f. The supportive role of the wife has been noted in general (DIA16. 17), Newby 2011a, 216f.; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 227. Note that this is an inversion on the mythical narrative, since Hippolytus is actually more devoted to Diana than vice versa.

³²⁹⁷ Z. Newby notes that the wife as Diana is a suitable patroness for her husband as the hunter on DIA16, Newby 2011a, 216. This is similar to the portraits of married couples as lion hunters and Virtus on Roman Hunt Sarcophagi, see chaps. 5.3.3.2; 5.3.3.4. On a later Roman Hunt Sarcophagus (315-320 CE), Diana usurps the position of Virtus, indicating that she can naturally fill this supportive role; for the sarcophagus, Andreae 1980, 148 cat. 32.

³²⁹⁸ Newby 2011a, 216 (in reference to DIA16).

³²⁹⁹ For the significance of this transferrable motif, Russenberger 2015, 394f.

³³⁰⁰ For further discussion, see chap. 7.5.2.5.

³³⁰¹ DIA15. 16. 17. I.L Hansen identifies *concordia* as a main virtue of the married couple on DIA16, Hansen 2007, 110-112. 116.

³³⁰² For further discussion, see chap. 7.5.2.5.

³³⁰³ For discussion, see chap. 6.2.3.2.

6.2.3.7 Portrait of a Woman as Diana Saving Iphigenia?

The private portrait of a woman as Diana saving Iphigenia (pl. 22) is a complete anomaly in the catalogue, since it was set-up in a sanctuary context and foregrounds the astral nature of the goddess.³³⁰⁴ The monument therefore demands separate consideration. Its presence in the Sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine at Rome would initially seem surprising. It is true that private mythological portraits primarily come from the funerary context, but the sacred context is attested as well: the inscriptions identify these as either honorific or commemorative monuments, at times doubling as votive offerings.³³⁰⁵ Moreover, there are other portraits of women from the sanctuary, whose precise relationship to the cult is uncertain.³³⁰⁶ The cult of Jupiter Dolichenus seems to have had few, if any, female officials in the Latin West.³³⁰⁷ The evidence for female worshippers is also limited.³³⁰⁸ There are isolated cases of votive offerings dedicated by women alone.³³⁰⁹ Most often, however, women are mentioned in dedicatory inscriptions alongside men, as their daughters, wives and mothers.³³¹⁰ The case of Memmia Florida is seemingly anomalous: her name is included in a list of *sacerdotes et candidati* (perhaps aspirants to the priesthood), who probably helped finance the construction of the temple in this sanctuary.³³¹¹ It is therefore possible that the woman in the guise of Diana played a prominent role in the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus as well, or that she was a family member of one of the male adherents to the cult.³³¹² Besides that, the presence of Diana in the sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus is fitting in general. The goddess is not only particularly important on the Aventine, but also in the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus as a whole.³³¹³ Sol and Luna were closely connected to the worship of Jupiter Dolichenus and Juno Dolichena, in order to lend the cult a cosmic element - this perhaps explains the introduction of Apollo and Diana as well.³³¹⁴

³³⁰⁴ DIA14.

³³⁰⁵ For examples of mythological portraits from a sacred context, Wrede 1981, 216 cat. 66; 223f. cat. 107; 260f. cat. 173; 305f. cat. 291. The statue of Claudia Iusta as Fortuna, dated to 100-110 CE, was discovered with an altar dedicated to Fortuna Primigenia at Via Porta S. Lorenzo: the monument was dedicated not only to Claudia Iusta, but also to Fortuna, Wrede 1981, 233f. cat. 107. The herm statue of the hierophant M. Marios Trophomos as Dionysos was set-up by initiates in the Bakcheion on Melos, Wrede 1981, 260f. cat. 173.

³³⁰⁶ For examples of other portraits of women from the Sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine, Sorrenti 1996, 384f. cat. 15; 396 cat. 32; 397 cat. 34.

³³⁰⁷ Hemelrijk 2015, 45.

³³⁰⁸ Merlat 1960, 27.

³³⁰⁹ For a summary of the inscriptions relevant to the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus, mentioning women, Merlat 1951, 407; Merlat 1960, 27.

³³¹⁰ See footnote 3309.

³³¹¹ Hemelrijk 2015, 45 footnote 39; Hörig - Schwertheim 1987, 248f. cat. 382.

³³¹² H. Wrede assumes that this is a priestess, Wrede 1981, 137.

³³¹³ Helbig 1966, 39 cat. 1190d. S. Sorrenti suggests that Diana is of particular importance in the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus due to her association with cervids (an attribute of Juno Dolichena), or else due to her astral significance as Diana Lucifera; both the cervid and the torch are attested as attributes of the portrait figure here, Sorrenti 1996, 376f. cat. 6 footnote 53. M. Spiedel maintains that there is a pantheon of Jupiter Dolichenus, consisting of Jupiter Dolichenus and Juno Dolichena, Apollo Kitharoidos and Diana Lucifera, Sol Invictus and Luna, as well as the Dioscuri, Spiedel 1978, 23. This seems to confirm that the monument was originally dedicated in the sanctuary here, rather than appearing in secondary usage, Sorrenti 1996, 377 cat. 6.

³³¹⁴ Spiedel 1978, 21-32.

Without further information, the overall significance of the portrait of the woman as Diana remains obscure. It is nevertheless possible to hazard a guess, treating the statue as both a monument to the woman and a votive dedication to the goddess herself. The monument is heavily reliant on the statue group of Diana and Iphigenia from the *Horti Sallustiani* at Rome, but the characterization of the goddess as a huntress is significantly downplayed here. The short dress and boots are retained, but the bow and quiver are removed. Instead, the cosmic nature of Diana - in association with Luna - is brought to the forefront, by the addition of the torch and mantle in *velificatio*. The iconography highlights the role of Diana as a saviouress in particular.³³¹⁵ These qualities were presumably accentuated to suit the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus, as a divine protector and cosmic divinity.³³¹⁶ It is, moreover, notable that Iphigenia and the sacrificial animal are drastically reduced in size here, to the status of mere attributes. This alteration seemingly has the effect of shifting the focus away from the mythical narrative and towards the personal qualities of the woman.³³¹⁷ She is seen to share in the role of Diana as a saviouress, but the significance of this is not entirely clear. Perhaps she played an exceptional role in the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus, as a benefactress for instance. As a bare minimum, she is imagined to exhibit strength and capacity for a worthy cause.³³¹⁸

Alternatively, perhaps this is not a private portrait of a woman as Diana at all. It has been demonstrated that traditional divinities are occasionally represented with a updated, contemporary look, drawing on imperial portrait styles.³³¹⁹ For instance, an over-life-size head from Rome is usually interpreted as Commodus due to its physiognomy, but the wide-open eyes, upward gaze and elaborately drilled, flowing hairstyle, are clearly taken over from Sol.³³²⁰ It could therefore be viewed as the incarnation of Sol Commodianus. As such, it is possible that the monument under consideration portrays Diana herself, but with the physiognomy of Faustina Maior, in order to produce an image of Diana Augusta.³³²¹ It would seem natural, in a sanctuary founded by Antoninus Pius, to commission an image of a divinity recalling the current empress. Moreover, the iconographic themes also fit well into trends in imperial portraiture: the celestial character of Diana was significant to the representation of

³³¹⁵ Brendel 1935, 556; Hörig - Schwertheim 1987, 228; Sorrenti 1996, 422.

³³¹⁶ Sorrenti 1996, 422. Apollo is likewise cast in a saviour role on the Aventine, since an inscription identifies him as *conversator* there, probably referring to his healing or prophetic powers, Sorrenti 1996, 422.

³³¹⁷ It has been argued that the size of Iphigenia was reduced to make her an identifying attribute for Diana at Tauris with Luna, Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 838 no. 338. M. Hörig and E. Schwertheim argue that the size of the figures were reduced to make Diana the focus, Hörig - Schwertheim 1987, 228 cat. 361.

³³¹⁸ For further discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.3.2.2.

³³¹⁹ Hallett 2005, 242-247.

³³²⁰ Hallett 2005, 245.

³³²¹ The reverse of a *denarius* minted by C. Marius at Rome in 13 BCE (see Simon - Bauchhenss 1984b, 822 no. 172) perhaps offers a parallel for this. It has been argued that this features *Diana Augusta* (i.e. Artemis with a distinctly Augustan physiognomy), Pollini 1990, 353-355; Wood 1999, 63f. 67f. This was perhaps due to Augustus' close connection to Apollo, or even to evoke *virtus* (as one of the four virtues promoted on the *clipeus virtutis* set up in the Curia Iulia in 27 BCE), Varner 2008, 185-187. For further discussion about the association between Augustus and Diana on coinage, Bottari 2010, 357f. Perhaps this statue group of Diana and Iphigenia was even paired with a statue of Apollo Kitharoidos from the sanctuary; for the statue of Apollo Kitharoidos, Sorrenti 1996, 385f. cat. 16.

the empresses as a whole.³³²² If so, then the statue would probably serve as an symbol for the connection between the imperial family and the cult.

6.2.4 Conclusions

This focus of this examination has been the portraits of girls and women as Diana, which primarily appear in the sepulchral context of Rome and its environs between the late 1st and early 3rd centuries CE. The identification of not only prepubescent girls, but also married women, with this abstinent, “manlike” huntress seems problematic. The iconography of the portraiture was therefore carefully formulated on a case by case basis, in order to produce socially acceptable commemorations with the capacity to express both private feelings and personal virtues.

The portraits of imperial women as Diana are uncommon, with the divine identification evoked in a subtle manner (i.e. quiver, perhaps diadem).³³²³ The interest in the goddess on the “ladies’ mintages” from Rome is generally limited to her cosmic nature, whether to signify apotheosis or conjugal harmony. The image of the virginal huntress only appears in isolated cases, but to evoke traditional feminine virtues like *castitas* and *pulchritudo* in a highly negotiated manner: indeed, she is either attired like a proper woman and holding her bow and arrow in a passive way, or in the process of undressing for her bath, with her hunting gear set aside. As such, the image of Diana as a huntress is hardly propagated in images related to the representation of imperial women. The opposite is true for the private portraiture under consideration: here, the girls and women are almost exclusively portrayed in huntress costume, nearly always in the midst of the chase.

Diana is an exceptionally popular role model for girls. It is conceivable that the association with the virginal goddess drew attention to her eternal state of innocence - or her *castitas* - which summoned up feelings of sorrow and regret.³³²⁴ It is certainly possible that the same virtue is transferred to married women as well, but in the sense of modesty and moral purity. Indeed, the mythological background about Diana, as a militant defender of her chastity, could have influenced the viewer’s reception of the portraiture. Nevertheless, neither the dress nor the attitude of the goddess on these monuments refers to this traditional female virtue in particular.

The predominant aspect is Diana’s role as a huntress.³³²⁵ Quite remarkably, the selection of the huntress as a role model for both maidens and married women seems to follow contemporary trends in male portraiture. Hunting imagery was introduced into imperial portraiture by the reign of Domitian at the latest, in order to evoke the *virtus* of the emperor in particular. Men were then portrayed as hunters in private portraiture as well. In these cases, the hunting dress is in itself an important signifier of strength and bravery, regardless of the precise action or narrative. The most powerful evocation of

³³²² For discussion, see chap. 6.2.3.2.

³³²³ For discussion, see chap. 6.2.3.2.

³³²⁴ For discussion, see chap. 6.2.3.3.

³³²⁵ For discussion, see chap. 6.2.3.4.

virtus is probably the image of the hunter valiantly pursuing a lion or boar on horseback, yet this sort of strenuous action is by no means necessary. There are also private portraits of men simply standing in hunting dress in personal portrait galleries, or even wearing it in a gratuitous manner on mythological sarcophagi. The portraits of girls and women as Diana demand a similar treatment: their representation in hunting dress evokes *virtus* in its own right, regardless of their precise actions.

On the other hand, their “manly” qualities are softened to various degrees.³³²⁶ In all cases, the hunting dress is partially feminized, in order to maintain some degree of sexual difference. It is also notable that the portraits of women as huntresses are practically unaffected by the progressive demythologization of hunt sarcophagi: the men gradually assume contemporary dress, whereas their wives remain in mythical dress, which reinforces their exclusion from the hunt in the “real world”. Both girls and women commemorated as huntresses in their own right take on surprisingly “manly” roles, in the midst of the chase. It seems, however, that the life stage of the female deceased influenced their level of exertion: girls are given more freedom to run, whereas women tend to stand still. The portrait of Domitia Severa stands out here: she assumes an extremely active role in the hunt, presumably to match her husband’s demonstration of *virtus* in another scene.

The commemoration of women as huntresses directly next to their husbands as hunters presents its own set of issues.³³²⁷ The married couple is primarily celebrated for *concordia*, but the woman orients herself more strongly towards her husband, in order to cast her in a subordinate role. The married couples are also celebrated for their *virtus*. It seems that the hunting iconography is primarily selected for the man, considering that he is the main protagonist on the sarcophagus, appearing in both the departure and hunting scenes. The inclusion of his wife as a huntress at the beginning of this narrative enhances the sense of partnership between the spouses, due to their moral equality in general and their similarities in dress in particular. The *virtus* of the wife is, however, heavily negotiated. The women are essentially dressed like men, but the outfits are feminized. Their actions reaffirm that *virtus* is common to men and women, but ideally directed toward traditional gender roles: the man is presented as the main actor, in the public sphere, whereas the woman is primarily cast as a supportive agent in the domestic sphere, caring for her husband and perhaps even inspiring him to action.

Finally, the portraits of girls and women as Diana celebrate their *pulchritudo*, but - with the exception of their beautiful hairstyles - only in an indirect manner.³³²⁸ The lovely body of the goddess is put on display by wearing revealing garments, appropriate for her active lifestyle. There are, however, no iconographic features specifically pointing to this traditional feminine virtue.

³³²⁶ For discussion, see chap. 6.2.3.4.

³³²⁷ For discussion, see chaps. 6.2.3.4.; 6.2.3.6.

³³²⁸ For discussion, see chap. 6.2.3.5.

In conclusion, the longstanding view that the portraits of maidens and women as Diana primarily express qualities like chastity and beauty is not substantiated by the iconography. The huntress costume evokes *virtus* in a gender-specific manner, and therefore offered a suitable vehicle for conferring this quality upon the female deceased.³³²⁹ The portrait groups of married couples focus on their conjugal harmony (*concordia*), while highlighting their moral equality (i.e. shared *virtus*).³³³⁰

6.3 Portraits of Women as Atalante

6.3.1 Introduction

Atalante is one of the most renowned huntresses in classical mythology.³³³¹ She was exposed shortly after birth by her father, who preferred a son to “useless” daughter.³³³² She was suckled by a she-bear and then discovered by hunters, who raised her as one of their own. Her unconventional upbringing taught her to challenge traditional roles for women. She rejected marriage proposals and domestic living as a whole, in order to safeguard her independence. Instead, she lived in the wilderness and behaved like a man, even joining Meleager in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt.³³³³ She exhibits a mixture of masculine and feminine characteristics, as a “manly” but beautiful huntress.³³³⁴ Quite interestingly, it is possible to commemorate girls and women in the guise of Atalante on their funerary monuments (pls. 28. 29a).³³³⁵ The direct identification with Atalante is limited to two Meleager Sarcophagi from Roman workshops, both dated to the 3rd century CE.³³³⁶ This nevertheless demonstrates the potential for Atalante to serve as a role model for the female deceased.

The identification of girls and women with Atalante seems surprising at first glance. The apparent paradox of portraying the female deceased as a huntress, outside the normal social order, has been tackled in the discussion about Diana.³³³⁷ There is, however, yet another complicating factor here: namely, the identification of men with Meleager on the same monuments. According to the mythical

³³²⁹ For discussion, see chap. 6.2.3.4.

³³³⁰ For discussion, see chap. 6.2.3.6.

³³³¹ For Atalante in the literary sources, Boardman - Arrighi 1984, 940.

³³³² Apollod. 3, 9, 2; Ael. VH 13, 1.

³³³³ For literary sources describing Atalante's participation in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, Apollod. 1, 8, 2-3; 3, 9, 2; Call. H. 3, 215-217; Paus. 8, 45, 2; 8, 45, 6; Philostr. imag. 15; Hyg. fab. 174; 244; Ov. met. 8, 260-546; Ov. epist. 4, 99-100.

³³³⁴ For instance, Aelian claims that Atalante was the most stunning woman in the Peloponnese at her time, but that she had a fiery, masculine gaze and an extremely fit body, Ael. VH 13, 1. Philostratus the Younger also mentions her short, sleeveless tunic and boots, which allowed for freedom of movement, Philostr. imag. 15. (he also mentions that Atalante is extremely beautiful, but that her beauty is of the masculine type). For discussion on Atalante as a liminal figure, transcending gender categories, Barringer 1996, 48-50. 59-61. 74f.

³³³⁵ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, ATA1. 2. This assessment also includes demythologized portraits of women as Atalante (i.e. portraits of women who look like Atalante, but are not necessarily identifiable as Atalante), see ATA2.

³³³⁶ ATA1. 2. G. Koch suggests that a fragment of a provincial sarcophagus (in Syracuse) shows Meleager and Atalante with portrait bosses, Koch 1975, 27; for the monument, Tusa 1957, 190-192 cat. 94. The monument has been excluded from the current examination, since the identification of the hunters as Meleager and Atalante (or demythologized versions thereof) is questionable. He also finds it probable that other sarcophagi portrayed married couples in the guise of Meleager and Atalante, but are no longer extant, Koch 1975, 60.

³³³⁷ For discussion, chap. 6.2.

tradition, Meleager disregarded basic social codes due to his consuming passion for Atalante.³³³⁸ He not only invited a woman to participate in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, but also awarded her the hide at the end, partially due to her exceptional hunting skill, but primarily due to his lust for her. This brought about a role reversal that gravely harmed the honour of the hunters.³³³⁹ The men felt indignant about a woman outshining them and receiving the honours of the hunt. Moreover, Atalante was the first to strike the boar, but Meleager ultimately slayed the beast. As such, the Thestiades - Meleager's maternal uncles - should have received the spoils by birthright, once the hero renounced them. In the end, a fight erupted between Meleager and the Thestiades, in which the hero slayed his uncles. Meleager's mother was struck with grief and sought revenge on her own son, by burning a cursed log that resulted in his death. Women behaving like men, and men afflicted by excessive passion and fury, obviously conflict with traditional values in Roman society.

The following analysis will evaluate how Meleager and Atalante came to serve as role models in private portraiture. It will start by offering an overview of the monuments, before turning to the capacity of the mythological imagery to evoke private emotions and virtues. In particular, the potential for Atalante to convey positive messages about women, without calling the masculinity of her male companion into question, demands further consideration here.

6.3.2 State of the Question

The mythological imagery on sarcophagi featuring the life and death of Meleager is seen as relevant to men especially, with the theme entering into the funerary setting for several reasons.³³⁴⁰ First of all, the image of Meleager participating in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt - or relaxing at the end of the hunt - conveys his physical perfection, vigour and especially courage, as a reference to the male deceased and his *virtus*.³³⁴¹ This hypothesis is supported by both the textual and visual evidence. The inscriptions on caskets with the Kalydonian Boar Hunt at times mention a male dedicatee.³³⁴² The development of the iconography on frieze sarcophagi encouraged the identification of men with Meleager, by gradually pushing the hero into the centre and casting him the most prominent figure (pl. 90b);³³⁴³ in contrast,

³³³⁸ For an overview of the myth of Atalante and Meleager, Kottsieper 2008, 207f. 212f. For literary sources describing Meleager's lust for Atalante, as well as the disastrous consequences, Apollod. 1, 8, 2-3; Hyg. fab. 173; Ov. met. 8, 260-546.

³³³⁹ For further discussion on this role reversal, Barringer 2001, 160.

³³⁴⁰ P. Zanker and B.C. Ewald summarize the main reasons, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 348. 354. As discussed by S. Birk, Meleager certainly exhibits questionable characteristics, but there was nevertheless a desire to identify with him on sarcophagi, Birk 2013, 105f.

³³⁴¹ Dimas 1998 120-121; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 348.

³³⁴² For examples, Koch 1975, 95f. cat. 30; 139f. cat. 162; 145f. cat. 178.

³³⁴³ For an overview of the iconographic development, Borg 2013, 172f.; Koch 1975, 7-28.

Atalante is usually smaller than Meleager and pushed into the background.³³⁴⁴ Moreover, Meleager is occasionally furnished with a portrait head of the male deceased (pl. 250b).³³⁴⁵

As discussed above, hunting imagery is certainly an sign of *virtus*,³³⁴⁶ which - on these funerary monuments - seems particularly well-suited to men with military roles. The monument dedicated to Aurelius Vitalis, portrayed in the guise of Meleager, identifies him as a centurion of the *cohortes praetorianae* (pl. 251a).³³⁴⁷ Another monument was rededicated to Iulius Sabinus Proculianus, who died while serving in the Roman army.³³⁴⁸ It is nevertheless clear that this theme was also selected to celebrate the *virtus* of the male deceased in a more flexible manner, irrespective of his age and accomplishments. It is for this reason that either a boy (presented beyond his years) or a youth appears in the guise of Meleager as well.³³⁴⁹ Another interesting case is the lid with a portrait of a youth as a Roman military commander (i.e. with cuirass, *paludamentum* and spear), flanked by two scenes: to the right is the Kalydonian Boar Hunt (as well as the procession carrying Meleager's body home), but to the left is the contemporary lion hunt (pl. 251b).³³⁵⁰ The imagery thus combines a few visual codes for *virtus*, to celebrate the life of a youth who would never reach full maturity.

Secondly, the images of carrying the body of Meleager home, as well as mourning for him, were invented specifically for the Roman sepulchral context (pl. 252a).³³⁵¹ The scenes imitate Roman funerary rites, such as the laying out the body, lamenting over the dead, and the funerary procession to the necropolis - this refers to the tragic death of the male deceased, as well as the emotional turmoil experienced by his loved ones.³³⁵² Atalante is often included here, shielding her face and crying.³³⁵³ The male deceased is never directly identified with Meleager, as is usually the case with images of death and mourning on mythological sarcophagi: indeed, the hero is not primarily a mythical role model here, but rather a tragic example of life cut short.³³⁵⁴ In any case, the heroic circumstances of his death, as

³³⁴⁴ Koch 1975, 17. Atalante is pushed into the background by portraying her slightly behind Meleager and/or on an entirely different plane (so that the lower body is often no longer visible). S. Dimas finds it probable that these caskets were intended to commemorate unmarried men, Dimas 1998, 128 footnote 700.

³³⁴⁵ For examples of Meleager furnished with the portrait head of the male deceased, Koch 1975, 93 cat. 26; 95f. cat. 30; 96f. cat. 33; 134 cat. 152. In other cases, the male deceased is indirectly identified with Meleager by placing a *clipeus* portrait at the middle of the sarcophagus; for instance, an unfinished portrait bust of a man is flanked by Meleager and his father Oeneus on a strigillated sarcophagus, Koch 1975, 131 cat. 145.

³³⁴⁶ For discussion, chap. 6.2.3.4

³³⁴⁷ For the sarcophagus, Fittschen 1975; Koch 1975, 95f. cat. 30. Even if the fragment with the portrait of a man as Meleager does not actually belong to the inscribed casket in question, it nevertheless indicates the sort of men commemorated by sarcophagi featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, Borg 2013, 173.

³³⁴⁸ For the sarcophagus, Koch 1975, 145f. cat. 178.

³³⁴⁹ For the sarcophagus, Koch 1975, 93 cat. 26. The dimensions of the sarcophagus are suitable for either a boy or a youth.

³³⁵⁰ For the sarcophagus, Koch 1975, 101 cat. 64.

³³⁵¹ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 348.

³³⁵² Zanker - Ewald 2004, 348.

³³⁵³ For examples, Koch 1975, 119 cat. 112; 120f. cat. 116; 121 cat. 117; 122 cat. 119; 122f. cat. 120; 123 cat. 121; 123f. cat. 122. For discussion on the image of Atalante mourning, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 351f.

³³⁵⁴ For discussion on images of mourning and consolation on Roman mythological sarcophagi in general, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 63-115.

well as the military or hunting accessories next to the bed, allude to the *virtus* of the hero.³³⁵⁵ Overall, the death of Meleager offers an *exemplum mortalitatis*, as a visual aid for mourning the male deceased, as well as a source of consolation for his loved ones.

Thirdly, the images of Meleager and Atalante symbolize an intimate union, which was, however, apparently a secondary concern for commemoration.³³⁵⁶ An excellent example is provided by a strigillated sarcophagus dated to 180/190 CE, with Meleager and Atalante in the central field (pl. 252b).³³⁵⁷ They stand next to each other in their standard hunting attire and gaze at each other lovingly. Directly next to Meleager is the boar's hide, hanging over a trunk.³³⁵⁸ Atalante gently touches the boar's hide, which subtly refers to the hero's surrender of the "manly" honours to his lover. By portraying Meleager and Atalante alone, the narrative of the Kalydonian Boar Hunt is almost completely suppressed;³³⁵⁹ the heroic courage and the tragic death of Meleager are pushed into the background, and the love theme is brought to the forefront.³³⁶⁰ This iconography was presumably developed to celebrate the feelings of affection between a husband and wife.³³⁶¹

Fourthly, the lids often feature the feast after the Kalydonian Boar Hunt,³³⁶² which is a theme not attested in the literary sources (pl. 253a).³³⁶³ Here, Meleager and Atalante dine happily with the rest of the hunting party on a sigma-shaped couch. There is no hint of a dispute over the spoils. The preparation and cooking methods for the boar would completely destroy the fur, despite being the prized trophy of the hunt.³³⁶⁴ Moreover, Atalante is not the sole recipient of the spoils. The meat is shared among the entire hunting party, in a harmonious scene of communal dining. It seems reasonable that the feasting imagery was introduced into the sepulchral context as an "allegory for peaceful happiness", reminding the viewer to enjoy life's pleasures.³³⁶⁵ The Roman viewer could easily relate to

³³⁵⁵ Dimas 1998, 120; Zanker - Ewald 2014, 348. For examples, Koch 1975, 119 cat. 112; 119 cat. 113; 120f. cat. 116; 121 cat. 117; 122 cat. 119; 122 cat. 120; 123 cat. 121; 123f. cat. 122.

³³⁵⁶ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 348.

³³⁵⁷ For the sarcophagus, Koch 1975, 131 cat. 146.

³³⁵⁸ The trunk is not rendered realistically, since the bottom of the trunk is not even indicated here. This is probably the result of copying a marble statue with a support.

³³⁵⁹ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 250.

³³⁶⁰ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 250. Elsewhere, P. Zanker and B.C. Ewald note that the narrative of the Kalydonian Boar Hunt is suppressed on strigillated sarcophagi in general, in order to focus on Meleager as a model for "manliness" and potentially the love of Atalante for him, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 348.

³³⁶¹ The imagery was probably created with this intent, but in the end, an adult and a child were buried here, Koch 1975, 131 cat. 146.

³³⁶² For the images of the banquet (or preparations thereof) after the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, on sarcophagi featuring the life and death of Meleager, as well as discussion, Koch 1975, 48-50; 125-129 cat. 127-142.

³³⁶³ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 348.

³³⁶⁴ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 354.

³³⁶⁵ Himmelmann 1973, 28 (translation by the author). For discussion on blissful imagery on Roman mythological sarcophagi in general, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 116-177.

the imagery, due to the regular banquets for the dead.³³⁶⁶ At the same time, the affection between Meleager and Atalante is often indicated here: they recline together and gaze at each other lovingly.³³⁶⁷

This celebration of life and love was appropriate for the commemoration of men and women alike. Portraits of men occasionally appear in the banquet scenes. In one case, Meleager is furnished with the portrait head of an older man (pl. 253b);³³⁶⁸ in another case, an unfinished portrait bust (for a man) appears at the middle of the lid, flanked by the preparation of the boar and the celebratory feast (pl. 254a).³³⁶⁹ The imagery probably refers to their zeal for life. One monument was dedicated by Iulius Eufrosynus to his sweet and chaste wife Aurelia Olympias, who died at the age of thirty-three.³³⁷⁰ Another one was set up by Berria Zosime for herself and her husband Berrius Euhelpestus.³³⁷¹ In all likelihood, the love between Meleager and Atalante serves as a metaphor for the love between the husbands and wives mentioned in these dedicatory inscriptions.

In summary, the mythological imagery on sarcophagi featuring the life and death of Meleager is considered relevant to men especially, but less so to women. The interest in the myth is typically attributed to the hero's physical perfection and "manliness", as well as his tragic death. To some extent, this approach is perfectly valid: his participation in the Kalydonian Boar hunt established him as a natural role model for men, which is corroborated by the portraits and dedicatory inscriptions on these monuments. Of secondary importance is the amorous and life-affirming imagery, which was suitable for men and women alike - this is substantiated by the same kinds of evidence.³³⁷²

It is worthwhile inquiring into Atalante's function as a role model for women on sarcophagi: was she simply a desirable woman, whose life was forever altered due to Meleager's love for her,³³⁷³ or did she exhibit other virtues relevant to the female deceased? Her capacity to convey positive messages about women has received surprisingly little attention. There is seemingly no examination dedicated to this particular question, whether in terms of indirect or direct identifications with the heroine. There are various ways to approach this question, but the investigation here will be restricted to a closer

³³⁶⁶ Zanker - Ewald 2004, 354.

³³⁶⁷ For examples of lids with Meleager and Atalante gazing at each other lovingly, Koch 1975, 110 cat. 81; 126 cat. 128; 126f. cat. 130; 128 cat. 137.

³³⁶⁸ For the sarcophagus, Koch 1975, 128 cat. 136. Atalante, on the other hand, is idealized here.

³³⁶⁹ For the lid, Koch 1975, 127 cat. 132.

³³⁷⁰ For the sarcophagus, Koch 1975, 127 cat. 131. Atalante gazes at Meleager here. The sarcophagus was discovered intact in a tomb near Altavilla Silentina in Campania, but the casket was undecorated. The focus is therefore on the feasting imagery alone.

³³⁷¹ For the sarcophagus, Koch 1975, 126f. cat. 130. Meleager and Atalante gaze at each other here.

³³⁷² Note that both the portrait and epigraphic evidence offers a highly gendered picture of the monuments. It suggests that the hunting imagery was basically limited to men, whereas amorous and life-affirming imagery was suitable for men and women alike. This evidence is, however, limited. First of all, roughly two hundred sarcophagi featuring events from the life and death of Meleager have been identified, but the portraits and inscription are uncommon and therefore only provide information about a small number of burials, see Koch 1975. Based on the portrait and epigraphic evidence alone, it is difficult to draw sweeping conclusions about the sort of individuals commemorated in these caskets or the motivations behind their selection.

³³⁷³ Huskinson 1996, 102. As she notes elsewhere, the themes on the sarcophagi depicting Meleager include "bravery, devoted love, family strife, and the pain of premature departure", Huskinson 2015, 161.

examination of the portraits of the female deceased as the huntress.³³⁷⁴ The material is of course limited, but the two extant monuments - one for a pradolescent girl, the other for a woman - are worthy of thorough analysis and comparison. There is much to consider in terms of the private feelings and personal virtues evoked.³³⁷⁵ It is possible to achieve this by offering a detailed reassessment of the monuments, which focuses on the iconography and the dress especially in its own right.

6.3.3 Portrait of a Woman as Atalante

6.3.3.1 Overview of the Monument

The only portrait of a woman as Atalante appears on a strigillated sarcophagus, which is located in Wilton House (near Salisbury in Wiltshire, England) (pl. 28a).³³⁷⁶ It was produced in a Roman workshop around the middle of the 3rd century CE³³⁷⁷ and then displayed in the so-called Columbarium of the Freedmen of Livia along the Via Appia (near Rome). The front side of the casket is divided into five sections: the central and end reliefs portray mythical figures standing on plinths, whereas the intervening strigillated reliefs are decorative.³³⁷⁸ The relief at the middle features a portrait group of a married couple as Meleager and Atalante (pl. 28b). In the foreground stands the man in frontal view, pouring a libation with a *patera* into the flames of a circular altar. He is dressed like a mythical hunter: that is, nude but for the *chlamys* and a spear in his left hand. The dead boar next to the altar indicates that the sacrifice was probably carried out in thanks for the successful hunt. The head is an uncarved boss, which was intended to receive individualized features. Standing next to him, but slightly behind him, is a woman in more or less frontal view. She looks at her male companion and embraces him (placing her right hand on his right upper arm, and her left hand on his left shoulder). Her dress identifies her as a mythical huntress. She wears a high-girdled *chiton*, which is hitched up to just above the knees. There is a quiver on her right shoulder (hanging from a baldric across the chest). Her head is likewise an unfinished portrait. In the background is a generic male figure in profile view, whose *chlamys* probably identifies him as yet another hunter.

The iconography of the central relief finds no exact parallel in the visual record. The various strands of influence are nevertheless clear. The portrait figures are most closely modeled after Meleager and

³³⁷⁴ It is also worthwhile considering if indirect identifications between Atalante and the female deceased were provoked on funerary monuments as well. This is beyond the scope of the current analysis, but will be considered in more detail by the author elsewhere.

³³⁷⁵ These two monuments have been explored on an individual basis. The portrait group of a man and woman as Meleager and Atalante (ATA1) has received limited attention. J. Huskinson notes that the image links the *pietas* expected of the married couple with passionate feelings, Huskinson 2015, 148f. 162. 174-176. S. Birk notes the woman's masculine qualities in passing, see Birk 2013, 137. E. Simon conducts the most detailed examination of the portrait group of a girl and boy as Meleager and Atalante (ATA2), but assigns their qualities along gendered lines (i.e. the boy is praised for his *virtus*, but the girl merely reinforces his *virtus*), Simon 1970. Since then, it has been more widely acknowledged that both the boy and girl are celebrated for their *virtus* (e.g. Birk 2013, 179; Borg 2013, 173), but - for this girl especially - this is often explained away in a variety of ways (e.g. Dimas 1998, 128; Huskinson 1996, 105). The feelings evoked by this monument have received more attention.

³³⁷⁶ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, ATA1. The length of the monument is 2.08 m, the width 0.64 m, and the depth 0.58 m.

³³⁷⁷ Koch 1975, 57. 132.

³³⁷⁸ This suggests to J. Huskinson that statuesque imagery was a source of inspiration here, Huskinson 2015, 88.

Atalante. It is true that the mythical hunting dress is not exclusive to them, but other details allow for this connection in particular. The visual representation of the couple with the dead boar is not only relatively common, but also extremely variable in terms of the iconography and composition; the inclusion of other hunters in the background is also attested in these scenes.³³⁷⁹ Moreover, the images of Meleager and Atalante from the Roman Imperial Period occasionally highlight the affection between them by physical interaction.³³⁸⁰ On a sarcophagus dated to the middle of the Antonine Period, Atalante turns towards Meleager and sets one hand on his shoulder (pl. 242a).³³⁸¹ The motif would later resurface on caskets dated to the turn of the 4th century CE, with Atalante embracing Meleager more passionately (pl. 242b).³³⁸² The possibility that another mythical hunter and huntress is referred to here can therefore be safely excluded. Indeed, Hippolytus and Diana are renowned for their strict chastity, whereas Adonis is in love with the beautiful Venus, not with a fellow huntress.³³⁸³

There are, however, certain elements completely foreign to the myth of Meleager and Atalante here. Most notably, the theme of sacrificing after the Kalydonian Boar Hunt is absent in both the textual and visual sources.³³⁸⁴ Quite interestingly, the motif is borrowed from *Vita Romana Sarcophagi*, which were produced for the senatorial elite and occasionally the equestrian order.³³⁸⁵ Images of married couples united in the sacrificial act first surface on Sacrifice/Wedding Sarcophagi, primarily manufactured between 160/170 and 190/200 CE, but also as late as 270-280 CE (pl. 254b).³³⁸⁶ If shown together, then the husband always pours the libation on the small altar; the wife, on the other hand, is always praying, with or without a raised hand.³³⁸⁷ The sacrificial scene is closely connected to their marital status: this is visually expressed by the spouses orienting themselves towards each other on frieze sarcophagi (and occasionally by the *dextrarum iunctio* or the presence of the goddess Concordia),³³⁸⁸ as well as by the juxtaposition with wedding scenes on architectonic sarcophagi.³³⁸⁹ Afterwards, images of sacrificing spouses were regularly adopted onto other *Vita Romana Sarcophagi*, at least until the middle

³³⁷⁹ Z. Newby notes that the dead boar on the ground suggests that this is Meleager and Atalante, Newby 2011a, 216. For images of Meleager and Atalante with the dead boar, its head or hide, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 942f. nos. 27-39.

³³⁸⁰ For examples, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 944f. nos. 45. 55.

³³⁸¹ For the sarcophagus, Koch 1975, 85 cat. 1.

³³⁸² For examples, Koch 1975, 133f. cat. 151; 133 cat. 152.

³³⁸³ Of course, there are portrait groups of married couples as Diana and Hippolytus or demythologized versions thereof (DIA15. 16. 17), but due to a lack of other signs referring to this particular myth, the identification seems less probable here.

³³⁸⁴ For Meleager in the textual and visual sources, Woodford - Krauskopf 1992.

³³⁸⁵ J. Huskinson links this back to images of sacrificing couples in general, Huskinson 2015, 148f. 162. 174-176. For a comprehensive analysis of the *Vita Romana Sarcophagi*, Reinsberg 2006.

³³⁸⁶ For discussion on spouses sacrificing together on Sacrifice/Wedding Sarcophagi, Reinsberg 2006, 116-129.

³³⁸⁷ For examples, Reinsberg 2006, 207 cat. 51; 212f. cat. 70; 216 cat. 82; 218 cat. 87; 224f. cat. 113; 232f. cat. 137; 237 cat. 153. In one instance, however, the wife also holds an incense box, Reinsberg 2006, 224f. cat. 113. This division of tasks is not attested on a strigillated sarcophagus, with the man and woman situated at opposite ends of the casket and making their own separate offering, Reinsberg 2006, 207 cat. 51.

³³⁸⁸ For examples, Reinsberg 2006, 212f. cat. 70; 216 cat. 82; 224f. cat. 113; 232f. cat. 137; 237 cat. 153.

³³⁸⁹ For examples, Reinsberg 2006, 207 cat. 51; 218 cat. 87. The sacrifice scene is also juxtaposed with a wedding scene on a frieze sarcophagus, Reinsberg 2006, 224f. cat. 113.

of the 3rd century CE.³³⁹⁰ This is exactly when the monument under consideration was created and the influence on the iconography is undeniable: indeed, the man pours the libation while the woman merely observes, and their amorous connection is evident. As such, Meleager and Atalante are carefully molded into the image of sacrificing spouses,³³⁹¹ as already established on Vita Roman Sarcophagi.

The motif of Atalante embracing Meleager is also striking here. As mentioned, the affection between the lovers is attested elsewhere in the visual record, and the themes of sacrifice and marriage are already closely connected on Vita Romana Sarcophagi.³³⁹² There is, however, no exact parallel for this sort of close embrace in either source by the time of the monument's creation.³³⁹³ The composition most closely approximates the portrait groups of spouses of Mars and Venus (pl. 140b).³³⁹⁴ The woman gazes at her husband and reaches out to touch him with both hands, but he looks elsewhere and does not return her affection.³³⁹⁵ It is also similar to the portrait roundels on sarcophagi: here, the husband is typically in the foreground, whereas his wife embraces him from behind.³³⁹⁶

The recourse to various models for the portrait group produces a complex, multilayered image. The man and woman are most closely modeled after Meleager and Atalante. This is evident from the mythical hunting attire, the amorous nature of their relationship, as well as the inclusion of the dead boar in the scene. It is true that there is no exact parallel for Meleager and Atalante in the visual record. Nevertheless, the iconography of the mythical lovers is so varied that any significant overlap in dress and thematic is sufficient to make the identification here.³³⁹⁷ At the same time, Meleager and Atalante are molded into the image of a married couple.³³⁹⁸ They sacrifice just like the husbands and wives on Vita Roman Sarcophagi. The woman embraces the man affectionately, just like the portraits of

³³⁹⁰ On General/Wedding Sarcophagi (mostly dated to between 160 CE and the middle of the 3rd century CE), the so-called woman of prayer - in some cases Pietas, in others cases the wife - was integrated into the sacrificial scene by ca. 190 CE; for the motif (which never became canonical on General/Wedding Sarcophagi), Reinsberg 2006, 70-75. Here, there is the same division of roles between husband and wife, as well as the standard juxtaposition between sacrificial and marital themes. If the man and woman are portrayed together, then the husband makes the offering and his wife prays (but later she can also make an incense offering); for examples, Reinsberg 2006, 192 cat. 6; 196f. cat. 15; 198 cat. 20; 213f. cat. 73; 214 cat. 76; 227f. cat. 122; 228f. cat. 123; 233f. cat. 140. If, however, the husband and wife are portrayed separately, then both of them make their own offering; for examples, Reinsberg 2006, 212 cat. 67; 223f. cat. 109; 224 cat. 112; 233 cat. 138. On the Magistrate/Orans Sarcophagi (dated to roughly the final decades of the 2nd century CE until 300-310 CE, see Reinsberg 2006, 170), the piety of the woman is still emphasized, whereas the offices of the man now become the central focus (and the marital theme is also significantly downplayed), Reinsberg 2006, 152-154. 177f.

³³⁹¹ Huskinson 2015, 148f. 162. 174-176.

³³⁹² G. Koch notes the connection here to sarcophagi with wedding scenes, Koch 1975, 56.

³³⁹³ The only images of Atalante embracing Meleager with both hands appear on a series of sarcophagi dated to the end of the 4th century CE; for examples, Koch 1975, 133f. cat. 151; 134 cat. 152. The embrace is basically missing on Vita Roman Sarcophagi. In a unique case, the woman both clasps her husband's hand with the right hand and places her left hand on his shoulder; for the sarcophagus, Reinsberg 2006, 216 cat. 82.

³³⁹⁴ Koch 1975, 56. For the portrait groups of married couples as Mars and Venus (as a celebration of the affective side of married life), Kleiner 1981; Kousser 2007.

³³⁹⁵ Koch 1975, 56.

³³⁹⁶ Huskinson 2015, 162 footnote no. 76.

³³⁹⁷ Moreover, Meleager and Atalante are not clearly integrated into a non-mythical narrative (e.g. through the introduction of non-mythological dress or scenes).

³³⁹⁸ Huskinson 2015, 148f. 162, 174-176.

married couples as Mars and Venus, on sarcophagi roundels, and so on. Overall, the identification as Meleager and Atalante is valid here, but the imagery ultimately prioritizes the expression of certain virtues over a specific mythological narrative. Indeed, "... the whole image starts from a conventional representation of marriage; thus the main driver in the iconography is a social concept, while the mythological allusion is added, almost as an embellishment."³³⁹⁹

The reliefs at each end of the casket show Castor and Pollux respectively, in a symmetrical arrangement (pl. 28a). The twins stand in frontal view, looking towards the central relief. Both of them are nude, except for the *pilos* and *chlamys*. Each holds a sword in one hand and a spear in the other. The Dioscuri are not particularly relevant to the myth of Meleager and Atalante. Rather, the twins commonly frame the central portraits of married couples on Vita Romana Sarcophagi.³⁴⁰⁰ Finally, the sides of the casket feature military attributes, including six-sided shields with volute-like ornaments in the foreground, and crossed spears and a double-axe in the background.

6.3.3.2 Interpretation

6.3.3.2.1 *Pietas*

The main focus is undeniably the sacrificial act, which was borrowed from the Vita Romana Sarcophagi of the senatorial and equestrian classes. It is widely accepted that the imagery on these so-called "biographical sarcophagi" is not an accurate, chronological reflection of an individual's career, but rather a selective, normative expression of the social status and moral worth of the Roman elite.³⁴⁰¹ The individual motifs signify certain virtues, closely related to the praise of the emperor: that is, *virtus*, *pietas*, *clementia* and *iustitia* - as canonized by the conferral of the *clipeus virtutis* on Augustus - as well as *concordia* - as introduced with the idealization of imperial marriage under the Antonines.³⁴⁰² The sacrificial scene functions as a visual shorthand for the *pietas* of the deceased.³⁴⁰³ The specific act of devotion is irrelevant: the husband shows his piety to the gods by pouring a libation, whereas the wife shows hers by praying next to the altar, or more rarely making an incense offering.³⁴⁰⁴ It is notable that the men are shown performing military or civic state sacrifices, from which their wives were

³³⁹⁹ Huskinson 2015, 162.

³⁴⁰⁰ Koch 1975, 56; Huskinson 2015, 168f.

³⁴⁰¹ Rodenwaldt 1935; for further discussion, Reinsberg 2006, 170-173. The scenes on the so-called "biographical sarcophagi" refer to events actually experienced by the deceased (e.g. marriage, childbirth), to events experienced by men of his social standing in general (e.g. assumption of the consulship, subjugation of barbarians, boar hunt), or to events that only exist in the imagination (e.g. common military and civic state sacrifice of husband and wife), Reinsberg 2006, 173.

³⁴⁰² Reinsberg 2006, 176. 180f. The valorization of *virtus* and *pietas* in the private funerary context follows imperial trends and is constant until the end of the Roman Imperial Period, see Dardanay 2013.

³⁴⁰³ Reinsberg 2006, 69.

³⁴⁰⁴ Reinsberg 2006, 73.

excluded in reality.³⁴⁰⁵ The scene is completely symbolic: the spouses fulfill their religious duties side by side, in an unrealistic way, in order to evoke their common *pietas*.³⁴⁰⁶

This mutual act of devotion on Vita Romana Sarcophagi is indicative of a symmetrization of the sexes, with the man and woman presented on relatively equal terms.³⁴⁰⁷ The evocation of *pietas* is nevertheless gendered. The husband takes on the main role by actually making the offering, whereas his wife takes on the supportive role, by observing the ceremony and offering her prayers. Moreover, these visual codes for *pietas* have divergent origins and therefore evoke slightly different aspects of this virtue.³⁴⁰⁸ The male portrait figure is based on an established visual code for male piety and devotion to the gods, which was grounded in the reality of state offerings and introduced into imperial imagery by the early principate. The female portrait figure is based on the *orans* woman, which is a standard visual code for Pietas in imperial imagery.³⁴⁰⁹ From the outset, imperial *pietas* referred not so much to devotion to the gods (i.e. *pietas in sacris*), but rather to the family (i.e. *pietas erga homines*) - as such, it is not merely the sex of Pietas, but also the connection between the social role of women and familial concerns, that rendered the divinity a suitable model for women. Overall, the male portrait figure primarily evokes *pietas* towards the gods, in a ceremony grounded in reality; the female portrait figure supplements this with loyalty to the family, as the symbolic embodiment of Pietas herself. They thus share in complementary aspects of *pietas*, which are visualized in a gender-specific manner.

The portrait of the married couple as Meleager and Atalante is closely modeled after the sacrificial scenes on Vita Romana Sarcophagi. As such, the visual code functions in more or less the same manner: the man offering a libation is honoured for his *pietas*, as is the woman praying near the altar.³⁴¹⁰ There are, however, notable differences here. The military or civic state sacrifice is replaced with an imaginary, mythical one after the hunt.³⁴¹¹ The concern for status is completely eliminated, perhaps due to the imagery being appropriated by individuals (probably freedpersons) whose rank excluded them from these offices. The inherent imbalance between the sexes is nevertheless retained: the man assumes the main role in venerating the gods, whereas his wife assumes the supportive role. Moreover, the interaction between husband and wife, as well as their dress, bears no resemblance to these models. These alterations to the iconography were carried out to refer to other virtues altogether.

³⁴⁰⁵ Reinsberg 2006, 118f. 173f. 177.

³⁴⁰⁶ Reinsberg 2006, 118f. 173f. 177.

³⁴⁰⁷ For the expression of companionate marriage on Vita Romana Sarcophagi, Reinsberg 2006, 182-185.

³⁴⁰⁸ For the entire argument (summarized here), see Reinsberg 2006, 73f.

³⁴⁰⁹ Note that this is the image of Pietas known from coins since the time Galba (with altar, hand raised in prayer or with incense box), Reinsberg 2006, 73f. For Pietas in the visual sources in general, Vollkommer 1997a.

³⁴¹⁰ J. Huskinson links this back to the images of couples sacrificing in general, and notes that this evokes their *pietas*, Huskinson 2015, 148f. 162. 174-176.

³⁴¹¹ There are, however, also imperial models for sacrificing after the hunt, such as Hadrian making an offering after the boar hunt on the roundels reused on the Arch of Constantine, see chap. 6.2.3.4.

6.3.3.2.2 *Concordia*

The imagery also highlights the physical interaction between husband and wife. The theme is likewise borrowed from the Vita Romana Sarcophagi: here, *concordia* is primarily expressed by the *dextrarum iunctio* (as well as the inclusion of the goddess Concordia) in wedding scenes, which are closely aligned with sacrifice scenes.³⁴¹² It is therefore evident that the portrait group of the married couple as Meleager and Atalante shared the same concerns for commemoration as Vita Romana Sarcophagi, by collapsing the evocations of piety and conjugal harmony into a single scene.³⁴¹³ The interaction between the husband and wife is, however, much different. The *dextrarum iunctio* is substituted with a loving embrace, presumably to highlight the more affective qualities of marriage.³⁴¹⁴

The need to stress the emotional side of marriage probably explains the selection of Meleager and Atalante in general.³⁴¹⁵ The hunter and huntress are renowned for their tumultuous romance. Meleager was so passionately in love with Atalante that he awarded her the boar's hide and even committed avunculicide when his uncles tried to interfere. Just like Hercules's surrender of the club and lion skin to Omphale,³⁴¹⁶ this event was frequently romanticized in the mythical tradition. As Ovid states, "the son of Oeneus [i.e. Meleager], too, took fire with love for Maenalian Atalanta; she has the spoil of the wild beast as the pledge of his love."³⁴¹⁷ All in all, the passionate relationship between Meleager and Atalante probably appealed to the sentiments of the patrons of the monument, as a paradigm for a happy, fulfilled life.³⁴¹⁸ Thanks to the possibility to highlight or suppress certain aspects of the mythical narrative, the potentially destabilizing or emasculating connotations of their relationship are hardly problematic on this monument.³⁴¹⁹ In particular, it seems that the interaction not only between the lovers, but also with the dead boar, is carefully formulated, in order to eliminate the possibility of the husband appearing too uxorious or subservient to his wife.

It is useful to consider other images of Meleager and Atalante enjoying each other's company, with the spoils from the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, as a point of comparison. The theme first emerged on an Apulian amphora dated to about 330 BCE: here, Meleager hands over the boar skin to Atalante, in the presence of Aphrodite and Eros.³⁴²⁰ This motif did not, however, enjoy considerable popularity in the Roman

³⁴¹² For discussion on the wedding scenes on Vita Romana Sarcophagi, as well as the evocation of *concordia*, Reinsberg 2006, 75-85. 109-116. (In a unique case, the woman both shakes her husband's hand with the right hand and places her left hand on his shoulder, Reinsberg 2006, 216 cat. 82.)

³⁴¹³ J. Huskinson links this back to images of couples in sarcophagi roundels, Huskinson 2015, 162 footnote 76.

³⁴¹⁴ For further discussion, see chap. 7.5.2.5.2.1.

³⁴¹⁵ The portrait group expresses not only the importance of marriage as a social institution, but also the strength of romantic love, Huskinson 2015, 148f. For a similar view, Newby 2011a, 216.

³⁴¹⁶ For discussion, see chap. 4.1.2.

³⁴¹⁷ Ov. epist. 4, 99-100 (translation in Showerman - Goold 1914, 51). The affection of Atalante for Meleager is, however, of considerably less interests in the texts (for an exception, see Ov. met. 8, 430).

³⁴¹⁸ Huskinson 2015, 160.

³⁴¹⁹ The selective interpretation of mythological imagery is also attested with the portraiture of spouses as Mars and Venus, Kousser 2007, 685.

³⁴²⁰ For the amphora, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 942 no. 27. Images of Meleager bringing the spoils to Atalante were particularly popular on Etruscan mirrors of the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE; here, the erotic charge is clear, since Atalante is always depicted nude, Boardman 1984, 942f. nos. 28-33.

Imperial Period. Meleager and Atalante are frequently shown with the dead boar in wall-paintings from Pompeii (pls. 228b. 229a. 230a): the imagery highlights a moment of loving togetherness, which is not directly taken over from the literary tradition.³⁴²¹ The romantic relationship between Meleager and Atalante is hinted at by their mutual gaze and their closeness - in some cases, the hunter is seated like Paris, with his beloved in varying states of undress, or posing like a contestant in a beauty contest (e.g. leaning on a column with a pronounced swing in her hips, resting on a spear with her arm behind her head).³⁴²² The surrender of the hunting spoils is neither explicitly indicated nor dramatized here.³⁴²³ The dead boar is simply placed near the couple. It is possible to include other hunters in the scene, but the men are neither securely identified as the Thestiades, nor clearly resentful towards the happy couple.³⁴²⁴ Overall, the dead boar primarily functions as an identifying attribute for the pair, but the mythical narrative is almost entirely suppressed here.³⁴²⁵ The main focus is on the symmetrical relationship between a man and women in love, which recasts them as suitable role models for the viewers.³⁴²⁶ The mosaics are similar in form and content (pl. 229b).³⁴²⁷ The main exception is a mosaic portraying the hunter in a position to bestow the spoils of the hunt on his beloved.³⁴²⁸

The portrayal of Meleager and Atalante with the spoils from the Kalydonian Boar Hunt is highly varied on Roman sarcophagi. In one case, the two of them stand next to each other after their hunting expedition (pl. 255a).³⁴²⁹ She holds the boar's head in triumph. Both of them face outwards with no interaction, but the inclusion of a cupid between them, reaching for the spoils, highlights their romantic relationship; his inverted torch probably indicates an ill-fated desire. In another case, Meleager and Atalante are portrayed in isolation, gazing at each other and standing side by side, with the huntress lightly touching the boar's hide between them (pl. 252b).³⁴³⁰ These images openly reference the surrender of the "manly" spoils in varying degrees of intensity, perhaps as an indirect reference to the affection between the husband and wife. More commonly, however, the hide is retained by Meleager alone. He grasps the prize while fighting off the Thestiades.³⁴³¹ It is possible that

³⁴²¹ For examples, Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 943 cat. 34-36. For discussion on the Pompeian wall-paintings with Meleager and Atalante (including the suppression of the mythical narrative), Lorenz 2008a, 55-75.

³⁴²² Lorenz 2008a, 55-67.

³⁴²³ Lorenz 2008a, 74f.

³⁴²⁴ Lorenz 2008a, 67-69.

³⁴²⁵ Lorenz 2008a, 74f.

³⁴²⁶ K. Lorenz suggests that Meleager and Atalante in Pompeian wall-paintings serve as role models for the viewer: the main theme is the symmetrical relationship between a man and women in love; besides that, the man exhibits *virtus*, but the woman exhibits both sensual beauty (*pulchritudo*) and physical ability (*virtus*), Lorenz 2008a, 75. 82f. The characterization of Atalante shifts between that of a skilled, active huntress in the wild, and that of a physically beautiful, erotic woman in the domestic context, depending on the manipulation of the iconographic features (e.g. dress, stance, context) in individual scenes, see Lorenz 2008a, 55-75.

³⁴²⁷ For examples, Boardman 1984, 943 cat. 37-39.

³⁴²⁸ Boardman 1984, 943 no. 38.

³⁴²⁹ For the sarcophagus, Koch 1975, 105 cat. 71.

³⁴³⁰ For the sarcophagus, Koch 1975, 131 cat. 146.

³⁴³¹ For examples, Koch 1975, 87 cat. 8; 101f. cat. 66; 119 cat. 112; 120f. cat. 116; 121 cat. 117; 122-124 cat. 119-122; 124f. cat. 124. The theme also features on an Attic sarcophagi, although Atalante is present in the scene as well, Koch 1975, 140f. cat. 166.

this highlights the strength and courage of Meleager with reference to the male deceased, but the hero is an ambivalent role model here: indeed, he slaughtered his uncles for the sake of a woman.³⁴³² Meleager is also portrayed in isolation on architectonic sarcophagi, with the dead boar lying at his feet.³⁴³³ Due to the total abstraction from the narrative, the evocation of *virtus* is far more straightforward here.³⁴³⁴ Otherwise, a few lids show the entire hunting party happily feasting on the boar together, as a reminder to enjoy life.³⁴³⁵ The hunter and huntress exhibits signs of mutual affection, such as gazing at each other or touching each other.

Overall, the presentation of the hunting spoils is constantly modified on the sarcophagi in order to accentuate, obscure or even invent certain features of the mythical narrative, probably as an indirect reference to the deceased and their kin. The dead boar might refer to the *virtus* of Meleager, to his love for Atalante, or as a mere encouragement to joyfully feast and drink.

Turning back to the monument under consideration, it is clear that the iconography of Meleager and Atalante is carefully formulated to encourage a selective reading of the myth, suitable for the commemoration of a husband and wife. The woman gazes at her husband and embraces him with both arms. The man gladly accepts, but fails to reciprocate her loving gestures - in fact, he does not even look at his wife. As such, her show of care and tenderness is completely unidirectional here. This interaction between the couple finds no precise parallel in the images of Meleager and Atalante.³⁴³⁶ These modifications have the effect of casting the man as the independent actor, but his wife in a supportive role. In the process, the passionate feelings are primarily shifted to the wife, which completely subverts the mythical tradition. Moreover, the surrender of the hero's "manly" honours is completely muted here.³⁴³⁷ Indeed, the hunting spoils are merely placed on the ground, between the man and woman. The husband does not hand them to his wife, nor is she obviously in possession of them. The romantic element of the myth is highlighted here, but not at the expense of the husband's dignity.³⁴³⁸ Excessive passion - often symbolized by the forsaking of weapons or "manly" honours - was

³⁴³² Zanker - Ewald 2004, 352.

³⁴³³ For an example, Koch 1975, 130f. cat. 144. The theme features on Asiatic sarcophagi as well, Koch 1975, 149 cat. 185. 186. 187 (here, Atalante is depicted separately from Meleager with a boar's head as well). 188.

³⁴³⁴ Huskinson 2015, 109.

³⁴³⁵ For discussion, chap. 6.3.2.

³⁴³⁶ On a sarcophagus dated to the middle of the Antonine Period, Meleager and Atalante look at each other, with the huntress placing one hand on his shoulder; for the sarcophagus, Koch 1975, 85 cat. 1. On sarcophagi dated to the turn of the 4th century CE, Meleager and Atalante still gaze at each other, but with the huntress embracing him with both arms; for examples, Koch 1975, 133f. cat. 151; 133 cat. 152.

³⁴³⁷ Furthermore, the hunter in the background is not an opponent of the lovers, but rather a fellow hunter attending the sacrifice. Note that it is not uncommon to include other hunters in scenes of Meleager and Atalante resting with the boar, nor to include accompanying figures in the sacrifice scenes on Vita Romana Sarcophagi.

³⁴³⁸ The contrast between the representation of Meleager and Atalante on VIR1, and on another strigillated sarcophagus in the Basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano (see Koch 1975, 144 cat. 175) is notable. This comparison draws attention the modifications deemed necessary to formulate a suitable iconography for a married couple as Meleager and Atalante. The reason for this is that the sarcophagus in S. Pietro is strictly mythological, at most hinting at an indirect identification between the mythical couple and the deceased, whereas VIR1 establishes a direct identification through the addition of portraits. Meleager and Atalante on the mythological sarcophagus in S. Pietro make eye contact, and Atalante does not offer Meleager an unreciprocated embrace from behind, but rather

typically perceived as a feminizing force, and therefore minimized on this monument as much as possible.³⁴³⁹ Overall, it seems that the goal was to accentuate the conjugal harmony the married couple, including their love for each other, but without casting the husband as too uxorious.

In summary, the evocation of *concordia* hints at the symmetrization of the sexes here, but their relative imbalance is not completely abolished. The husband and wife both share in this virtue, but in a highly gendered manner: indeed, the man is mostly preoccupied with “public” affairs, whereas his wife is focused on her “domestic” life, offering support to her husband. Furthermore, the husband receives the bulk of the affection here, with his wife as his admirer.

Finally, the theme of *concordia* is strengthened by the Dioscuri at the corners of the casket. The Dioscuri often flank the portraits of married couples on Vita Romana Sarcophagi.³⁴⁴⁰ It has been argued that the Dioscuri offer a positive exemplum for human relationships in this context.³⁴⁴¹ Castor is mortal, but Pollux is immortal – the twins nevertheless stand by each other, in the face of hardship and adversity, thus signifying a commitment that bridges the human and divine. As such, perhaps the Dioscuri serve to reaffirm the mutual loyalty of the spouses.³⁴⁴²

6.3.3.2.3 *Virtus*

It is notable that *virtus* is commonly evoked on Vita Romana Sarcophagi as well, but for the male deceased in particular. This typically masculine quality is expressed in several ways: by truncated battle/hunt scenes,³⁴⁴³ by the addition of quality gods (e.g. accompanied by Virtus, crowned by Victoria),³⁴⁴⁴ and even by military and perhaps hunting dress in its own right.³⁴⁴⁵ In fact, the portrayal of the male deceased as a military commander was the most common means of signifying his *virtus*. He dons military dress not only in scenes of subjugating barbarians (*clementia*) and of sacrifice (*pietas*) (pl.

stands on common ground with him; moreover, Atalante rests a hand on the boar hide hanging on the trunk between them, alluding in a much more concrete manner to Meleager’s surrender of the quarry to her. It is therefore evident that there was more room for the expression of mutual romantic sentiment and even equality on purely mythological sarcophagi, than there was on sarcophagi with portraits of the deceased.

³⁴³⁹ For further discussion, see chap. 7.6.2.

³⁴⁴⁰ Koch 1975, 56; Huskinson 2015, 168f.

³⁴⁴¹ Huskinson 2015, 168f.

³⁴⁴² The Dioscuri might also have an eschatological significance here, as psychopomps who escort the deceased into the afterlife, Huskinson 2015, 168f.

³⁴⁴³ Reinsberg 2006, 175. For examples of battle scenes, Reinsberg 2006, 200f. cat. 29; 210 cat. 61; more commonly, however, the aftermath of the battle is featured, with the subjugation of barbarians. For examples of hunting imagery, Reinsberg 2006, 192 cat. 6; 194f. cat. 12; 232f. cat. 137; 237 cat. 153. (There is also a unique sarcophagus with mythical hunters making a sacrifice, Reinsberg 2006, 219 cat. 89.)

³⁴⁴⁴ For examples of the male deceased (in military attire) accompanied by Virtus, Reinsberg 2006, 194f. cat. 12; 196f. cat. 15; 200f. cat. 29; 202 cat. 33. For examples of the male deceased (in military or civic attire) being crowned by Victoria, Reinsberg 2006, 199f. cat. 27; 213f. cat. 73; 228f. cat. 123; 232f. cat. 137; 236f. cat. 152; 237 cat. 153. The representation of Victoria crowning the male deceased is taken over from imperial imagery to evoke *virtus*: the image of Victoria crowning the emperor referred to a specific military victory until the reign of Commodus, but afterwards, the goddess was the constant companion of the emperor and evoked victoriousness in general, Reinsberg 2006, 121-123.

³⁴⁴⁵ The military dress evokes the *virtus* of the deceased in its own right, Reinsberg 2006, 175. The hunting dress would evoke *virtus* in its own right as well, but there are no securely attested examples of the male deceased as a hunter on Vita Romana Sarcophagi; for a possible example, Reinsberg 2006, 237 cat. 153.

201b),³⁴⁴⁶ but also as an isolated commander in his own visual field.³⁴⁴⁷ This clearly testifies to the signifying power of the dress in its own right, irrespective of the narrative context. In contrast, the female deceased is typically excluded from the celebration of *virtus* here. There is only one clear exception to the rule: on the so-called Balbinus Sarcophagus (pl. 195a), the female portrait figure is not only likened to Venus - due to the drapery slipping sensually off her shoulder - but also accompanied by *Virtus*, who touches her arm in order to make the connection clear.³⁴⁴⁸

The monument under consideration exhibits similar concerns for commemoration. The main theme is the mutual sacrifice of the married couple - to express their *pietas* and *concordia* - but the fact that the sacrifice occurs after the hunt adds yet another personal quality: *virtus*.³⁴⁴⁹ It has been demonstrated that hunting dress is an indicator of *virtus* in its own right, for men and women alike.³⁴⁵⁰ If it is generally accepted that the visual code for sarcophagi with portrait figures is multidimensional, then the rule ought to be applied consistently. In other words, if the portrayal of a man in hunting dress evokes *virtus* in itself, then the same must be true for his wife as well.³⁴⁵¹

As on the Vita Roman Sarcophagi, their *virtus* is expressed by their dress alone, but by mythical hunting dress in lieu of contemporary military dress. There are probably a few reasons that the contemporary portraits characteristic of Vita Romana Sarcophagi were rejected on this monument, two of which have already been mentioned: the male deceased was probably excluded from high-ranking military and civic offices (perhaps due to his freedman rank), and the romantic relationship between Meleager and Atalante probably resonated with the husband and wife's experience of marriage. To add to this, it seems that the selection of a mythical hunting theme allowed for the praise of *virtus* to be extended to the wife as well. On the Vita Romana Sarcophagi, the woman is always portrayed in lengthy, modest robes, and at times even veiled to evoke her *pudicitia*; in some cases, the drapery slips from one

³⁴⁴⁶ For examples of the male deceased dressed as a military commander both in scenes of subjugating barbarians and sacrifice (on the same General/Wedding Sarcophagi), Reinsberg 2006, 194f. cat. 12; 196f. cat. 15; 200f. cat. 29; 202 cat. 33; 210 cat. 61.

³⁴⁴⁷ For some examples of the male deceased dressed as a military commander in his own architectural frame, Reinsberg 2006, 208 cat. 54; 214 cat. 74. For further examples, where the male deceased makes an offering at the same time, Reinsberg 2006, 195 cat. 13; 208 cat. 55; 212 cat. 67; 223f. cat. 109, 233 cat. 138.

³⁴⁴⁸ For the sarcophagus, Reinsberg 2006, 213f. cat. 73; for discussion, Reinsberg 2006, 107-108. For further discussion on the relationship between women and *virtus* on Vita Romana Sarcophagi, see chap. 7.5.1.3.2.2.

³⁴⁴⁹ On Vita Romana Sarcophagi, the male deceased is frequently portrayed in a sacrifice scene, as an expression of his *pietas*. At the same time, it is possible to either dress him up as a military commander, or for Victoria to crown him, in order to evoke his *virtus*. For examples of the male deceased dressed as a military commander in scenes of sacrifice, Reinsberg 2006, 194f. cat. 12; 195 cat. 13; 196f. cat. 15; 200f. cat. 29; 202 cat. 33; 208 cat. 55; 210 cat. 61; 212 cat. 67; 223f. cat. 109; 233 cat. 138. For examples of the male deceased (in civic dress) crowned by Victoria in scenes of sacrifice, Reinsberg 2006, 232f. cat. 137; 237 cat. 153.

³⁴⁵⁰ For discussion, see chaps. 5.3.3.1; 5.3.3.2; 6.2.3.4.

³⁴⁵¹ According to J. Huskinson, "... Meleager also offered Roman men the chance to identify with qualities valued by Roman society, such as courage and constancy in love, in which Atalanta is his partner," Huskinson 2015, 174. S. Birk notes in passing that the portrait of a woman as Atalante exhibits masculine qualities, see Birk 2013, 137. This is certainly supported by the mythical tradition: in Ov. met. 8, 387, Meleager praises Atalante for her *virtus* after she draws the first blood from the boar, which caused the other hunters to feel shame, Eisenhut 1973, 108. It is important to recognize, however, that her *virtus* is evoked by her dress in its own right.

shoulder to signify her *pulchritudo*.³⁴⁵² Here, the recourse to mythical hunting dress for both the man and woman allowed for an entirely different evocation, namely, their shared *virtus*.

It seems, however, that the *virtus* of the woman is partially negotiated here. Meleager is portrayed in agonal nudity: by revealing his ideal, muscular body, the somatic qualities necessary for “manly” feats are brought into focus. Atalante, on the other hand, had always been excluded from this visual convention, due to the overwhelmingly sexual connotations of female undress.³⁴⁵³ Instead, she wears the standard huntress costume, which is patterned after male dress, but without completely obscuring her female nature.³⁴⁵⁴ It is true that neither Meleager nor Atalante assumes an active role here, since the Kalydonian Boar Hunt is already over. The reference to this particular mythological narrative nevertheless ensures the relative imbalance between the sexes. Meleager assumes the leading role in the hunt: he confronts the boar directly and delivers the final blow with his spear. Atalante, on the other hand, takes on a supportive role: she strikes the boar from a distance with her bow and arrow, in order to weaken it for the other hunters. The events of the mythical narrative are pushed into the background, but probably still in the minds of the viewers.

Finally, the celebration of *virtus* is strengthened by the arms on the sides of the casket. The hunters on sarcophagi featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt typically use spears; moreover, Ankaïos wields a double-axe.³⁴⁵⁵ The shield, however, is taken over not from the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, but from military depictions, perhaps to expand the evocation of strength and courage here.

6.3.3.2.4 *Pulchritudo*

Atalante is often described as a beautiful woman.³⁴⁵⁶ It is notable that Allia Potestas is praised for her physical beauty in her funerary epigram at Rome, dating to the late 1st to early 4th century CE, also by comparing her to this legendary huntress: “What about her legs? She had quite the pose of Atalanta on the comic stage.”³⁴⁵⁷ It seems that the portrait of the woman as Atalante evokes her beauty precisely in this roundabout manner. There are no signs pointing to *pulchritudo* in particular, but her imitation of men incidentally reveals her beautiful female form.

6.3.3.2.5 Summary

The strigillated sarcophagus conflates various iconographic traditions, each of which is slightly manipulated to create a multifaceted memorial, suitable for the commemoration of a husband and wife. The imagery focuses on Meleager and Atalante’s mutual fulfillment of their religious duties after a

³⁴⁵² For examples of women dressed as a veiled bride, Reinsberg 2006, 232f. cat. 137; 237 cat. 153. For examples of women with the drapery slipping from the shoulder, Reinsberg 2006, 216 cat. 82; 224f. cat. 113.

³⁴⁵³ For discussion, see chaps. 3.2.1.2; 6.1.1.1.2.4.

³⁴⁵⁴ For discussion, see chap. 6.1.1. Here, she wears a *chiton*, which is hitched up like a man; the high girding and long overfall nevertheless draw attention back to her female body.

³⁴⁵⁵ Atalante, on the other hand, uses a bow and arrow.

³⁴⁵⁶ For discussion, chap. 6.3.1.

³⁴⁵⁷ CIL 06, 37965 line 21 (translation in Horsfall 1985, 25). For a detailed commentary on the funerary epigram of Allia Potestas, Horsfall 1985. For the provenience and dating, Strong 2016, 54.

successful hunt. Their *pietas* is signified by the sacrifice,³⁴⁵⁸ their *concordia* by the close embrace,³⁴⁵⁹ and their *virtus* by the hunting dress.³⁴⁶⁰ On the one hand, the husband and wife share in each other's virtues; on the other hand, the recourse to gender-specific models ensures the relative imbalance between the sexes. First of all, the man offers a libation in a state sacrifice, which is a common visual code for *pietas* among the male elite. The wife takes on the role of Pietas herself, at least in terms of praying and observing the ritual act.³⁴⁶¹ Secondly, the woman embraces her husband to stress not only their conjugal harmony, but also their loving relationship. The man happily accepts her support and affection. This formulation of the iconography prevents casting the husband as too uxorious or subservient: indeed, the passionate feelings are transferred to his wife, and the surrender of his "manly" spoils is not clearly indicated here. Thirdly, the man is portrayed in heroic costume, which is a convention limited to men. The woman's hunting dress, on the other hand, includes feminine sartorial features and draws attention back to her female form. She is also praised for her *pulchritudo*, even if this quality is muted and subordinated to her "manliness".³⁴⁶² In summary, the strigillated sarcophagus offers a fascinating case study for exploring how the virtues of married couples are negotiated on funerary monuments. The husband and wife are praised for the same qualities, but without destabilizing the traditional gender hierarchy.

6.3.4 Toward Demythologization - Portrait of a Girl as an Atalantian Huntress

6.3.4.1 Overview of the Monument

The only portrait of a girl in the position of Atalante appears on a marble tub-sarcophagus, located in the Antikensammlung Basel (Sammlung Ludwig) (pl. 29a).³⁴⁶³ The monument was produced in a Roman workshop³⁴⁶⁴ during the last quarter of the 3rd century CE.³⁴⁶⁵ The dimensions indicate that the casket was destined for the burial of a child, probably between the ages of twelve and fourteen.³⁴⁶⁶ Three sides of the casket are decorated with a boar hunt in a continuous frieze. At the middle of the front side is a portrait group of a boy and girl, flanking a central tree. To the left is the boy on a galloping horse, raising a spear into the air and taking aim at the boar in front of him. The boar - in a diminutive form here, suitable for children - is already wounded and retreating into a cave.³⁴⁶⁷ The boy is dressed in a contemporary Roman hunting outfit. This includes a long-sleeved tunic and a *sagum*, secured on the right shoulder and billowing out behind him. He also wears knee-length *braccae* and boots. It is clear

³⁴⁵⁸ For discussion, see chap. 6.3.3.2.1.

³⁴⁵⁹ For discussion, see chap. 6.3.3.2.2.

³⁴⁶⁰ For discussion, see chap. 6.3.3.2.3.

³⁴⁶¹ The woman as Atalante on this sarcophagus assumes the same position as the wives in sacrifice scenes, modeled after Pietas herself, on Vita Romana Sarcophagi. She is of course not identifiable as Pietas here, due to the clear iconographic differences (e.g. dress, action).

³⁴⁶² For discussion, see chap. 6.3.3.2.4.

³⁴⁶³ For basic information and bibliography, see Catalogue, ATA2.

³⁴⁶⁴ Koch 1975, 106 cat. 72; Simon 1970, 194.

³⁴⁶⁵ Koch 1975, 106 cat. 72.

³⁴⁶⁶ Simon 1970, 194. The length of the casket is 1.48 m at the upper edge, and 1.29 m at the lower edge; the height is 0.55 m; the depth is 0.59 m.

³⁴⁶⁷ Koch 1975, 106 cat. 72.

that the head exhibits portrait features. The round face with chubby cheeks was only carved with a claw chisel, unlike the other hunters (whose facial features are drilled).³⁴⁶⁸ Moreover, the lightly carved hairstyle consists of short strands, lying flat on the head, which are parted at the middle and forked over the forehead; this is quite unlike the deeply-drilled, curly hairstyles of the other hunters.³⁴⁶⁹ The boy is accompanied by a girl to the right. She strides forward but looks back at her male companion, gesturing in the direction of the boar with her right hand, as though encouraging him to action.³⁴⁷⁰ She holds a club in the left hand. She wears a *chiton*, hitched up to just above the knees. The tunic is also detached at the right shoulder, thus exposing her breast. The presence of high girding is plausible, but not clearly indicated here. She also wears boots. Most unusually, she appears with butterfly wings. Her head is an unfinished boss, which was intended to receive individualized features.

The portrait group is surrounded by children behaving like hunting assistants. The majority of them are dressed like mythical hunters, that is, nude but for the *chlamys*. On the left side of the casket is an assistant striding forward, holding a club and leading a dog on a leash. Next in the procession, now on the front side, is yet another assistant with a club. The following assistant holds a spear, presumably for the portrait of the boy in front of him.³⁴⁷¹ He steps back hesitantly, gesturing in the general direction of the boar. Beneath the portrait of the boy is a wounded assistant. After the portrait of the girl comes another assistant with a club over the left shoulder, and hurling a stone at the boar just in front of him. Unlike the other children, the stone-thrower wears contemporary hunting dress (i.e. short-sleeved tunic, *sagum*, boots). Behind the cave is a nude assistant, trying to subdue a deer. Finally, on the right side of the casket is an older, bearded assistant. He looks back at the hunt, dressed in a long-sleeved tunic, *sagum* and boots with gaiters.³⁴⁷² He also holds a club. Behind him is a stag pursued by a dog, as well as a fleeing hare.

The hunting iconography on the children's sarcophagus is formally related to images of the Kalydonian Boar Hunt.³⁴⁷³ The most obvious alteration to the iconography is that the hunt is now enacted by children rather than mature hunters, to suit the tender age of the deceased.³⁴⁷⁴ The portrait of the girl is now provided with butterfly wings, which are an identifying attribute of Psyche.³⁴⁷⁵ Consequently, the

³⁴⁶⁸ Koch 1975, 106 cat. 72.

³⁴⁶⁹ Simon 1970, 199. 203; Koch 1975, 106 cat. 72. G. Koch argues that the portrait head cannot be dated at all; the reasons provided for this are the poor quality of the portrait, as well as the difficulties with dating portraits of children in the 3rd century CE in general, Koch 1975, 28.

³⁴⁷⁰ B. Borg notes that she seems to be encouraging him in general, Borg 173, 173.

³⁴⁷¹ Simon 1970, 197-199.

³⁴⁷² E. Simon notes that this outfit is typical for hunters in Late Antiquity, Simon 1970, 200f.

³⁴⁷³ Simon 1970, 215f. Most notably, this hunting expedition practically always includes a huntress (i.e. Atalante), whose dress closely approximates that of the portrait of the girl here. Motifs like the stone thrower and the wounded hunter were also standard features of the Kalydonian Boar Hunt in ancient Greece, which were then taken over by sarcophagi workshops in the Roman Imperial Period.

³⁴⁷⁴ Huskinson 1996, 108f. (with further discussion on scenes substituting cupids with child protagonists).

³⁴⁷⁵ Simon 1970, 199.

young boys have been identified as (wingless) cupids as well.³⁴⁷⁶ The theme of hunting cupids emerged by the Hellenistic era; moreover, Roman children's sarcophagi frequently feature cupids, at times hunting in particular.³⁴⁷⁷ This identification of the young boys as cupids is not, however, unequivocally established here,³⁴⁷⁸ due to the intrusion of contemporary hunting dress.³⁴⁷⁹ In either case, the preference for childlike actors is clear: "the scene is set as if it were a play..," where all of the childlike hunters "...take the roles of adult huntsmen and transform the hunt into a game of children."³⁴⁸⁰ Mythological dramas with adult protagonists are occasionally played out by children, without changing their identity or the content of the narrative. There are, in fact, other images of Meleager and Atalante hunting together as little children (pl. 255b).³⁴⁸¹ Moreover, a series of sarcophagi feature the sorrowful return of Meleager's corpse, but with the men transformed into either cupids or boys, and the women into psyches or girls (pl. 256a).³⁴⁸²

Nevertheless, the strict identification of the portrait group as Meleager and Atalante³⁴⁸³ - or any other mythical protagonists for that matter - is difficult to establish here, due to the introduction of unconventional elements. It would be striking for Meleager to wear contemporary Roman hunting dress, considering that he is consistently portrayed in heroic costume elsewhere.³⁴⁸⁴ It is true that Meleager's fellow hunters occasionally don the tunic on sarcophagi - by the second quarter of the 3rd century CE at the earliest, but during the Tetrarchic Period especially - as is the case on the monument under consideration as well.³⁴⁸⁵ Meleager himself, however, is always marked out by his heroic costume on sarcophagi. It would also be striking for him to be portrayed on horseback in this context, since he is invariably shown on foot elsewhere.³⁴⁸⁶ As such, the motif of the tunic-clad hunter on horseback must stem from another iconographic tradition entirely.

³⁴⁷⁶ Simon 1970, 194-201. 220f. E. Simon's interpretation does not, however, extend to the portrait of the boy (presumably due to his contemporary hunting attire). Others, however, identify both the portrait of the boy and the other children as cupids, Birk 2013, 166; Dimas 1998, 123.

³⁴⁷⁷ Simon 1970, 220f. For discussion on children's sarcophagi with cupids (including hunting cupids), Huskinson 1996, 40-51 (esp. 45).

³⁴⁷⁸ J. Huskinson identifies them as youthful humans, Huskinson 1996, 52f.

³⁴⁷⁹ The wings are not a necessary attribute of cupids for several reasons (e.g. insignificant semantic difference between the winged and wingless versions; wings omitted for practical reasons), Huskinson 1996, 41. Indeed, both winged and wingless versions of cupids could exist on sarcophagi, even in the same scene, Simon 1970, 220. It seems, however, that cupids are always nude, see Blanc - Gury 1986.

³⁴⁸⁰ Birk 2013, 179.

³⁴⁸¹ For examples, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 1922, 68 cat. 849; Mikocki 1995a, 102-104 cat. 49.

³⁴⁸² For examples, Koch 1975, 106-108 cat. 73-76.

³⁴⁸³ The portrait figures of the boy and girl are generally identified as Meleager and/or Atalante, e.g. Backe-Dahmen 2006, 215f. cat. S 17; Birk 2013, 307 cat. 605; Borg 2013, 173; Dimas 1998, 121-128; Huskinson 1996, 28 cat. 2.14; Koch 1975, 106 cat. 72.

³⁴⁸⁴ Images of Meleager in tunics only appear in visual culture from Archaic Greece and Late Antiquity; for examples, Woodford - Krauskopf 1992, 416 nos. 7. 12; 417 no. 20; 424 no. 98; 425 no. 109.

³⁴⁸⁵ For examples of Meleager's companions dressed in tunics on sarcophagi, Koch 1975, 420 no. 57; 422f. nos. 67-71. Note that two other hunters (a child and a mature hunter) are depicted in contemporary Roman hunting dress on the children's sarcophagus under consideration.

³⁴⁸⁶ Koch 1975, 70. Images of Meleager on horseback only appear in Late Antiquity; for examples, Woodford - Krauskopf 1992, 425 nos. 108. 109.

The root of the issue are the direct models for the children's sarcophagus. Although the monument was produced in a Roman workshop, the overall composition and iconography is most closely patterned after a series of Attic sarcophagi, dated to first half of the 3rd century CE (pl. 256b).³⁴⁸⁷ The imagery on these Attic models is conventionally identified as the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, but it is clear that this strict identification was already breaking down. The production of sarcophagi with generic hunters in tunics and on horseback were attested in Attic workshops by the Antonine Period,³⁴⁸⁸ which means that the overall thematic had already been well established.³⁴⁸⁹ Besides this, there were several forces at work, encouraging the shift away from this particular mythical narrative. The first important point is the tendency to fuse iconographies with a similar significance at this time.³⁴⁹⁰ The archetypal mythical hunter on horseback is not Meleager, but Hippolytos.³⁴⁹¹ The shared roles of Meleager and Hippolytos encouraged an interchangeability of their iconographies:³⁴⁹² indeed, features typical of the Meleager sarcophagi were transferred to the Hippolytos sarcophagi, and vice versa.³⁴⁹³ It therefore seems reasonable that the image of Hippolytos on horseback was combined with the Kalydonian Boar Hunt on these Attic models. The second important point is the trend towards demythologization at this time.³⁴⁹⁴ Hippolytus was supplanted by a hunter in contemporary dress in Roman workshops by around 230 CE,³⁴⁹⁵ and then in Attic workshops by around 250 CE.³⁴⁹⁶ It therefore seems reasonable that the demythologized version of the hero appears on the Attic models in particular.³⁴⁹⁷ The other hunters on the caskets were clothed in the process as well.

³⁴⁸⁷ Koch 1975, 28; 70; 106 cat. 72. For the Attic models (identified by G. Koch as the Kalydonian Boar Hunt), Koch 1975, 70f.; 144f. cat. 175-177.

³⁴⁸⁸ For the Attic Hunt Sarcophagi, Koch - Sichtermann 1982, 379f.

³⁴⁸⁹ For the Attic models, Koch 1975, 70f.; 144f. cat. 175-177.

³⁴⁹⁰ Huskinson 2015, 160f.

³⁴⁹¹ Mythological sarcophagi with Hippolytus on horseback were being produced in Roman workshops by the final quarter of the 2nd century CE; in contrast, mythological sarcophagi with Hippolytos on horseback were not produced in Attic workshops until the 2nd quarter of the 3rd century CE (see Rogge 1995, 148 cat. 47; 149. cat. 49; 150 cat. 50; 154f. cat. 64; 156 cat. 68; 158 cat. 70); for discussion, Rogge 1995, 115. The Attic models for the children's sarcophagus under consideration appeared by the 1st/2nd quarter of the 3rd century CE at the earliest, Koch 1975, 144f. cat. 175-177. As such, Roman models for Hippolytus hunting on horseback were certainly available by the time the Attic models for the children's sarcophagus were created; it is not clear whether Attic models were available as well, but certainly possible.

³⁴⁹² Huskinson 2015, 160f.

³⁴⁹³ The iconography of the boar hunt on Hippolytos Sarcophagi from Attic workshops largely borrowed elements from the Meleager Sarcophagi from Attic workshops, Koch 1975, 71; Rogge 1995, 115f. It seems reasonable that influence could have flowed in the other direction as well.

³⁴⁹⁴ For discussion on the demythologization of Roman sarcophagi, Borg 2013, 177f; Huskinson 2015, 160f. 179f.

³⁴⁹⁵ The first Roman Hunt Sarcophagus is dated to ca. 230 CE, Andreae 1980, 144f. cat. 8; for discussion, see chaps. 5.3.3.1; 6.2.2.3. The Attic models for the children's sarcophagus under consideration appeared by the 1st/2nd quarter of the 3rd century CE at the earliest, Koch 1975, 144f. cat. 175-177. It is thus not clear which came first.

³⁴⁹⁶ A demythologized version of Hippolytos hunting on horseback is detectable on an Attic sarcophagus dated to shortly after the middle of the 3rd century CE (with the departure of Hippolytos on the front, and the boar hunt on the back): here, the hunting iconography is partially demythologized, since Hippolytos is now clad in a tunic (and closely followed by a hunting companion in an *exomis*, which is strikingly similar to Virtus on the Roman Hunt Sarcophagi); for the sarcophagus, Rogge 1995, 150 cat. 50.

³⁴⁹⁷ It is beyond the scope of the current analysis to determine whether the demythologized version of Hippolytos on the Attic models for the children's sarcophagus resulted from an internal development in the Attic workshops, or more directly under the influence of Roman Hunt Sarcophagi.

To summarize, the Kalydonian Boar Hunt is practically demythologized on the Attic models for the children's sarcophagus. Most notably, the conventional image of Meleager - in heroic costume, hunting the boar on foot - is exchanged for a rider in contemporary hunting dress. It has been argued elsewhere that the tunic-clad rider is merely inserted into the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, with no possibility of misinterpreting the scene.³⁴⁹⁸ It seems, however, that both the action and the dress cast serious doubt on the identification of the hunter as Meleager in particular.³⁴⁹⁹ Since the portrait of the boy is closely modeled after this eclectic hunter, he can hardly be viewed as Meleager either.

The huntress on the Attic models is similar to Atalante, but is transformed into a more fitting partner for an essentially demythologized version of Hippolytos. Indeed, the dress and action is rather similar to that of Hippolytos' patroness, the goddess Virtus herself.³⁵⁰⁰ Atalante tends to wear a short *chiton* fastened on both shoulders, but one of the breasts is revealed here.³⁵⁰¹ Moreover, Atalante usually demonstrates a unity of action with Meleager, by facing in the same direction and attacking the boar together;³⁵⁰² here, however, she merely accompanies her male companion, directing her entire attention towards him and gesturing towards the boar. The portrait of the girl is closely modeled after the huntress on the Attic models, but is even further distanced from Atalante. The addition of butterfly wings - likening her to Psyche - has already been mentioned. It is also notable that she is no longer portrayed with a bow and arrow, but with a club.³⁵⁰³ While the bow is the standard hunting accessory of Atalante, the cudgel is a generic one, virtually unattested in other representations of the huntress.³⁵⁰⁴ It has been argued elsewhere that the change merely resulted from a misunderstanding of the Attic models.³⁵⁰⁵ It seems, however, that the disposal of an identifying attribute of Atalante served to deliberately break down a strict identification with this huntress.

The various strands of influence on the iconography render the original myth of the Kalydonian Boar Hunt scarcely recognizable - it therefore seems most prudent to simply refer to the monument as a

³⁴⁹⁸ Koch 1975, 70.

³⁴⁹⁹ This trend toward demythologization is seemingly confirmed by two other Roman adaptations on the Attic models, where the huntress in front of the rider completely drops out of the narrative; for the sarcophagi, Koch 1975, 27 footnotes 6, 7; 70. On these two sarcophagi, the huntress in front of the hunter on horseback is replaced by an assistant wearing a tunic detached on one shoulder (in one case a man, in another case a woman), closely following the hunter on horseback.

³⁵⁰⁰ E. Simon identifies the portrait of the girl as Virtus (noting some of the similarities and differences between them), Simon 1970, 199. G. Koch excludes this possibility, since "personifications" (that is, quality gods) are not attested on Attic sarcophagi in general, Koch 1975, 70.

³⁵⁰¹ E. Simon notes that the bare breast is a feature of Virtus in general, Simon 1970, 199; for further discussion, see 5.1.2. The breast of huntresses, on the other hand, is less often revealed, see chap. 6.1.1.1.1.

³⁵⁰² For exceptions to the rule, with Atalante looking back at Meleager on sarcophagi from Roman workshops, Koch 1975, 96f. cat. 33; 135 cat. 154; from provincial workshops, Koch 1975, 136f. cat. 159; and from Attic workshops, Koch 1975, 144 cat. 173.

³⁵⁰³ Koch 1975, 106 cat. 72.

³⁵⁰⁴ For an image of Atalante with a club in ancient Greek visual culture, Boardman - Arrighi 1984, 941 no. 16.

³⁵⁰⁵ Koch 1975, 26; 106 cat. 72.

“children’s sarcophagus with boar hunt”.³⁵⁰⁶ In the process, the strict identification of the portrait group of the boy and girl as Meleager and Atalante breaks down. This is not a sign of degeneration or a predilection for eclecticism, but rather of the shifting concerns in self-representation in the funerary context of the 3rd century CE.³⁵⁰⁷ The interchangeability of mythical hunt iconographies as well as the demythologization thereof indicates that the expression of essential values was prioritized over particular mythical narratives. In other words, the precise identity of the portrait group of the boy and girl here is of considerably less interest than the virtues actually evoked by their dress, action and context, which demand further consideration here.

6.3.4.2 Interpretation

It is first of all necessary to briefly consider whom the tub-sarcophagus commemorates in particular. There is no consensus on this matter. The unique iconography and elaborate treatment could be indicators that the sarcophagus was custom-made, for a boy and girl in particular.³⁵⁰⁸ It would seem unusual, however, for a specially commissioned sarcophagus to have a finished portrait for the boy, but an unfinished portrait for the girl.³⁵⁰⁹ If both children had already died, then both heads would have likely been individualized.³⁵¹⁰ If only the boy had died, then the sarcophagus would not have been purchased in anticipation of the death of the girl in the near future as well.³⁵¹¹ The fact that only the hunter was furnished with a portrait seems to indicate that the monument was purchased on stock, to commemorate a boy in particular.³⁵¹² This fits well into general trends: children’s sarcophagi are as a rule purchased on stock, since the death is usually sudden.³⁵¹³ In this scenario, the patrons simply saw no need to furnish the huntress with portrait features as well.

Overall, the exact nature of the funerary monument remains unclear. It is certain that the monument commemorated a boy. Whether it commemorated a girl as well remains unresolved. In any case, the fact that the face of the huntress is even roughed out to receive individualized features is significant in itself: it indicates that she was considered an appropriate role model for a girl in Roman society. Moreover, it is notable that the portrait of the boy is not positioned directly at the centre of the casket. Rather, the boy and girl are presented as complementary, freestanding protagonists, who are

³⁵⁰⁶ Simon 1970, 195. She labels the portrait of the boy as a hunter on horseback (accompanied by cupids), and the portrait of the girl as Virtus-Psyche, Simon 1970, 196-199. B. Borg also recognizes that “the mythical paradigm is hardly recognizable” here, Borg 2013, 173.

³⁵⁰⁷ For discussion on the demythologization of Roman sarcophagi, Borg 2013, 177f; Huskinson 2015, 160f. 179f.

³⁵⁰⁸ Huskinson 1996, 80 cat. 2.14. For another argument that the sarcophagus was custom-made for a boy (with the shadowy outlines of his future wife in the afterlife), see Andreae 1984, 115.

³⁵⁰⁹ Backe-Dahmen 2006, 215f. cat. S 17; Koch 1975, 28. The issue of unfinished portraits on Roman sarcophagi is heavily debated; various explanations have been offered for the phenomenon, ranging from practical to personal considerations, see Andreae 1984; Huskinson 1996, 81f.; Huskinson 1998.

³⁵¹⁰ Backe-Dahmen 2006, 215f. cat. S 17. In contrast, S. Dimas proposes that a girl was buried first (her portrait was left unfinished for unknown reasons) and that the sarcophagus was then reused for a boy, Dimas 1998, 125.

³⁵¹¹ Backe-Dahmen 2006, 215f. cat. S 17; Dimas 1998, 124.

³⁵¹² Backe-Dahmen 2006, 215f. cat. S 17; Huskinson 1996, 81f.; Koch 1975, 28.

³⁵¹³ Huskinson 1996, 79.

almost equally emphasized in the composition.³⁵¹⁴ As such, the material offers valuable insight into the selection of a traditionally masculine theme to honour a boy and a girl, as well as how the relationship between the sexes is handled in the imagery.

The nature of their relationship cannot be established with certainty, but the most likely scenario is that the monument was intended for a brother and sister.³⁵¹⁵ Of course, it could also be selected for either a boy or a girl, instead of both, as is probably the case here as well.³⁵¹⁶ It is unlikely that the boy and girl were betrothed at an early age,³⁵¹⁷ or destined to meet and live happily ever after in the afterlife.³⁵¹⁸ This is supported by the iconographic manipulations to the Kalydonian Boar Hunt: by excluding a strict identification with Meleager and Atalante, the amorous nature of the relationship is completely suppressed, in order to focus on other emotions and virtues.³⁵¹⁹

6.3.4.3 *Virtus/Pulchritudo*

It is generally accepted that the portrait of the boy pursuing the boar on horseback evokes his *virtus*.³⁵²⁰ This is perfectly reasonable, since the connection between portraits of men as hunters and “manliness” is well-established by the 3rd century CE.³⁵²¹ It has also been claimed that the boy’s qualities are reinforced by the portrait of the girl, apparently as *Virtus-Psyche*.³⁵²² In short, his association with *Virtus* signifies his precocious *virtus*, whereas *Psyche* signifies the premature release of his soul.³⁵²³

This interpretation is, however, problematic for a few reasons. First of all, the identification of the girl as *Virtus-Psyche* is not clearly established here. It is true that Meleager is supplanted by a demythologized version of Hippolytus. The dress and actions of Atalante are altered in the process as well: the bare breast and generally supportive role are directly borrowed from the patroness of Hippolytus, the goddess *Virtus* herself. The girl’s connection with *Virtus*, however, ends there. She is not dressed like a warriorress (e.g. helmet, shield, sword), which is an essential feature of the goddess’ iconography.³⁵²⁴ Moreover, she is placed in an equally prominent position as her male companion, which

³⁵¹⁴ Borg 2013, 173; Dimas 1998, 123f. 126 (this is also treated as evidence that the casket was always destined for the burial of two children). Due to the incomplete preservation of the Attic models (see Koch 1975, 144f. cat. 175-177), it is uncertain how the hunter and huntress were arranged in the composition, and whether their position was deliberately manipulated on the children’s sarcophagus here.

³⁵¹⁵ Dimas 1998, 126. E. Simon also entertains this idea, Simon 1970, 220.

³⁵¹⁶ Wrede 1981, 300f.

³⁵¹⁷ Simon 1970, 220. Such interpretations hinge too much on their identification of the scene as the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, with the amorous relationship between Meleager and Atalante, which is not clearly established.

³⁵¹⁸ B. Andreae argues that the portrait features of the girl were deliberately left unfinished because she is unknown future wife of the boy in the afterlife, Andreae 1984, 115.

³⁵¹⁹ S. Dimas identifies them as Meleager and Atalante, but rightly notes that their role as a couple is not particularly emphasized here, Dimas 1998, 127f.

³⁵²⁰ For examples, Backe-Dahmen 2006, 215f. cat. S 17; Dimas 1998, 128; Huskinson 1996, 112 cat. 2.14; Simon 1970, 215-220.

³⁵²¹ For discussion, see chap. 6.2.3.4.

³⁵²² Simon 1970, 199. See also Andreae 1984, 115.

³⁵²³ Simon 1970, 220-223.

³⁵²⁴ E. Simon prefers to identify her as *Virtus*, even though she recognizes that *Virtus* as a rule wears a helmet, Simon 1970, 199. (It is also true that *Virtus* normally follows Hippolytus, but in general, the goddess only needs to accompany her male companion and focus her attention on him.)

is unusual for the goddess of “manliness”.³⁵²⁵ Secondly, she is undeniably connected to Psyche - in some sense at least - since the butterfly wings are exclusive to the embodiment of the soul.³⁵²⁶ There are, however, notable differences in her dress. Psyche is nude or in long robes.³⁵²⁷ The girl, on the other hand, has a short tunic and club, which identifies her as huntress in general.³⁵²⁸ In any case, it is not reasonable to hinge the significance of the portrait of the girl entirely on the commemoration of her male companion. As demonstrated above, the prevailing view that the portraits of women as *Virtus* merely refer to the *virtus* of their husbands is untenable.³⁵²⁹ This approach assumes that the dress, actions and context evoke little about the female deceased herself, which is inherently problematic.

It is, rather, necessary to consider how the portrait confers virtue on the girl herself. The predominant aspect of the imagery is the hunting theme. The little girl participates directly in the hunt: she hastens toward the boar, armed with her club. The short tunic, detached on one shoulder, reflects her active, manlike behaviour.³⁵³⁰ It has been argued elsewhere that the hunting imagery is not so fitting for a young girl.³⁵³¹ Moreover, the presentation of cupids hunting and fighting was allegedly treated with irony, which sufficiently “emasculated” the activities to make them suitable for maidens as well.³⁵³² It is clear, however, that both children are inserted into “an idealized adult world symbolizing the ideal of *virtus*”.³⁵³³ This praiseworthy quality - whether real or attributed - is conferred directly on the boy and girl, through a highly symbolic, constantly replicated visual code.³⁵³⁴

It seems, however, that the *virtus* of the maiden is “softened” here. This is partially due to her dress: she wears the huntress costume in particular, which continues to draw sexual difference.³⁵³⁵ Her *pulchritudo* is put on display in an incidental manner here (e.g. bare breast).³⁵³⁶ Moreover, the hunting dress of the boy relies on contemporary models, whereas that of the girl relies on mythical ones: this indicates that the hunt was a conceivable pursuit for men in reality, but not for women. The *virtus* of the maiden is partially negotiated through her actions as well. The portraits of the boy and girl exhibit a striking symmetry, by occupying the central position and engaging in the same pursuit. Her direct participation in the male-dominated hunt is certainly noteworthy here. Nevertheless, the iconography still hints at the relative imbalance between them. The boy ultimately takes the leading role in the hunt: he charges toward the boar with the spear raised, completely focused on his objective. The girl is

³⁵²⁵ Dimas 1998, 126f.

³⁵²⁶ For the iconography of Psyche, Icard-Gianolio 1994. For the significance of the wings, see chap. 6.3.4.4.

³⁵²⁷ Icard-Gianolio 1994, 584. For exceptions to the rule, Icard-Gianolio 1994, 574 no. 70; 578 no. 114.

³⁵²⁸ For discussion on huntress costume, see chap. 6.1.1.

³⁵²⁹ For discussion, see chap. 5.3.3.2.

³⁵³⁰ For discussion, see chap. 6.1.1.1.1

³⁵³¹ Koch 1975, 28.

³⁵³² Huskinson 1996, 105.

³⁵³³ Birk 2013, 179; for a similar conclusion, Borg 2013, 173.

³⁵³⁴ S. Dimas, on the other hand, claims that because the portrait head of the huntress was left unfinished here, it was never conceived of as an appropriate model for conferring *virtus* on a girl, Dimas 1998, 128.

³⁵³⁵ For discussion, see chap. 6.1.1.

³⁵³⁶ For discussion, see chap. 6.1.1.1.2.4.

cast more as a supportive agent in the hunt. Indeed, the focus of her attention is not the boar itself, but her male companion: she looks back at him and motions toward the boar, as though encouraging him to attack. This is nevertheless comparable to some of the other male figures in the scene. For instance, the assistant standing behind the portrait of the boy on horseback assumes a largely supportive role, by holding a spear for him and gesturing toward his goal. It is possible that the hunting imagery celebrates their family as well, as a potential reference to their equestrian rank.³⁵³⁷

6.3.4.4 *Castitas*

The next issue to consider is the connection drawn between the portrait of the girl and Psyche. It seems unlikely Psyche was ascribed an eschatological significance here, as a symbol of the immortal soul.³⁵³⁸ This sort of interpretation relies too heavily on philosophical texts, since the connection to the afterlife is not clearly established by the imagery itself.³⁵³⁹ Rather, the girl is likened to Psyche – or essentially a female cupid³⁵⁴⁰ – in order to clearly reference her childhood in a sentimental manner,³⁵⁴¹ as a beautiful state of innocence (*castitas*). The girl with butterfly wings is cast as an eternal child, engaged in a pursuit typically reserved for (male) adults – the juxtaposition is not only endearing and whimsical, but also a heart-wrenching reminder of her unfulfilled potential.³⁵⁴² It is a poignant commentary on how the maiden developed her personal qualities (e.g. *virtus*) in vain. She is essentially portrayed in an intermediate state here: her childhood is recognized as an innocent and playful stage of life, with the hunt transformed into a sweet game, but also as preparation for adulthood and its social expectations.³⁵⁴³ Overall, the search for a deeper, mystical significance to the imagery is in all likelihood a fruitless endeavour. Psyche was merely a natural choice for commemorating an eternal child, whose life was tragically cut short. This might explain why direct connections to Psyche in the funerary context were seemingly limited to girls.³⁵⁴⁴

6.3.4.5 Summary

Overall, the imagery of the tub-sarcophagus is highly eclectic. A closer analysis reveals various iconographic models, without directly copying any of them. Instead, the various strands of influence are adjusted to produce a fitting memorial for two children, most likely a brother and sister. The adult hunters are transformed into children, to suit the tender age of the deceased, as well as for the sake of

³⁵³⁷ Backe-Dahmen 2006, 215f. cat. S 17.

³⁵³⁸ E. Simon argues that Psyche refers to the soul here, Simon 1970, 220-223.

³⁵³⁹ As J. Huskinson notes, the role of Psyche as a symbol of the soul is nevertheless detectable on some children's sarcophagi, Huskinson 1996, 56.

³⁵⁴⁰ S. Dimas argues that the girl is portrayed in the guise of Atalante, but is also likened to Psyche to show her as a female cupid, Dimas 1998, 124f.

³⁵⁴¹ This is a common reason for portraying cupids/psyches on children's sarcophagi, Huskinson 1996, 105-109.

³⁵⁴² This is not to claim that *virtus* is conferred upon the children strictly in compensation for their un-lived lives: indeed, children are seen to attain *virtus* in exceptional cases as well, see chap. 7.5.1.3.2.1.

³⁵⁴³ S. Birk offers a similar view on childhood here, but claims that these children are endowed with adult virtues (since children are not seen to possess virtues that are socially valued in themselves), Birk 2013, 166f.

³⁵⁴⁴ For examples, Wrede 1981, 300 cat. 277; 301 cat. 279. 281. It should be noted, however, that images of Cupid and Psyche are not limited to Roman sarcophagi for children. The theme is also attested on sarcophagi for adults, with Cupid and Psyche embracing as the most commonly selected motif, perhaps due to the amorous aspects of the imagery, Huskinson 1996, 52.

sentimentality.³⁵⁴⁵ The Kalydonian Boar Hunt serves as the basic model, but the portrait of the boy and girl are no longer identifiable as Meleager and Atalante in particular.³⁵⁴⁶ Indeed, the mythical paradigm is hardly recognizable, due to the intrusion of unconventional or contemporary details. Most notably, Meleager is transformed into a mounted hunter in contemporary dress, and Atalante into a supportive figure with butterfly wings and a cudgel. These alterations were effective for suppressing the romantic affair, which is not relevant for children, as well as for bringing their personal qualities into focus: the imagery is almost entirely dedicated to the boar hunt, which confers *virtus* not only on the boy, but also the girl.³⁵⁴⁷ It is striking that the children are presented on relatively equal terms here. The *virtus* of the girl is nevertheless negotiated, due to the feminization of her dress, the intimations of her beauty, and her relatively supportive role in the hunt. As such, the boy and the girl are commemorated in a similar manner, but without disregarding the traditional gender hierarchy.

6.3.5 Conclusions

The previous case studies demonstrate that Atalante - as well as the demythologized version thereof - served as a positive role model for the female deceased, due to her potential to embody praiseworthy qualities. Her essential virtue is *virtus*, which is expressed by the huntress costume in its own right.³⁵⁴⁸ The virtue is, however, partially negotiated by the dress, which continues to establish sexual difference, as well as to draw attention to her *pulchritudo* in an incidental manner.

The remainder of the iconography points to other, equally gendered virtues as well, partially influenced by the life stage of the female deceased. The girl participates directly in the boar hunt, on relatively equal terms with her brother, as an expression of shared *virtus*.³⁵⁴⁹ She does not, however, take on the leading role here, but rather the supportive role, by focusing on her brother and directing him towards his goal. She is also adorned with the butterfly wings of Psyche, probably to accentuate her state of eternal innocence (*castitas*).³⁵⁵⁰

In contrast, the woman is not active in the hunt. Both she and her husband have already performed their acts of *virtus*, as indicated by their hunting dress and the dead boar on the ground.³⁵⁵¹ Instead, the woman observes her husband making an offering, praying next to him, as an expression of their shared *pietas*.³⁵⁵² Her most prominent virtue, however, is *concordia*, which is signified by the loving embrace of her husband, whose attention is entirely directed towards his religious duties.³⁵⁵³

³⁵⁴⁵ For discussion, see chap. 6.3.4.4.

³⁵⁴⁶ For discussion, see chap. 6.3.4.1.

³⁵⁴⁷ For discussion, see chap. 6.3.4.3.

³⁵⁴⁸ For discussion, see chap. 6.3.3.2.3; 6.3.4.3.

³⁵⁴⁹ For discussion, see chap. 6.3.4.3.

³⁵⁵⁰ For discussion, see chap. 6.3.4.4.

³⁵⁵¹ For discussion, see chap. 6.3.3.2.3.

³⁵⁵² For discussion, see chap. 6.3.3.2.1.

³⁵⁵³ For discussion, see chap. 6.3.3.2.2.

None of the additional virtues evoked on these two monuments - i.e. *castitas*, *pietas*, *concordia* - are inherent to the mythical narrative. Their evocation required serious alterations to the iconography, to the point that the mythical paradigm is hardly recognizable or even phased out.

At the same time, the imagery is manipulated to suppress the potentially negative connotations of the mythical narrative - namely, Meleager's inordinate love for Atalante - which are undesirable for the commemoration of spouses or siblings alike. The girl is no longer even recognizable as Atalante: she is simply a huntress and an eternal child.³⁵⁵⁴ In the portrait of the married couple, the passionate feelings are transferred to Atalante, which completely inverts the mythical narrative.³⁵⁵⁵

This analysis of the iconography of huntresses has concentrated on the relationship between their dress and their potential status as mythical models. It is clear that the dress of Diana, Atalante and so on follows a similar trajectory to the Amazons: it combines the sartorial features of Greek men with those of barbarians and women, but in a variety of ways in order to produce different effects for different purposes. In Roman visual culture, Dido wears the huntress costume to highlight her "manly" qualities, which shows its capacity to serve as a visual code in its own right. In the same way, the portraits of women as Diana and Atalante take over the dress of men, but with clear feminizations, to celebrate their masculine and feminine virtues in a balanced manner.

³⁵⁵⁴ For discussion, see chaps. 6.3.4.3; 6.3.4.4.

³⁵⁵⁵ For discussion, see chap. 6.3.3.2.2.

7 Synthesis - The Portraiture in its Social Context

We will now consider the private portraits of women as goddesses and heroines in cross-gendered dress as a whole, with a view to identifying and explaining any overarching trends and peculiarities. What unites these portrait types? What makes them stand out from each other? How do these relate to other commemorative monuments? Most importantly, how do they fit into their social contexts?

The starting point is to offer an overview of the monuments and the women's dress, especially in terms of its gendered character. It is necessary to consider whether there were parallels for the phenomenon of commemorating women in cross-gendered dress, in order to probe the viewers' overall sensitivity to its gendered connotations. It is most important to consider the expression of virtues, as well as private feelings. At the end, the impacts of demythologization on the portraits will be outlined as well.

7.1 Summary of the Monuments

This examination has focused on private portraits of girls and women in the guise of goddesses and heroines in cross-gendered dress (i.e. Omphale, Penthesilea, Virtus, Diana, Atalante). The portraits appear in freestanding statuary, altars, reliefs and especially sarcophagi, dating to between the late 1st and early 4th centuries CE. The majority of the monuments were produced and put on display at Rome and its environs, but a few were discovered further afield. The funerary setting is preferred, but other contexts are attested as well (e.g. sanctuary, perhaps domestic). The precise identities of the patrons and portrait subjects are often uncertain. The epigraphic evidence indicates that the monuments for girls were dedicated by their parents, whereas those for women were dedicated by their husbands. In one case, however, the monument is dedicated by a woman, probably for herself and her husband, which is conceivable in other cases as well. This form of commemoration is particularly favoured by wealthy, imperial freedpersons.³⁵⁵⁶ Nevertheless, a few monuments honour members of the higher ranks as well, including equestrians and perhaps even senators.

7.2 Gendered Dress

This examination has focused on three mythical costumes in particular: that of the herculean woman (i.e. Omphale), that of the warriorress (i.e. Penthesilea, Virtus), and that of the huntress (i.e. Diana, Atalante). It is clear that all of these costumes are patterned after masculine dress. Omphale is typically in a state of undress, wielding the club and lion skin, or bow and quiver, of Hercules. Penthesilea, Virtus, Diana and Atalante wear short tunics, fastened cloaks and bear arms, just like warriors and hunters.³⁵⁵⁷ These items of dress are generally accorded to men in the visual record, but not to women - as such, all of their costumes should be understood as a form of cross-dressing.

³⁵⁵⁶ Private mythological portraiture is generally associated with imperial freedpersons, Wrede 1981, 159-170. Sarcophagi with emotional tales of love/death are especially popular among freedpersons, Borg 2013, 203.

³⁵⁵⁷ The iconography of the mythological warriorresses and huntresses examined here underwent an initial period of experimentation, in which long tunics were selected and in some cases never entirely abandoned (e.g. Artemis/Diana). It is nevertheless clear that short tunics are favoured over time.

Nevertheless, their “true” female nature - from an traditional, essentialist perspective - is never entirely obscured. This is achieved in a variety of ways. 1) First of all, *the body styling follows contemporary fashions for women*. Their elaborate coiffures are a sign of elite femininity, which stands in striking contrast to their active, manlike identities. 2) Secondly, *their garments are essentially suitable for women (e.g. chiton, himation), but worn like men*, or at least in a manner suited to their manlike behaviour. *Their garments are also feminized* due to the addition of feminine sartorial features (e.g. high girding, at times with coiled mantles). It would have been interesting to explore the colour and patterns of these garments, to see if there is a feminine touch, but this has not been possible due to the state of preservation. 3) Thirdly, *the interaction between their bodies and dress draws attention back to their femaleness*. Their garments are generally worn in a manner that retraces or exaggerates their breasts and hips. At the same time, their imitation of male undress (e.g. agonal nudity, tunic detached on one shoulder), ultimately exposes their soft, sensual bodies. 4) Fourthly, *the lethal arms selected for women often differ from men*. Omphale tends to adhere to the dress behaviour of Hercules, but also subverts it to some extent (e.g. pulling the lion skin in front of her pudenda). Penthesilea prefers the arms of barbarian men (e.g. battle-axe, *pelta*), a socially inferior group that is perceived as feminized. Moreover, the weapon of choice for hunters is the spear, but for huntresses (i.e. Diana, Atalante) the bow and arrow - these arms are not only characteristic of barbarian men, but also allow them to strike their prey from a distance and therefore to take on a supportive role in the hunt. Virtus alone is permitted to assume the arms of men in an unqualified way, due to embodying the premier quality for men and serving as their doublet in visual culture.

Overall, the dress of the women in the guise of Omphale, Penthesilea, Virtus, Diana, Atalante is certainly inspired by the dress of men, but continues to establish sexual difference: this probably has the effect of identifying them as “masculine” women, existing in their own separate category.³⁵⁵⁸

7.3 Sensitivity to Gendered Dress

It seems that the term “costume” frequently applied to the dress of mythological portraiture is justified, in so far as it is not the normal, everyday appearance of the Romans. These costumes have the potential to transgress against Roman sartorial norms in an unthinkable way, whether by showing women completely nude or in traditionally masculine dress. At the same time, the term “costume” cannot adequately describe the phenomenon. This is certainly not their own bodies and dress, but a replacement for it, which nevertheless consists of corporeal and sartorial signs. The drastic alterations to the costumes in certain cases - whether to accentuate or, conversely, to eliminate the nudity or gender inversion - clearly demonstrate that these were also understood as undressed or cross-dressed bodies, which carried their own sets of connotations. In approaching mythological portraiture, there is no point in disregarding or even attempting to explain away the costume as, for instance, merely an

³⁵⁵⁸ It is also possible for men to wear similar outfits, to express luxury, effeminacy or liminality. For instance, Dionysos/Bacchus occasionally wears an outfit similar to the huntresses under consideration; for examples, Gasparri - Veneri 1986, 436f. no. 128; 449 nos. 272. 273; 447 no. 657; Gasparri 1986, 544 no. 32; 554 no. 180.

identifying attribute of a particular goddess or heroine. It demands consideration in its own right, as a series of semiotic signs participating in the construction of identity and virtue.

The detailed examination of Hercules and Omphale offers the best evidence that the Romans were sensitive to the connotations of cross-dressing for self-representation and commemoration.³⁵⁵⁹ It was permissible to portray a woman as Omphale by herself,³⁵⁶⁰ but far more problematic to portray a married couple as Hercules and Omphale: indeed, the cross-dressing is virtually effaced, and certainly deliberately, to the point that their mythological identities are hardly recognizable.³⁵⁶¹

This is a compelling example of the sensitivity to cross-dressing in portraiture, but not an isolated case. A broader examination of both mythological portraits with cross-gendered dress, as well as the reuse of non-mythological portraits for the opposite sex (see: Appendix C - Sensitivity to Gendered Dress: Broader Material Examination), corroborates that cross-dressing is generally undesirable for the male sex, but permissible for the female sex. There are, however, exceptions for children especially.

Cross-dressing, as well as “soft”, effeminate dress, is avoided in the portraits of men, probably for two main reasons. First of all, it excluded men from the ideal of hegemonic masculinity - that is, being a “real man” - which was important for justifying their superiority over women and other feminized groups (e.g. barbarians, slaves, etc.).³⁵⁶² In the literary sources, accusations of male-to-female cross-dressing aimed to call someone’s masculinity into question: indeed, a man’s predilection for feminine dress is seen as an indication of effeminacy and hence incapacity to maintain a socially dominant position. Since feminine dress is generally avoided for men in their portraiture, it is probable that this derogatory discourse about male cross-dressers was taken into consideration here as well.³⁵⁶³

Secondly, there are no emotions or virtues relevant to men that could not be expressed through sex-specific models, with the possibility of using masculine dress.³⁵⁶⁴ The *virtus* of men is evoked by a variety of heroes, warriors and hunters (e.g. Hercules, Mars, Meleager). It is therefore not advisable to use the cross-dressed Achilles, if the long, flowing gowns ultimately risked calling his masculinity into question (pl. 257). The physical beauty of a man, as well as his wife’s love for him, is expressed by Endymion, who is easily transformed into a hunter (pls. 196b. 250a; cf. pl. 258a); there was simply no need to show him as a “sleeping beauty” like Ariadne or Rhea Silvia (pl. 122a). The wisdom of a man is

³⁵⁵⁹ For discussion, see chap. 4.2.

³⁵⁶⁰ OMP1.

³⁵⁶¹ OMP4.

³⁵⁶² For discussion, see chap. 2.1.2.1.

³⁵⁶³ It is possible that the rare exceptions to the rule (e.g. men portrayed in the guise of the soft, drunken Bacchus) express alternate masculinities. For discussion on alternate masculinities in Roman society (e.g. “dandies”), Olson 2017, 145-154; Williams 1999, 153-159.

³⁵⁶⁴ S. Birk argues that the justification for combining a portrait head of a man with the body of a woman, or vice versa, was found in the very expressive way in which cross-gendered images could symbolize the personal qualities of the deceased, Birk 2013, 115-156. The issue with the argument is that sex-specific role models for the majority of virtues were already available.

expressed by the learned man, with no need to resort to the learned woman (pl. 263a). Only in rare cases was a sex-specific model for the virtues of men lacking. The *orans* (praying woman) (pl. 263b) is transformed into a Christian worshipper in the 4th century CE, to express “prayerfulness, adoration and joy” for both sexes.³⁵⁶⁵ For men though, modifications to the feminine dress were carried out (pl. 264). It is true that men and women were frequently honoured in a similar manner on their commemorative monuments, but for men especially, it was necessary to wear dress suitable to their sex.³⁵⁶⁶

For the portraits of boys and youths, however, feminine or “soft” dress is more often attested (pls. 259; 261a; 265a). It is possible to explain this in a variety of ways.

In pre-industrial societies, “changes in one’s appearance mark passages and symbolize conditions that are socially recognized... Accepted and legitimate clothing... induces the individual to merge with the group, participate in its rituals and ceremonies, share its norms and values, properly occupy his or her position, and correctly act his or her role.”³⁵⁶⁷ It is clear that the full transformation from a child into a *vir* (man) was expressed sartorially in Roman society as well. The *toga praetexta* was worn by male and female children alike in order to mark them as “non-gendered” beings and therefore sexually off-limits.³⁵⁶⁸ Afterwards, the transition to manhood was marked by the assumption of the *toga virilis*, which occurred anytime between the ages of thirteen and eighteen.³⁵⁶⁹ As such, it is frequently argued that for the portraits of boys and youths, feminine or “soft” dress is acceptable because they have not yet reached adulthood.³⁵⁷⁰ In other words, they are still at an age and position in their life course where their gender is certainly in formation, but not yet completely defined.

It is not outside the realm of possibility that the portraits of boys and even youths in feminine attire - as Muses, learned women or even the *orans* (praying woman) - were understood to precede this transition and therefore condoned.³⁵⁷¹ This is, however, not a fully satisfactory explanation for two reasons. First of all, the dress of boys and girls was not as similar as often assumed.³⁵⁷² In fact, the appearance of the unmarried girl closely resembled that of her mature counterparts, due to the possibility to wear the same kinds of hairstyles, garments, jewellery and so on.³⁵⁷³ Secondly, there are

³⁵⁶⁵ Huskinson 2015, 220.

³⁵⁶⁶ This is presumably motivated by the need to reaffirm their superior position in the gender hierarchy, with all of its associated rights and privileges.

³⁵⁶⁷ Perrot 1994, 13; also quoted in Olson 2017, 48f.

³⁵⁶⁸ Sebesta 2005. For further discussion on the *toga praetexta*, Edmondson 2008, 25; Sebesta 1994, 46-48. Moreover, boys ideally wore the *bulla*, but girls wore the *lunula*, Olson 2008b, 16; Olson 2017, 62-65.

³⁵⁶⁹ Olson 2017, 48. For further discussion on the *toga virilis*, Davies 2005; Lovén 2014, 266-268; Olson 2017, 48f.

³⁵⁷⁰ Birk 2011, 252-255; Huskinson 2015, 144; Sande 2009, 61; Varner 2008, 195.

³⁵⁷¹ Perhaps this also explains the general lack of distinction between boys and girls in the visual culture in some cases (e.g. on Roman children’s sarcophagi, see Huskinson 1996, 115).

³⁵⁷² It is true that both boys and girls can wear a *toga* in their portraits, but this garment is hardly attested for the latter and sexual distinctions are still drawn in other ways. Most strikingly, the boys wear the *toga* by itself, whereas the girls combine it with a long *tunica*. For examples of portraits of girls dressed in the *toga* (or wearing a mantle in the form of a *toga*), Gerke 1966, 197f cat. FM 1. R1 (Mädchen D. Mädchen G). R 12.

³⁵⁷³ K. Olson argues that the outfit for girls in the literary record (i.e. *toga praetexta*, *lunula*, *vittae*) is prescriptive, not descriptive, and therefore need not reflect reality; in fact, the outfits for girls in the visual record

also numerous cases in which boys and youths are essentially commemorated in the guise of a female role model, but with the bodies and dress altered to suit their sex, whether in a drastic manner (pls. 260a; 261b; 265b; 266a) or a more subtle manner (pls. 259b. 261a; cf. 260b). This clearly demonstrates that the portraits of cross-dressed boys and youths were not universally accepted.

It therefore seems that other factors were at work here as well. For one, the death of children is generally unexpected, with no urgent need or possibility to acquire a monument in advance.³⁵⁷⁴ Perhaps the patrons were more willing to accept a portrait of a boy in feminine dress due to a lack of “appropriate” options on stock or even due to reuse, taking both practical factors and their life stage into consideration.³⁵⁷⁵ It is also possible that “softer”, more effeminate models (like Apollo and Bacchus) were appropriate for young men in particular, due to the existence of a social niche that embraced lavish dress as “a mode of self-representation associated with youth, urban sophistication and hyper-heterosexuality”.³⁵⁷⁶ This question cannot be fully resolved here.

Women of all ages appear in cross-gendered dress in their portraiture, without the need for alterations (pl. 266b; 277a). As such, “although portraits of men ... remained resolutely manly, their female equivalents pushed at some traditional boundaries of gender.”³⁵⁷⁷ Drastic modifications to a woman’s dress are only necessary if her own masculinization threatened the reputation of her husband in some way. There is a striking discrepancy in the attitudes towards cross-gendered dress for men and women here. This begs the question: why was the “effeminate man” so disparaged and ultimately rejected for commemoration, but the “masculine woman” treated as a praiseworthy role model?

7.4 Differences in Representing Imperial Women and Private Women

The portraits of imperial women typically deal with six themes, which are expressed by divine identifications as well: 1) marriage (Concordia), 2) fertility and motherhood (Ceres, Fecunditas), 3) dynastic roles, as well as beauty (Venus), 4) prosperity and happiness (Abundantia, Felicitas), 5) supreme rule (Juno), and 6) military power (Minerva, Victoria).³⁵⁷⁸ On the one hand, it is possible for the divine allegories to evoke the personal virtues of the imperial women - as wives, mothers and citizens - especially *fecunditas* (fertility), *castitas* (chastity), *pulchritudo* (beauty), *pietas* (piety) and

more closely reflect those of mature women, Olson 2008a. Moreover, M. Harlow argues that it is not clear at which point the tunics of boys and girls were gendered in reality (and how closely these prescriptions were followed by the lower classes), but that in the visual record at least, the tunics of boys are generally short whereas the tunics of girls are long, just like their mature counterparts, Harlow 2017.

³⁵⁷⁴ Huskinson 1996, 80.

³⁵⁷⁵ M. Prusac argues that “the ‘transvestite’ recarving in sarcophagi seem to have no other explanation than unpredicted deaths, and they illustrate situations where practical matters overshadowed social and artistic ideologies,” Prusac 2011, 121. It seems, however, that factors like age and gender were considered as well.

³⁵⁷⁶ For discussion on “dandies” in Roman society, Olson 2017, 145-154 (quote on p. 149). This is perhaps also relevant for the rare portraits of men as softer and effeminate gods/heroes as well. At the same time, it is clear that feminine or “soft” dress is more often selected for boys than for youths, and also more often masculinized for youths, presumably due to them being on the brink of manhood.

³⁵⁷⁷ This is noted by J. Huskinson in her analysis of strigillated sarcophagi in particular, Huskinson 2015, 143.

³⁵⁷⁸ Alexandridis 2004, 58. 82-95. 106.

concordia (harmony).³⁵⁷⁹ On the other hand, the divine allegories obviously carried imperial messages, with the woman as an abstract symbol for the strength and prosperity of the Roman Empire.³⁵⁸⁰

The theme of fertility was especially relevant to imperial women, as guarantors of the dynasty, whereas that of military power is hardly attested.³⁵⁸¹ They are certainly portrayed in the guise of military goddesses (e.g. Minerva, Victoria, Venus Victrix), but this is generally avoided.³⁵⁸² These goddesses hardly fit into the traditional canon of female virtues, but at least into imperial messages: the monuments primarily aimed to propagate ideas of peace and prosperity, brought about by the strength of imperial rule and military victory. The most striking exception to the rule is the Gemma Claudia, with both Germanicus and Agrippina Maior in military dress: this probably served a double function, namely, to honour her exceptional courage on her husband's campaigns (i.e. *virtus*), as well as to show them as fitting partners (i.e. *concordia*). Imperial women are likewise portrayed in the guise of Diana, but the identification is not well attested.³⁵⁸³ The capacity of the goddess to express traditional female qualities and imperial propaganda is limited: these monuments primarily aimed to propagate messages of beauty, pent-up fertility, dynastic promise or apotheosis.³⁵⁸⁴

It is significant that in the portraits of imperial women, the full warriorress and huntress costumes are not selected. In the rare cases in which they appear as warriorresses, they wear feminine garments with masculine arms layered on top. It was, however, preferable to portray them as beautiful messengers of victory. Moreover, the imperial women in the guise of Diana likewise wear feminine garments, which are combined with a subtle quiver behind the shoulder. Even indirect connections drawn between imperial women and warriorresses or huntresses on coins tend to follow the same rules.³⁵⁸⁵

In contrast, private portraits of women in the guise of herculean women (e.g. Omphale), warriorresses (e.g. Penthesilea, Virtus) and huntresses (e.g. Diana, Atalante) are not as uncommon. In the majority of cases, there is no attempt to avoid the cross-gendered dress. The women as Omphale bear the club and lion skin in a manner similar to Hercules,³⁵⁸⁶ while the women as Penthesilea, Virtus, Diana and Atalante wear short tunics, cloaks and arms.³⁵⁸⁷ It is therefore clear that potentially masculinizing

³⁵⁷⁹ Alexandridis 2004, 106.

³⁵⁸⁰ Alexandridis 2004, 106.

³⁵⁸¹ Alexandridis 2004, 83f. 91f.; Mikocki 1995b, 105f. 110f. 115f. As argued by D.E.E. Kleiner, imperial women appear in statues, cameos, coins, etc., but rarely in state reliefs: here, their presence can be explained as an acknowledgement of their value as a stabilizing reproductive force (but also subject to *damnatio memoriae* due to tyrannical behaviour or threatening the well-being of the state), Kleiner 2000.

³⁵⁸² For discussion, see chap. 5.2.3.2. There are clear parallels in the private portraits under consideration, with husbands and wives celebrated for their shared *virtus* and *concordia*. It seems that these imperial and private portraits emerged against the same social background for ascribing *virtus* to women.

³⁵⁸³ For discussion, see chap. 6.2.3.2.

³⁵⁸⁴ These possibilities are at least expressed by the coinage pairing imperial women with the goddess.

³⁵⁸⁵ The empresses as the *mater castrorum* wear feminine dress; the military goddesses are either warriorresses in feminine robes or beautiful messengers of victory; Diana is typically shown in long robes and her cosmic nature is generally foreground.

³⁵⁸⁶ OMP1. 6.

³⁵⁸⁷ PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9; VIR1. 2. 3. 4.; DIA1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10. 11. 12. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18; ATA1. 2.

costumes are universally favoured here. There are only a couple exceptions to the rule.³⁵⁸⁸ For instance, it is possible to relegate the exchange of gendered dress to the fringes of the monument. In the portrait group of a married couple as Hercules and Omphale, the woman stands above the bow and quiver of her husband;³⁵⁸⁹ likewise, in the portrait group of a mother and daughter as Fortuna and Diana, the girl is placed below the bow and quiver of the huntress.³⁵⁹⁰

In summary, imperial women are rarely connected with military and hunting goddesses, and in these cases, masculine dress is avoided insofar as possible.³⁵⁹¹ Private women enjoy more freedom to assume cross-gendered dress. This is true of freedwomen especially, but also equestrian and perhaps even senatorial women. As such, the herculean, warriorress and huntress costume evidently had the capacity to evoke personal virtues relevant not to imperial women, but to private women.

7.5 The Expression of Virtues in the Portraiture

The private portraits of girls and women as goddesses and heroines in cross-gendered dress serve as “sites of memory”.³⁵⁹² This presents certain possibilities for representing the female deceased, while imposing certain constraints. The image of the female deceased in stone certainly brings to mind the living woman in the flesh, but her individuality is typically suppressed: indeed, she appears with physiognomic features and hairstyles typical of her society and period, allowing her to fall in line with her female contemporaries. Moreover, she is fashioned into a particular goddess or heroine - all of these mythical role models were quite familiar to their viewers, through oral and literary narratives, images and spectacles. In the end, she is not so much a real, individual woman as a constructed “character”, closely reflecting cultural ideals and values. The simplification and conventionalization of her appearance is, however, not a deficit but a strength, due to its capacity to convey meaning not just among her family and closest friends, but also within her broader social circle.

It is possible for the portraits to provoke an emotional reaction, both on the level of the individual and the group; this occurs not only in the short term, that is, among those with personal memories of the deceased, but also in the long term, due to the use of common visual codes to convey the feelings of previous generations. The portraits confer particular virtues on the deceased, whether real or constructed, which were likewise instantly comprehensible over the course of centuries. On the one hand, the women are celebrated for their individual qualities - the rarity of the cross-gendered dress in private female portraiture underlines this point all the more. On the other hand, their monuments still fall into the series of similar monuments for other women, in order to make these “sites of memory”

³⁵⁸⁸ DIA13.

³⁵⁸⁹ OMP4.

³⁵⁹⁰ DIA3.

³⁵⁹¹ It has been observed elsewhere that imperial women are never portrayed as nude goddesses, presumably due to the erotic overtones, Alexandridis 2004, 84-88. For further discussion, see chap. 4.2.3.2.1. Military and hunting goddesses are probably avoided for the same reason: it seems that the masculine dress carried connotations that were not so suitable for their representation.

³⁵⁹² For discussion on social memory, see chap. 2.2.3.

comprehensible and enduring among a certain social group. This seeming cultural “violation” is merely a variant on the conventional visual codes for representing women in Roman society, which – as we will see – evokes feelings of love and loss that are part and parcel of the general human condition, as well as values that are commonly held by the members of this social group.

7.5.1 *Virtus*

The portraits of women as goddesses and heroines in cross-gendered dress share a striking commonality: all of the monuments confer *virtus* on the women.³⁵⁹³ In some cases, the evocation of *virtus* is prioritized.³⁵⁹⁴ In other cases, the quality is pushed into the background, as a secondary consideration.³⁵⁹⁵ It is even possible for *virtus* to feature as a relatively muted quality, which is evoked in a roundabout manner.³⁵⁹⁶ It is necessary to consider the significance of conferring *virtus* upon women here, by positioning the monuments in their proper social context.

7.5.1.1 *Virtus* and Women

Virtus – derived from *vir* (man) – is broadly defined as “manliness, manhood, i.e. the sum of all the corporeal and mental excellences of man, *strength, vigor; bravery, courage; aptness, capacity; worth, excellence, virtue*, etc.”³⁵⁹⁷ It is an inherently masculine quality, allowing Roman men in particular to acquire honour.³⁵⁹⁸ Indeed, “a common theme in the ancient sources is that true Roman men, who possess *virtus* by birthright, rightfully exercise their dominion or *imperium* not only over women... but also over foreigners, themselves implicitly likened to women.”³⁵⁹⁹

At first glance, it would seem inconceivable that *virtus* is applicable to women at all. This is, however, not the case, due to two parallel processes, occurring simultaneously: “on the one hand, the semantic broadening of the word *virtus*, and on the other, the social expansion of it.”³⁶⁰⁰ In Old Latin (pre-75 BCE), *virtus* primarily refers to courage, especially in terms of exhibiting physical prowess and bravery in a military context.³⁶⁰¹ It was typically perceived as an aggressive quality, attributed to men slaying opponents and conquering cities; it was less often understood in terms of passive endurance or steadfastness in the face of danger.³⁶⁰² There is only a single case in which *virtus* is ascribed to a woman, but in a comic sexual role reversal, which corroborates the incongruity between *virtus* and

³⁵⁹³ For discussion, see chaps. 4.2.3.2.3; 5.2.3.4; 5.3.3.2; 6.2.3.4; 6.3.3.2.3; 6.3.4.3.

³⁵⁹⁴ VIR1. 2. 3. 4; DIA1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 18; ATA2.

³⁵⁹⁵ PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9; DIA15. 16. 17; ATA1.

³⁵⁹⁶ OMP1. 2. 3. 6; DIA 3. 9.

³⁵⁹⁷ C.T. Lewis – C. Short 1879, 1997 (s.v. *virtus*). For the etymology of *virtus*, Eisenhut 1973, 12f. For discussion on the significance of *virtus* in general, Balamaceda 2017, 14-47; Eisenhut 1973; Langford-Johnson 2007, 63; McDonnell 2006, 12-141; Milhous 1992, 48-79; Mutschler 2003; Van Houdt et al. 2004.

³⁵⁹⁸ It is clear that *virtus* is most often attributed to men; for an overview of the attribution of *virtus* to men and (occasionally) women in the textual sources, Eisenhut 1973. For the connection between *virtus* and *honor*, Ganschow 1997, 273; Milhous 1992.

³⁵⁹⁹ Williams 1999, 135.

³⁶⁰⁰ Balamaceda 2017, 46.

³⁶⁰¹ McDonnell 2006, 12-71; Van Houdt et al. 2004, 3f.

³⁶⁰² McDonnell 2006, 59-71.

women at this time.³⁶⁰³ In Classical Latin (post-75 BCE), *virtus* increasingly borrowed semantically from the Greek notion of *arete*,³⁶⁰⁴ or “goodness, excellence, of any kind.”³⁶⁰⁵ It was gradually detached from its military origins to evoke human excellence in general, embracing an array of martial and ethical, as well as physical and mental qualities.³⁶⁰⁶ In the process, it was extended to Roman women as well.³⁶⁰⁷

7.5.1.1.1 Women in the Past

It is possible to attribute *virtus* to women in the past,³⁶⁰⁸ including in their capacity as role models for contemporary women.³⁶⁰⁹ *Women engage in warfare in times of crisis.*³⁶¹⁰ Cleomenes of Sparta slew the Argive hoplites in the Battle of Sepeia, thus leaving their city-state unprotected.³⁶¹¹ The poetess Telesilla of Argos encouraged the remaining women to successfully defend their home. Other notable cases include the women of Chios and Salmantica, who assisted their men in battle.³⁶¹²

*Women exhibit physical strength and courage in other contexts as well.*³⁶¹³ Cloelia orchestrated the escape of Roman maidens being held hostage in the military camp of Lars Porsena, by fearlessly swimming across the Tiber and dodging the missiles of the enemy.³⁶¹⁴ She is frequently praised for her courage (*andreia/virtus*)³⁶¹⁵ and even presented as a model for contemporary women.³⁶¹⁶

³⁶⁰³ Plaut. Amph. 925; McDonnell 2006, 161f.

³⁶⁰⁴ McDonnell 2006, 72-104. On the other hand, it has been argued that “*virtus*, interpreted as virtue in general, owes to *arete* not so much its meaning as its rationalization,” Balamaceda 2017, 47.

³⁶⁰⁵ Liddell - Scott 1901, 216 (s.v. ἀρετή).

³⁶⁰⁶ McDonnell 2006, 105-141.

³⁶⁰⁷ McDonnell 2006, 161-165.

³⁶⁰⁸ This refers to famous women living before the time of the author, whose acts of *virtus* are treated as real events (whether the events described are real or not). The examination here is limited to cases in which women are explicitly ascribed *virtus* and not related virtues, e.g. *fortitudo*.

³⁶⁰⁹ Seneca offers Lucretia, Cloelia and Cornelia as role models for Marcia, Sen. Ad. Marc. 6, 16, 2-4.

³⁶¹⁰ Numerous cases are led forth to demonstrate women’s innate courage (*andreia*).

³⁶¹¹ Paus. 2, 20, 8-9; Plut. mor. 245C-F; Polyain. 8, 33.

³⁶¹² The women of Chios assisted in the defense of their city-state against Philip V: “the women, suddenly possessed of fierce and savage spirit, ... hastened to mount the walls, both bringing stones and missiles, and exhorting and importuning the fighting men until, finally, by their vigorous defence and the wounds inflicted on the enemy by their missiles, they repulsed Philip,” Plut. mor. 245B-C (translation in Babbitt 1931, 487-489). The women of Chios were motivated by the need to preserve their chastity: indeed, Philip V promised the slaves in Chios both freedom and the possession of their mistresses for defecting. Note, however, that the men take on the most active role, whereas the women primarily support them in the combat (by arming them, motivating them, etc.); it is not so clear if the women directly attacked the enemy as well. When Hannibal invaded Salmantica, the women concealed swords in their robes before surrendering, Plut. mor. 248E-249B. In doing so, they were not only able to supply their menfolk with weapons, but also to attack the guards themselves.

³⁶¹³ After Alexander defeated the Thebans, a Thracian commander pillaged the city and raped Timocleia, Plut. mor. 259E-260D. She took revenge on him by stoning him to death. Other women avenge their honour by allowing men to take on the active role. For instance, Chiomara of Galatia was violated by a Roman soldier; he agreed to ransom her, at which time she gave the signal to cut off his head, Plut. mor. 258E-F.

³⁶¹⁴ Liv. 2, 13, 6-11; Plut. mor. 250A-F; Polyain. 8, 31; Sen. Ad Marc. 6, 16, 2. M. Roller argues that Cloelia exhibits *virtus* characteristic of a man (by crossing the river and leading the girls), but also of a woman (by deceiving the guards) and a child (by saving the virgins), Roller 2004, 38-43.

³⁶¹⁵ Liv. 2, 13, 6. 11; Plut. mor. 250A-F; Polyain. 8, 31; Val. Max. 3, 2, 3.

³⁶¹⁶ Sen. Ad Marc. 6, 16, 1-2.

*Women commit suicide for noble reasons.*³⁶¹⁷ Lucretia plunged a dagger into her heart after being raped by Tarquinius Superbus in order to redeem her honour, as well as to not serve as a precedent for women of dubious chastity.³⁶¹⁸ She is often described in male terms.³⁶¹⁹ Valerius Maximus states that “the leader of Roman sexual honour [*dux Romanae pudicitiae*] is Lucretia, whose manly spirit [*virilis animus*] by a perverse twist of fate was allotted to a woman’s body [*muliebre corpus*].”³⁶²⁰ Her deeds inspired Brutus to overthrow the monarchy and install a republic at Rome.³⁶²¹ She is therefore presented as a model for *virtus*, whose courage ought to inspire contemporary women.³⁶²²

On a related note, *women are commended for enduring physical pain.*³⁶²³ Porcia, the wife of Brutus, suspected that her husband was plotting against Caesar.³⁶²⁴ She convinced him to involve her as an

³⁶¹⁷ Numerous women are ascribed *virtus* due to welcoming death or committing suicide for noble reasons. The women of Phocis voted to burn themselves alive if their men should perish in battle against Thessalians, in order to avoid a life of captivity, Plut. mor. 244A-E. Camma of Galatia avenged the death of her husband by pretending to accept the marriage proposal of his killer, but prepared a poisoned drink for both of them to share, Plut. mor. 257E-258C. Harmonia, the daughter of King Gelo of Syracuse, was the only one in her family to survive a deadly civil strife; as her enemies tried to kill her, another girl allowed herself to be disguised as the princess and never revealed her true identity as she was slaughtered; Harmonia admired her courage so much that she sacrificed herself to the enemy forces anyway, Val. Max. 3, 2, ext. 9. Following Gaius Marius’ victory over the Teutons, the widows wished to live a life of chastity among the Vestal Virgins, but hung themselves when their plea was refused, Val. Max. 6, 1, ext. 3. Their courage - closely connected to their chastity - is seen to surpass that of their menfolk: “The gods be thanked that they did not give such a spirit to their husbands in battle. For had these chosen to imitate the valour of their wives, they would have cast into doubt the trophies of Teutonic victory,” Val. Max. 6, 1, ext. 3. (translation in Shackleton Bailey 2000, 15). Porcia, the wife of Brutus, swallowed hot coals after her husband died in the Battle of Philippi, App. civ. 4, 136; Cass. Dio 47, 49, 3; Val. Max. 4, 6, 5. She lacked neither moderation (*sophrosyne*) nor courage (*andreia*): “she was the wife of Brutus who slew Caesar, was privy to the conspiracy itself, and gave up her life in a manner worthy of her noble birth and her lofty character...,” Plut. Cato minor 73, 4 (translation in Perrin 1919, 411). Polyainos also ascribes *andreia* to her and connects this to her affection for her husband, Polyain. 8, 32. It seems, however, that there is more reluctance to ascribe *virtus* to “suicidal” women relatively fresh in the mind of male authors - that is, women whom the authors did not know personally, but who committed suicide when the authors were still relatively young. Pliny the Younger mentions a woman who committed suicide with her husband at Lake Larius, since he had an incurable disease; he refers to this as a “heroic” deed, Plin. epist. 6, 24. He also tells us that Caecina Paetus was forced to commit suicide by Claudius, but his wife Arria emboldened him to take action by stabbing herself first; he praises her for her excellence (*praeclaritas*) and also notes that her actions were motivated by *concordia*, Plin. epist. 3, 16, 1-13 (esp. 3, 16, 6). Cassius Dio commends her *arete* (which heavily influenced the concept of *virtus*), Cass. Dio 60, 16, 5-7. Tacitus reports that Seneca the Younger was forced to commit death by Nero; he implored his wife Paulina to show fortitude (*fortitudo*) after his death, but she preferred to commit suicide with him, and so he wished for both of them to show equal perseverance (*constantia*) while dying, Tac. ann. 15, 63. Tacitus describes other women who commit suicide with their fathers, husbands and children, in order to avoid the death sentence, Tac. ann. 6, 29; 16, 10-11. He does, however, explicitly ascribe *virtus* to Zenobia, the wife of Rhadamistus, for urging her husband to kill her rather than risking being captured and violated by their enemies, Tac. ann. 12, 51.

³⁶¹⁸ For discussion on the suicide of Lucretia, Edwards 2007, 180-183.

³⁶¹⁹ Val. Max. 6, 1, 1; Dion. 4, 82, 3; Ov. fast. 2, 847; for discussion on her “manliness”, Edwards 2007, 187f.

³⁶²⁰ Val. Max. 6, 1, 1 (translation in Edwards 2007, 187). It is notable that she is not only treated like an “honorary man” here, but also that her *virtus* is closely connected to her chastity (*pudicitia*).

³⁶²¹ Brutus and Lucretia are models of *virtus*, but with a notable difference: Brutus overthrew the monarchy, whereas Lucretia’s words and deeds inspired him to take action, see Cass. Dio 2, 19, 1; Sen. Ad Marc. 6, 16, 2.

³⁶²² Sen. Ad Marc. 6, 16, 2.

³⁶²³ The women of Elis are particularly fearless. Micca was whipped to death, due to rejecting an officer’s advances, Plut. mor. 251A-C. The men prepared to rebel against Aristotimus, the tyrant of Elis; he demanded the women to bid their male relatives to leave the country, or else suffer torture and death, but Megisto encouraged her fellow women to refuse these demands, Plut. mor. 252A-E. Quite similarly, Nicocrates tortured Aretaphilia of Cyrene to get her to confess to conspiring to overthrow his tyranny, but “she sustained herself with indomitable courage” and never uttered the truth, Plut. mor. 256D (translation in Babbitt 1931, 545). Tacitus also describes

equal partner by cutting her thigh, since it testified to her patient endurance in bearing physical pain and hence her control over her own emotions - or, in the end, her fortitude (*andreaia*).³⁶²⁵

*Women are unflinching in the face of danger.*³⁶²⁶ The Etruscans were imprisoned by the Spartans; their wives secretly exchanged clothing with them and took their places in jail, so that their husbands could retaliate.³⁶²⁷ The women following their husbands into exile and fleeing with their sons during the Year of the Four Emperors (69 CE) are treated as positive examples of “virtue” (*virtutes*) as well.³⁶²⁸

Moreover, *women bear distressing circumstances with grace.*³⁶²⁹ Cornelia, the mother of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, lost both of her sons, who were murdered and left unburied.³⁶³⁰ “Yet to those who tried to comfort her and called her unfortunate she said: ‘Never shall I admit that I am not fortunate, I who have borne the Gracchi.’”³⁶³¹ Rutilia followed her son into exile, only to lose him after he was restored to his rightful position at Rome.³⁶³² Both mothers are offered as models of fortitude (*virtus*) for contemporary women, who suffer similar circumstances.³⁶³³

how Epicharis, who conspired against Nero, endured torture and finally killed herself (but she is not ascribed *virtus* in particular), Tac. ann. 15, 57.

³⁶²⁴ Plut. Brutus 13, 1-11; Polyain. 8, 32.

³⁶²⁵ Polyain. 8, 32. Note that her endurance of physical pain is primarily motivated by a desire to be her husband’s partner in joys and suffering, in order achieve conjugal harmony, see Plut. Brutus 13, 6-11. In general, Plutarch treats Brutus and Porcia as an ideal husband and wife, due to their union based on moderated erotic attachment and mutual virtue, Beneker 2012, 39-43.

³⁶²⁶ Theopompus was imprisoned by the Arcadians; his wife Cheilonis traded clothing with him so that he could escape, Polyain. 8, 34. Quite similarly, the Melians anticipated an attack by the Carians at a dinner party, so the wives hid the men’s swords under their robes, Plut. mor. 246D-247A. Poredorix of Pergamum was executed for conspiring against Mithridates, but his beloved risked her life to properly bury his body, Plut. mor. 259A-D. Eryxo of Cyrenaica pretends to accept the marriage offer of her husband’s killer, but then tricks him into a bedroom filled with men ready to slay him, Plut. mor. 260E-261D; here, however, the men ultimately take on the active role in avenging her husband. Numerous other women are praised for their fearlessness without being attributed *virtus* in particular. A group of women accompany a man being pursued, so that he can go from door to door asking for help, Tac. ann. 2, 29. Pollitta pleads with Nero to spare the life of her father, Tac. ann. 16, 10-11. Servilia sold her jewellery to make religious offerings in hopes of saving her father, Tac. ann. 16, 30-32. Turia risked her life to hide her husband in the attic, Val. Max. 6, 2. Sulpicia followed her husband into exile, Val. Max. 6, 3.

³⁶²⁷ Plut. mor. 247A-F.

³⁶²⁸ Tac. hist. 1, 3. Tacitus begins his *Histories* with the claim that the period in question was not all doom and gloom, but also offered positive examples of “virtue”, including men, women and even slaves. Based on this, V. Hunink argues that specific positive examples of “virtue”, including women, are detectable in the text as a whole: for instance, a Ligurian woman was tortured by the troops of Otho, but still refused to reveal the hiding place of her infant son, Tac. hist. 2, 3; Hunink 2004, esp. 177. There are, however, borderline cases: for instance, Verulana Gratilla bravely joined the Flavians in facing the siege of the Capitol by the Vitellians, but Tacitus does not necessarily approve of her behaviour, since he stresses that she was not merely following her children and relatives, but was fascinated by war, Tac. hist. 3, 69; Hunink 2004, 179.

³⁶²⁹ Other women are praised for their mental endurance without being attributed *virtus* in particular. Arria hid the death of her son from her husband by holding back her tears, and offered to serve her husband like a slave during his captivity (to suit his status), Plin. epist. 3, 16, 3-6. Just before Brutus went into exile, his wife Porcia burst into tears; nevertheless, her husband said that he would not encourage her to occupy herself with women’s work during his absence, since although she was not physically strong enough to perform “manly” deeds, she was strong enough in spirit to assist them in defending their country, Plut. Brutus 23, 1-4.

³⁶³⁰ Sen. Ad Marc. 6, 16, 3. For the characterization of Cornelia in general, Von Hesberg-Tonn 1983, 65-71.

³⁶³¹ Sen. Ad Marc. 6, 16, 3 (translation in Basore 1932, 51.) Another Cornelia is praised for bravely bearing the loss of her son as well, Sen. Ad Marc. 6, 16, 4.

³⁶³² Sen. Ad Helv. 12, 16, 7.

³⁶³³ Sen. Ad Helv. 12, 16, 5-7; Sen. Ad Marc. 6, 16, 1 & 3.

7.5.1.1.2 Contemporary Women

7.5.1.1.2.1 The Attribution of *Virtus* to Contemporary Women

It is also possible for male authors to attribute *virtus* to their female contemporaries, especially their daughters, wives and mothers, as well as other relatives and friends.³⁶³⁴ The trend was seemingly established in the works of Cicero.³⁶³⁵ He claims that *virtus* properly belongs to men:

“... though all right-minded states are called virtue [*virtutes*], the term is not appropriate to all virtues, but all have got the name from the single virtue which was found to outshine the rest, for it is from the word for ‘man’ [*vir*] that the word virtue [*virtus*] is derived; but man’s peculiar virtue is fortitude [*fortitudo*], of which there are two main functions, namely scorn of death and scorn of pain. These then we must exercise if we wish to prove possessors of virtue, or rather, since the word for ‘virtue’ is borrowed from the word for ‘man,’ if we wish to be men.”³⁶³⁶

Cicero nevertheless extends *virtus* to the female sex in isolated cases. He praises Caecilia Metella for the courage (*virtus*) she exhibited in providing sanctuary to her friend Sextus Roscius “when he was destitute, driven out of his home and expelled from his property, fleeing from the daggers and threats of brigands”.³⁶³⁷ He commends the courage (*virtus*) of his wife Terentia, especially for labouring for him at great personal expense during his exile.³⁶³⁸ Her fortitude is understood in both a physical and mental sense: “... you are not discouraged by hardships either of spirit or of body.”³⁶³⁹ His daughter Tullia also exhibits courage (*virtus*) by meeting her father in exile, but especially by enduring their political opponents and private troubles during his absence from home.³⁶⁴⁰ It seems that he praises the general “virtue” of his wife as well, by linking her *virtus* to a series of ethical qualities, especially *fides* (loyalty), *probitas* (honesty) and *humanitas* (humanity).³⁶⁴¹

A series of male authors follow the lead of Cicero, by praising their female contemporaries for their *virtus* in a similar manner. Moreover, women are praised for their *virtus* in epigraphic sources with a funerary significance. For a detailed overview of the evidence, see: Appendix D - The Attribution of *Virtus* to Women: The Literary and Epigraphic Sources. The results will be summarized here.

From these sources it becomes clear that women - but especially women outside of the imperial family - could be ascribed *virtus*.³⁶⁴² Philosophers ascribing to Stoic principles, such as Musonius Rufus and

³⁶³⁴ This refers to women living at the same time as the author. In all cases, the authors knew the women personally (or at least know about them through their social connections). The examination here is limited to cases in which women are explicitly ascribed *virtus* (and not related virtues, e.g. *fortitudo*).

³⁶³⁵ For discussion on Cicero attributing *virtus* to women, Eisenhut 1973, 42 footnote 98; McDonnell 2006, 162f.; Tuomela 2014, 41.

³⁶³⁶ Cic. Tusc. 2.43 (translation in King 1927, 195-197).

³⁶³⁷ Cic. S. Rosc. 27. 147 (translation in Freese 1930, 147).

³⁶³⁸ Cic. fam. 14, 1, 1; McDonnell 2006, 163f. See also Cic. fam. 14, 1-24.

³⁶³⁹ Cic. fam. 14, 1, 1 (translation in McDonnell 2006, 163f.).

³⁶⁴⁰ Cic. fam. 14, 11; Cic. Att. 10, 8, 9; McDonnell 2006, 163.

³⁶⁴¹ Cic. fam. 14, 1, 1; McDonnell 2006, 164.

³⁶⁴² It seems that *virtus* is less commonly attributed to imperial women than to private women due to different concerns for representing them in the literary, epigraphic and visual sources. The sources for imperial women tend to deal with idealized circumstances, so there is hardly any need to show them stepping out of their traditional gender roles. In the rare instances in which *virtus* is attributed to women of the imperial family, it is seemingly

Plutarch, argue that all women possess *virtus*.³⁶⁴³ Most importantly, the original meaning of *virtus* - that is, courage, basically synonymous with *fortitudo* - is never lost after its attribution to contemporary women.³⁶⁴⁴ The virtue is merely transferred from the military camp to the civic and especially domestic contexts, in which women exercised their influence. It is, however, uncommon for contemporary women to receive praise for performing physical acts of courage.³⁶⁴⁵ Instead, contemporary women tend to perform mental acts of courage, such as standing up for their friends and families, taking action to preserve their properties, or travelling to unknown places.³⁶⁴⁶ In numerous cases, the fortitude of women refers to their capacity to endure physical pain and mental anguish in a passive way.³⁶⁴⁷ Some women voluntarily put themselves in risky situations for a noble cause - they end up suffering physical beatings, humiliation or prosecution.³⁶⁴⁸ Other women bear miserable circumstances with grace, such as personal illness or the exile and death of their loved ones.³⁶⁴⁹ It is in this sense that Musonius Rufus encourages women "... to be high-minded and to think of death not as an evil and life not as a good, and likewise not to shun hardship and never for a moment to seek ease and indolence."³⁶⁵⁰

It is also possible for the *virtus* (or *virtutes*) of women refer to their "virtue", by shifting the focus to the sum of their ethical qualities.³⁶⁵¹ It has been argued elsewhere that *virtus* was resemanticized to refer to "feminine" virtues in particular: "This is a shift in meaning: from the masculine, tough deed, to friendliness, kindness, even sweetness and tranquility, from the glory-bringing *virtus* in the *res publica*,

understood as "virtue" in general, e.g. Ov. Pont. 3, 1, 115 (Livia); CIL 6, 3579 lin. 14 (Matidia); this could also explain the lack of portraits of imperial women in the guise of warrioresses and huntresses (especially with cross-gendered dress), see chap. 7.4. In the sources for private women, on the other hand, there was seemingly less reluctance to show them in adverse circumstances, which could require them to exhibit strength and courage. This question requires more research and cannot be definitively answered here.

³⁶⁴³ Both Musonius Rufus and Plutarch claim that women's virtues (*aretai*) are equal to men; it follows that women are capable of exhibiting qualities like reason (*phronesis*), self-control (*sophrosyne*), justice (*dikaiosyne*) and even courage (*andreia*), Stob. 2, 31, 126 = Musonius Rufus lecture 3 (Lutz 1947) and Stob. 2, 31, 123 = Musonius Rufus lecture 4 (Lutz 1947); Plut. mor. 242F. 243D. It is true that *virtus* finds no precise equivalent in ancient Greek, but *andreia* is the closest in terms of etymology and *arete* is the closest in meaning. (Note that Plutarch is a Platonist, not a Stoic, but agrees with some Stoic principles, such as the case presented here.)

³⁶⁴⁴ The *virtus* of women primarily refers to their courage in authors of the Golden Age, McDonnell 2006, 165.

³⁶⁴⁵ Seneca the Younger's account of his aunt's bravery during a shipwreck stands out in this regard: the accident had already claimed the life of her husband, but instead of focusing on her own escape, she used all of her remaining strength and energy to retrieve his body, Sen. Ad. Helv. 11, 19, 5; 11, 19, 7.

³⁶⁴⁶ This is certainly attested for Caecilia Metella (Cic. S. Rosc. 27. 147), Terentia (Cic. fam. 14, 1, 1), Tullia (Cic. fam. 14, 11), Ovid's wife (Ov. trist. 1, 6, 15; Ov. Pont. 3, 1, 94), Fannia (Plin. epist. 7, 19, 4-8) and "Turia" (CIL 6, 41062 col. 1 lin. 3-9; col. 2 lin. 1-35).

³⁶⁴⁷ It is notable that this is one of the favoured uses of *virtus* for women: originally, *virtus* primarily referred to performing heroic deeds in the military context, but less often in terms of passive endurance.

³⁶⁴⁸ This is certainly attested for Terentia (Cic. fam. 14, 1, 1), Fannia (Plin. epist. 7, 19, 4-8) and "Turia" (CIL 6, 41062 col. 2 lin. 22-32).

³⁶⁴⁹ This is certainly attested for Tullia (Cic. fam. 14, 11; Cic. Att. 10, 8, 9), Helvia (Sen. Ad. Helv. 11, 15, 4; 11, 16, 5), Marcia (Sen. Ad. Marc. 6, 1, 1) and Fannia (Plin. epist. 7, 19, 3).

³⁶⁵⁰ Stob. 2, 31, 126 = Musonius Rufus 3 (translation in Lutz 1947, 43).

³⁶⁵¹ This is attested for Terentia (Cic. fam. 14, 1, 1), Livia (Ov. Pont. 3, 1, 115), Helvia (Sen. Ad. Helv. 11, 16, 2-5), Marcia (Sen. Ad. Marc. 6, 16, 1), Seneca the Younger's aunt (Sen. Ad. Helv. 19, 5; 11, 19, 7), Fannia (Plin. epist. 7, 19, 4-8), Macrinus' wife (Plin. epist. 8, 5, 1), the daughter of Julius Menecrates (Stat. silv. 4, 8, 57-58), Pudentilla (Apul. apol. 66.), "Turia" (CIL 6, 41062 col. 2 lin. 41), Matidia (CIL 6, 3579 lin. 14) and Fabia Fuscilla (CIL 6, 31711). The *virtus* of women refers to either their courage or feminine virtues in authors of the Silver Age, McDonnell 2006, 165.

to a *virtus* that can flourish in private and virtuous domesticity.”³⁶⁵² It is, however, evident that *virtus* can still extend to “manly” qualities, especially courage.³⁶⁵³ This broader significance of *virtus* - i.e. “virtue” in general, also including courage - is attested in the funerary context as well.

7.5.1.1.2.2 The Limitations on Attributing *Virtus* to Contemporary Women

It is evident that *virtus* was attributed to contemporary women in a restricted manner. First of all, “*virtus is an eminently praiseworthy quality, whether in a male (who should have it) or a female (who may, exceptionally, attain to it)*.”³⁶⁵⁴ It follows that women with *virtus* were typically seen to surpass the expectations of their sex, allowing them to earn the status of “honorary men”.³⁶⁵⁵ As Cicero states, Terentia shows courage (*virtus*) surpassing belief - that is, beyond what is normally expected of women.³⁶⁵⁶ Caecilia Metella proved her worth (*virtus*) in spite of being a woman (*mulier*).³⁶⁵⁷ The same ambivalent attitude permeates Seneca the Younger’s consolations to women.³⁶⁵⁸ He tells Helvia that *virtus* is antithetical to women’s vices (*muliebria vitia*)³⁶⁵⁹ - as such, women who exhibit bravery are placed among the ranks of great men (*magni viri*).³⁶⁶⁰ The highest praise that he can offer Marcia is that she is “as far removed from womanish weakness of mind as from all other vices”.³⁶⁶¹ It is true that a few authors (e.g. Pliny the Younger, Musonius Rufus, Plutarch) believed that *virtus* is a human rather than masculine quality,³⁶⁶² yet their overall proposition is undermined by the the fact that the “equivalency” of the sexes only found expression through conventional gendered language.

Women aspiring to the level of men are often seen to fall short of this ideal.³⁶⁶³ For instance, Seneca the Younger claims that the brave deeds of Cloelia filled men indulging in a life of softness with shame, yet failed to qualify her for the list of heroes.³⁶⁶⁴ In short, “... women who try... to appropriate or

³⁶⁵² Eisenhut 1973, 185 (translation by the author). This shift is attested in the works of Pliny the Younger.

³⁶⁵³ This is certainly attested for Helvia (Sen. Ad. Helv. 11, 16, 2-5), Seneca the Younger’s aunt (Sen. Ad. Helv. 11, 19, 5), Fannia (Plin. epist. 7, 19, 4-8) and “Turia” (CIL 6, 41062 col. 2 lin. 41).

³⁶⁵⁴ Williams 1999, 133; for further discussion, see also Hansen 2007, 107f.; Langlands 2004, 218f. An excellent case of this mainstream view is found in Quintilian’s *Institutio Oratoria*: he argues that *virtus* is less remarkable in men than women, and so tales of men performing *virtus* carried less weight than those of women performing *virtus*, Quint. inst. 5, 11, 9-10. Note, however, that a few authors (e.g. Pliny the Younger, Musonius Rufus, Plutarch) challenged this view by claiming that *virtus* is innate to both men and women, see Langlands 2004; Tuomela 2014.

³⁶⁵⁵ Hemelrijk 1999, 89-92.

³⁶⁵⁶ Cic. fam. 14, 1, 1; Van Houdt et al. 2004, 10.

³⁶⁵⁷ Cic. S. Rosc. 147; Hansen 2007, 108 footnote 3.

³⁶⁵⁸ For discussion, Edwards 2007, 189-191.

³⁶⁵⁹ Sen. Ad. Helv. 11, 16, 2.

³⁶⁶⁰ Sen. Ad. Helv. 11, 16, 5.

³⁶⁶¹ Sen. Ad. Marc. 16, 1, 1 (translation in Basore 1932, 3.) He also claims that his aunt forgot the weakness of her sex while retrieving her husband’s corpse for burial, Sen. Ad. Helv. 11, 19, 5.

³⁶⁶² See Langlands 2004; Tuomela 2014.

³⁶⁶³ Hemelrijk 1999, 91f. Juvenal mocks learned women by sarcastically advising them to start dressing like men, participating in male cultic rituals, as well as visiting the men’s baths, Iuv. sat. 6, 434-456; for discussion on Juvenal’s view on educated women, Hemelrijk 1999, 87f. 91f. Valerius Maximus refers to Maesia of Sentinum as a “man-woman” (*androgyne*) for successfully defending herself in court, Val. Max. 8, 3, 1; for discussion on Valerius Maximus’ treatment of Maesia of Sentinum, Deminion 2020, 201-203; Marschall 1990.

³⁶⁶⁴ Sen. Ad. Marc. 16, 16, 2; Edwards 2007, 190f. (note, however, that several other authors note that Cloelia’s heroic deeds are equal to those of men or even surpass them). In the literary sources, it is often the case that “... while male exempla inspire, female exempla spur men on through fear of the humiliation of being beaten by a

emulate male traits are usually seen as, at best, hybrid and puzzling creatures, or, at worst, creatures who have transgressed their bounds unsuccessfully without being able to become the other.”³⁶⁶⁵ For the contemporary women attributed *virtus*, however, there is no trace of belittling or derogatory remarks. Indeed, the women reach the level of men³⁶⁶⁶ or even exceed it, as a genuine form of praise.³⁶⁶⁷ Cicero claims that Terentia and Tullia are “braver than any man”.³⁶⁶⁸ Pliny the Younger’s comments on Fannia are also notable: “Will there be anyone now whom we can hold up as a model to our wives, from whose courage even our own sex can take example... ?”³⁶⁶⁹ Moreover, the *virtus* of women is considered to properly reflect that of their male relatives and consequently to bring them a shared sense of honour. This is revealed by Cicero’s comments on Caecilia Metella especially:

“As if you did not know that his [Sextus Roscius] food and clothing are supplied by Caecilia, the daughter of Balearicus, the sister of Nepos, a woman highly esteemed, who, although she had a most illustrious father, most distinguished uncles, and a most eminent brother, has yet, woman though she is, displayed such worth [*virtus*] that, great as is the honour which she herself derives from their eminence, she in her turn confers on them no lesser dignity through her own merits.”³⁶⁷⁰

Quite notably, she is not merely “ventriloquizing” her male relatives, but possesses her own parallel qualities.³⁶⁷¹ The issue remains, however, that men tend to serve as the benchmark for *virtus*: indeed, “the treatment of women who intruded into this field as if they were ‘male’ in mind and, therefore, not wholly feminine, maintains the *status quo* and, in a sense, even confirms it, since the exceptions are incorporated into the norm.”³⁶⁷² Overall, the sex of contemporary women who were attributed *virtus* is never questioned; the women are nevertheless seen to transcend gender categories, which unequivocally brings them honour, by virtue of reaching the superior position in the hierarchy.

woman, or are deployed in arguments where their rhetorical effect rests on the assumption of female inferiority and moral differentiation between the sexes,” Langlands 2004, 219.

³⁶⁶⁵ Gold 2015, 483.

³⁶⁶⁶ The husband of “Turia” claims that he (or men in general) could not have avenged the death of her parents any better, CIL 6, 41062 col. 1 lin. 7-9; Hemelrijk 2004, 189 footnote 25.

³⁶⁶⁷ Cic. fam. 14, 7, 2; Plin. epist. 7, 19, 7-8.

³⁶⁶⁸ Cic. fam. 14, 7, 2 (translation in Shackleton Bailey 2001, 117); Hemelrijk 2004, 191.

³⁶⁶⁹ Plin. epist. 7, 19, 7-8 (translation in Radice 1969, 527). As shown by R. Langlands, Pliny the Younger differs from earlier writers because he believes in the moral equality of men and women; as such he does not portray women with *virtus* as anomalously intruding into the realm of men, but as part of a longstanding tradition of female courage; furthermore, he opens up the possibility that women with *virtus* can serve as genuine models for both sexes, thus challenging socially entrenched ideas that specific qualities are more appropriate to specific genders, Langlands 2004. Pliny the Younger’s characterization of Fannia fits well into these trends: indeed, “Fannia is offered as an exemplum on a par with male exempla, not as an unequal exemplum of different rhetorical weight”, Langlands 2004, 214-223 (quote on p. 222).

³⁶⁷⁰ Cic. S. Rosc. 147 (translation in Freese 1930, 255).

³⁶⁷¹ R. Langland makes this observation in a similar case: Fannia’s courage (*animus*) and spirit (*spiritus*) flourished while battling her illness, and these qualities are described as worthy of her husband Helvidius and her father Thrasea (without, however, belonging to them), Plin. epist. 7, 19, 3; Langlands 2004, 223.

³⁶⁷² Hemelrijk 1999, 92 (this comment refers to the learned woman, taking over a role traditionally ascribed to men, in particular). The notion that women can achieve masculine virtues by no means abolishes a binary view of gender. The Romans conceived of a fixed hierarchy of gender categories (i.e. masculine over feminine), which - being radically undetermined by anatomical sex - both men and women could slip in and out of, see chap. 2.1.2.1 The effeminate man was denigrated, but women were praised for exhibiting masculine virtues: this is a radical defense of women by ancient standards, but a distorted sort of “proto-feminism”.

Secondly, *the endorsement of virtus in contemporary women is ultimately directed towards the maintenance of the established social order.*³⁶⁷³ It is permitted for women to take on active roles in times of crisis, including in a public setting, for the sake of preserving their own honour, their families or their households.³⁶⁷⁴ The women praised for their *virtus* tend to act on behalf of their male relatives.³⁶⁷⁵ The majority of cases deal with women championing the causes of their husbands - indeed, the *virtus* of women is often seen to compensate for the temporary powerlessness of their husbands, in hopes of returning them to their rightful status.³⁶⁷⁶ During the civil wars, Terentia supported Cicero not only by offering him emotional and financial support, but also by working tirelessly and at great personal cost to have him recalled to Rome.³⁶⁷⁷ He notes the selflessness of her actions: “I see that you [Terentia] are acting in every respect most courageously and lovingly, nor does it surprise me; but what saddens me is the nature of a calamity in which my own miseries can only be alleviated at the cost of such miseries to you.”³⁶⁷⁸ This theme is practically ubiquitous: “Turia” does everything in her power to save the life of her husband;³⁶⁷⁹ the wife of Ovid pleads to have her husband recalled from exile;³⁶⁸⁰ the aunt of Seneca the Younger secures her husband’s body for proper burial;³⁶⁸¹ and Fannia not only joins her husband in exile, but also ensures his later “immortalization” in text.³⁶⁸² It is also possible for daughters to exhibit *virtus* for the sake of their fathers,³⁶⁸³ or mothers for their sons.³⁶⁸⁴ Besides this, it

³⁶⁷³ This is not terribly surprising, since the literary sources for women being attributed *virtus* come from a moral-exemplary tradition that is essentially concerned with the maintenance of the social order. The question therefore remains: were women who were ultimately considered socially disruptive from the Roman perspective, yet capable of performing acts of *virtus*, ever explicitly praised for their *virtus*? This is perhaps possible when speaking about women in the past. In Tacitus’ account of Boudicca (ann. 14, 35, 1-2), for instance, the fact that she appears at the head of a chariot and urges the men to fight for their freedom, while displaying her raped daughters before her, in some sense assimilates her with legendary models for Roman *virtus* like Brutus and Icilius, Gillespie 2015, 410-118; however, Gaius Suetonius Paulinus praises his troops for their *virtus* (ann. 14, 36), whereas Boudicca is not explicitly attributed this virtue, implying that she ultimately loses the battle as a result of this. Moreover, Zenobia was ascribed an array of praiseworthy qualities comparable to *virtus* (e.g. *fortitudo*, see SHA trig. tyr. 30, 25). This question cannot be explored in detail here. In any case, it does not seem that contemporary women who were socially disruptive were ever attributed *virtus*.

³⁶⁷⁴ It is true that women in the past are more likely than contemporary women to take on active forms of *virtus*, including in a military context, but quite interestingly, their demonstration of strength and courage tends to fit into these same trends as well. For discussion on morally upstanding women who enter into the public sphere to preserve the political/social order, as well as fearless women, willing to sacrifice themselves for a noble cause in the literary sources, Von Hesberg-Tonn 1983, 103f.; Kunst 2007, 251-253.

³⁶⁷⁵ Caecilia Metella, however, shelters Sextus Roscius as a friend, Cic. S. Rosc. 27. 147.

³⁶⁷⁶ Hemelrijk 2004, 189-191 (this phenomenon is discussed in relation to “Turia”, Terentia and Ovid’s wife).

³⁶⁷⁷ Chrystal 2015, 67f.; Hemelrijk 2004, 190f.

³⁶⁷⁸ Cic. fam. 14, 2, 2 (translation in Williams 1929, 187).

³⁶⁷⁹ CIL 6, 41062 col. 2 lin. 1-35; Hemelrijk 2004, 189-191.

³⁶⁸⁰ Ov. Pont. 3, 1, 94; Hemelrijk 2004, 191.

³⁶⁸¹ Sen. Ad. Helv. 11, 19, 5; 11, 19, 7.

³⁶⁸² Plin. epist. 7, 19, 4-8. Pliny the Younger’s belief in the moral equality of men and women does not lead to the breakdown of social roles, Langlands 2004, 231-234.

³⁶⁸³ Tullia supported Cicero by meeting him in exile, Cic. fam. 14, 11.

³⁶⁸⁴ For instance, Seneca encourages Helvia and Marcia to bear the absence of their sons with grace, in part because it also shows that the women feel fortunate to have born such wonderful sons (see his commentary on Cornelia as a model, Sen. Ad. Marc. 6, 16, 3; Sen. Ad. Helv. 11, 16, 6).

is commendable for women to defend their households.³⁶⁸⁵ Indeed, both “Turia” and the wife of Ovid are praised for preventing brigands from looting their possessions.³⁶⁸⁶

The Stoic views on “female” *virtus* fit well into this general picture. Musonius Rufus claims that the *virtus* of men and women is equal in principle, but that their courage ideally serves gender-specific aims in practice.³⁶⁸⁷ Women require fortitude from a young age to protect their chastity in the face of force or threats,³⁶⁸⁸ as well as to not “submit to anything shameful because of fear of death or unwillingness to face hardship.”³⁶⁸⁹ Wives who bravely contend with the vicissitudes of fortune will prove not only strong and energetic enough to endure pain, but even prepared to physically toil for their husbands and willing to perform tasks beneath their social rank.³⁶⁹⁰ Mothers require courage to defend their children from harm, just like “hens and other female birds which fight with creatures much larger than themselves,”³⁶⁹¹ or even to nourish their children with their own breasts.³⁶⁹² The proposition that *virtus* is innate to members of the female sex is certainly unconventional, but never leads to the breakdown of traditional gender roles - on the contrary, their possession of *virtus* allows them to better fulfill their duties as chaste daughters, loyal wives or devoted mothers.³⁶⁹³

Plutarch presents a similar view on “female” *virtus* in the *Mulierum virtutes*,³⁶⁹⁴ but without concretely projecting these ideals on contemporary women. His introductory claim that the virtues of men and women are equal is undermined by the legendary vignettes that follow. The *virtus* of women is confined to moments of crisis, treated as morally ambiguous and frequently spurs their menfolk to take action instead; moreover, this virtue is often linked to traditional notions of female propriety and ultimately serves to restore the social order.³⁶⁹⁵ The tale of Aretaphilia of Cyrene demonstrates these tendencies well.³⁶⁹⁶ She is praised for deposing tyrants, but her bravery is treated with ambivalence. She resorts to so-called “women’s weapons”, such as poisoning, seduction and deception. She endures adversities, even torture, but the act of capturing and slaying the tyrants is left to men. In the end, she retires to the loom in the women’s quarters. As such, “... lurking behind the novel figure of the brave and virtuous woman is a highly traditional, and restrictive, understanding of womanly virtue.”³⁶⁹⁷

³⁶⁸⁵ Fendt 2005, 91. 93.

³⁶⁸⁶ CIL 6, 41062 col. 2 lin. 8-10; Fendt 2005, 91 footnote 82. Ov. trist. 1, 6, 15.

³⁶⁸⁷ For discussion on the attribution of *virtus* to women by Musonius Rufus, Caldwell 2015, 19-23; Nussbaum 2002.

³⁶⁸⁸ Stob. 2, 31, 123 = Musonius Rufus lecture 4 (Lutz 1947).

³⁶⁸⁹ Stob. 2, 31, 126 = Musonius Rufus lecture 3 (Lutz 1947) (translation in Lutz 1947, 43).

³⁶⁹⁰ Stob. 2, 31, 126 = Musonius Rufus lecture 3 (Lutz 1947).

³⁶⁹¹ Stob. 2, 31, 123 = Musonius Rufus lecture 4 (Lutz 1947) (translation in Lutz 1947, 45).

³⁶⁹² Stob. 2, 31, 126 = Musonius Rufus lecture 3 (Lutz 1947).

³⁶⁹³ Caldwell 2015, 19-23; Nussbaum 2002.

³⁶⁹⁴ For the attribution of *virtus* to women by Plutarch, Chapman 2011, 93-132; McInerney 2003.

³⁶⁹⁵ McInerney 2003, 328-341; for further discussion on this issue, Chapman 2011, 93-132.

³⁶⁹⁶ Plut. mor. 255E-257E; for discussion, McInerney 2003, 335.

³⁶⁹⁷ McInerney 2003, 323.

Thirdly, *the virtue of women is typically glossed by traditional feminine virtues*.³⁶⁹⁸ The most common qualities are *pudicitia* (modesty),³⁶⁹⁹ *fides* (loyalty),³⁷⁰⁰ and *probitas* (uprightness)³⁷⁰¹. It is possible to organize the virtues into six main categories: 1) qualities related to beauty and fertility (e.g. *pulchritudo*,³⁷⁰² *claritas*,³⁷⁰³ *fecunditas*³⁷⁰⁴); 2) qualities related to chastity and modesty (e.g. *castitas*,³⁷⁰⁵ *sanctitas*,³⁷⁰⁶ *modestia*³⁷⁰⁷); 3) qualities expressing a loving and friendly nature (e.g. *caritas*,³⁷⁰⁸ *humanitas*,³⁷⁰⁹ *comitas*³⁷¹⁰); 4) qualities expressing a sense of loyalty and compliance (e.g. *pietas*,³⁷¹¹ *reverentia*,³⁷¹² *obsequium*³⁷¹³); 5) qualities related to work ethic (e.g. *diligentia*,³⁷¹⁴ *industria*,³⁷¹⁵ *lanificium*³⁷¹⁶); and 6) qualities related to moral integrity (e.g. *facilitas*,³⁷¹⁷ *honestas*,³⁷¹⁸ *probitas*³⁷¹⁹). The sheer variation makes it difficult to discern any significant patterns.³⁷²⁰

In fact, it does not really seem to matter which feminine virtues are evoked in particular, just that these *are* evoked.³⁷²¹ This is best exemplified by the eulogies for “Turia” and Murdia: here, the standard, domestic virtues of the female deceased (e.g. chastity, modesty, wool working) are enumerated before honouring their exceptional strength and courage.³⁷²² It seems that their male kin

³⁶⁹⁸ Hemelrijk 1999, 89f.; Hemelrijk 2004, 193-196. In the following analysis, the characterization of the women is not considered as a whole, but only the qualities brought directly into connection with their *virtus*. It is true that the *virtus* of women is typically glossed by traditional feminine virtues, but it is also possible to pair it with other “manly” qualities, e.g. the *virtus* of Terentia is paired with *fortitudo* (fortitude), Cic. fam. 14, 1, 1.

³⁶⁹⁹ Ov. Pont. 3, 1, 116 (Livia); Sen. Ad. Helv. 11, 16, 5 (Helvia); CIL 6, 41062 col. 1 lin. 30 (“Turia”); CIL 6, 10230 lin. 28 (Murdia).

³⁷⁰⁰ Cic. S. Rosc. 27 (Caecilia Metella); Cic. fam. 14, 1, 1 (Terentia); CIL 6, 10230 lin. 28 (Murdia); CIL 6, 29758 (Iulia Irene Arista).

³⁷⁰¹ Cic. fam. 14, 1, 1 (Terentia); Ov. Pont. 3, 1, 94 (Ovid’s wife); CIL 6, 10230 lin. 28 (Murdia).

³⁷⁰² Sen. Ad. Helv. 11, 16, 5 (Helvia).

³⁷⁰³ CIL 6, 31711 (Fabia Fuscilla).

³⁷⁰⁴ Sen. Ad. Helv. 11, 16, 5 (Helvia); CIL 6, 31711 (Fabia Fuscilla).

³⁷⁰⁵ Plin. epist. 7, 19, 4 (Fannia).

³⁷⁰⁶ Plin. epist. 7, 19, 4 (Fannia).

³⁷⁰⁷ CIL 6, 41062 col. 1 lin. 31 (“Turia”); CIL 6, 10230 lin. 28 (Murdia).

³⁷⁰⁸ CIL 6, 41062 col. 1 lin. 31f. (“Turia”).

³⁷⁰⁹ Cic. fam. 14, 1, 1 (Terentia); Cic. fam. 14, 11 (Tullia).

³⁷¹⁰ CIL 6, 41062 col. 1 lin. 30 (“Turia”).

³⁷¹¹ CIL 6, 41062 col. 1 lin. 32 (“Turia”).

³⁷¹² Plin. epist. 8, 5, 1 (wife of Macrinus).

³⁷¹³ CIL 6, 10230 28 (Murdia).

³⁷¹⁴ Cic. S. Rosc. 27 (Caecilia Metella); CIL 6, 10230, 28 (Murdia).

³⁷¹⁵ CIL 6, 30105.

³⁷¹⁶ CIL 6, 41062 col. 1 lin. 30 (“Turia”); CIL 6, 10230 lin. 28 (Murdia).

³⁷¹⁷ CIL 6, 41062 col. 1 lin. 30 (“Turia”).

³⁷¹⁸ CIL 6, 30105.

³⁷¹⁹ Cic. fam. 14, 1, 1 (Terentia); Ovid, Pont. 3, 1, 94 (Ovid’s wife); CIL 6, 10230 lin. 28 (Murdia).

³⁷²⁰ A more detailed examination of the characterization of the individual women in these texts could lead to more insightful results, but this is beyond the scope of this analysis.

³⁷²¹ Hemelrijk 2004, 193-196.

³⁷²² CIL 6, 41062 col. 1 lin. 30-36; col. 2 lin. 39-41 (“Turia”); CIL 6, 10230 lin. 27-30 (Murdia); for discussion, Hemelrijk 2004, 193-196. Note, however, that the courage (*virtus*) of “Turia” is glossed by feminine qualities in an indirect manner: her domestic virtues (i.e. *domestica bona*) are listed before mentioning that she also exhibits her own virtues (i.e. *propria [bona]*), which women rarely exhibit because it is not common for them to have to perform such deeds and endure such sufferings, CIL 6, 41062, col. 1 lin. 30-36. This can only refer to her courage (*virtus*), which is described afterwards, CIL 6, 41062, col. 2 lin. 1-35. A similar contrast between her traditional feminine virtues and her other virtues (*virtutes*) - which refers to courage, but potentially other qualities as well - is established once again after that, CIL 6, 41062, col. 2 lin. 39-41.

did not find it proper to pass over the conventional praise for women, despite the fact that these women led unconventional lives; their transgression of the boundaries of their sex probably demanded such accolades all the more.³⁷²³ As such, it was seemingly important to strike a balance between the “manly” *virtus* and feminine qualities of contemporary women.³⁷²⁴ Overall, the women are treated as “honorary men”, but still as proper women - this allowed them to retain their roles of respectable daughters, wives and mothers, rather than appearing like raging viragos.³⁷²⁵

7.5.1.1.2.3 Summary

In summary, *virtus* (“manliness”) came to encompass a range of ideal corporeal and mental qualities by the late Republican Period, which allowed for its extension to the female sex. The evidence is, however, not particularly abundant. Women in the past are praised for their *virtus* for a variety of reasons, ranging from repelling enemies on the battlefield, to withstanding the blows of fortune in times of crisis. Men attributed *virtus* to their female contemporaries as well, and even encouraged them to look to women in the past as models. Unlike their predecessors, however, contemporary women are rarely praised for physical acts of courage, and certainly not in a military context. Instead, they are praised for mental acts of courage and enduring difficult circumstances, whether in the civic or domestic context. They are also praised for their “virtue” in general.

Furthermore, it is clear that *virtus* is only attributed to women in exceptional cases and in a highly qualified manner.³⁷²⁶ The women are typically treated as “honorary men”, who surpass the expectations of their own sex by transcending gender categories. Their *virtus* is directed towards the maintenance of the established social order, as well as balanced by feminine virtues. As such, the attribution of *virtus* to women need not call the traditional gender roles, relations and hierarchies into question.³⁷²⁷ It is with these trends in mind that the portraiture ought to be approached.

³⁷²³ Hemelrijk 2004, 193f. As E. Hemelrijk points out here, in both eulogies, the speakers excuse themselves for mentioning the traditional qualities of their female kin before fully enumerating them; as explicitly stated in the *Laudatio Murdiae*, it was necessary to include this standard praise because women typically did not live precarious lives (see CIL 6, 10230 lin. 20-26), but this does not apply to the women honoured here. The trials of “Turia” are described by her husband in considerable detail. The statement that Murdia surpassed her peers in confronting danger probably formed the culmination of her son’s speech; it is not certain how much information is missing here, but, like in the *Laudatio Turiae*, there was clearly emphasis placed on her exceptional deeds and sufferings, which most women did not face in their lifetimes (see CIL 6, 41062 col. 1 lin. 34-35), Lindsay 2004, 97.

³⁷²⁴ For discussion, Hemelrijk 2004, 193-196.

³⁷²⁵ For discussion, Hemelrijk 2004, 193-196.

³⁷²⁶ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.1.2.2.

³⁷²⁷ If women displayed *virtus* in a public setting to compensate for the failures of men, it was natural for their actions to be treated with a certain amount of unease (e.g. Tac. ann. 1, 69). In the private lives of men and women, however, there is little indication of this sort of wariness. When men talk about their wives showing strength and courage on their behalf, it is possible for them to openly adopt an emasculated voice (e.g. *Laudatio Turiae*; see Hemelrijk 2004, 189f.); moreover, women exhibit *virtus* in personal ways (e.g. enduring the absence or death or loved ones), as well as in spheres not applicable to men (e.g. following their male kin into exile, breastfeeding), which allows them to display their *virtus* in personal and complementary ways.

7.5.1.2 The Evocation of “Female” *Virtus* in the Portraiture

7.5.1.2.1 The Signifiers of *Virtus* - The Clothes Make the (Wo)man

In all of the portraits, the primary means of conferring *virtus* on the women is through their cross-gendered dress, with its connections to heroism, warfare or the hunt.³⁷²⁸ It is essential to recognize the signifying power of their dress in its own right, irrespective of their precise actions. It does not matter if the women are in a dynamic pose, embracing their husbands, or even dying - what matters is the “manly” identities produced by their dress, as well as all of its associated connotations.

This brings us back to the main research question: namely, how did portraits of women as goddesses and heroines in cross-gendered dress become a suitable form of commemoration? In everyday life, women in masculine dress are considered a threatening aberration,³⁷²⁹ but here it is presumably a source of honour. The most compelling explanation for this “paradox” is the overriding desire to confer *virtus* on these women, as the main common denominator for all of the portrait types under consideration. It seems that masculine dress is intimately linked to the evocation of *virtus* on commemorative monuments in general. This connection is self-evident for men: indeed, it would seem natural to honour men for their *virtus* in dress suited to their own sex (e.g. short tunics, short cloaks, arms, laurel wreaths). The significant point is that the same rule seem to apply to women. Just as the term *virtus* is etymologically connected to men, so too is the sartorial expression of this quality heavily inflected by the masculine principle, regardless of the sex of the honoured individual.

It is possible to catch glimpses of this mentality in the literary sources. The connection between masculine dress and *virtus* is frequently drawn by authors of the Roman Imperial Period, commenting on honours purportedly accorded to women for acts of strength and bravery in former times. The women of Argos were honoured for taking up arms and defending their city-state in a variety of ways.³⁷³⁰ The poetess Telesilla received a unique portrait on a stele: “Her books lie scattered at her feet, and she herself holds in her hand an helmet, which she is looking at and is about to place on her head.”³⁷³¹ The women who survived the battle were granted the privilege of setting up a statue of Ares “as a memorial of their surpassing valour”.³⁷³² It is even claimed that the Hybristika was established on the anniversary

³⁷²⁸ For discussion, see chaps. 4.2.3.2.3; 5.2.3.4; 5.3.3.2; 6.2.3.4; 6.3.3.2.3; 6.3.4.3. The women in the guise of Omphale imitate the dress behaviour of Hercules, which lends them an air of strength and capacity, OMP1. 6. If the club and lion skin are removed, then practically all that remains is a beautiful woman, OMP4; see also OMP5. The women as Penthesilea, Virtus, Diana, Atalante are likewise imbued with *virtus*, due to their preference for outfits closely patterned after warriors and hunters, PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9; VIR1. 2. 3. 4; DIA1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10. 11. 12. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18; ATA1. 2.

³⁷²⁹ For discussion, see chap. 2.1.2.2.

³⁷³⁰ Paus. 2, 20, 8-9; Plut. mor. 245C-F; Polyain. 8, 33. The historicity of the tale is doubtful, since it is not mentioned in Herodotus, Hdt. 6, 76-82. Moreover, the success of the women of Argos is viewed sceptically in Paus. 2, 20, 8-9: the Spartans retreated because they would gain no honour by winning the battle and it would be a shameful disaster to lose.

³⁷³¹ Paus. 2, 20, 8 (translation in Jones 1918, 353).

³⁷³² Plut. mor. 245F (translation in Babbitt 1931, 491).

of the defense of Argos,³⁷³³ to honour the efforts of the women in particular.³⁷³⁴ This festival involves cross-dressing rituals: the men wear women's robes (*peplos*) and veils (*kalyptra*), whereas the women wear men's tunics (*chiton*) and cloaks (*chlamys*).³⁷³⁵ Furthermore, after Cloelia fled across the Tiber, she was awarded an equestrian statue at the summit of the Via Sacra, to commemorate her *virtus*.³⁷³⁶ This sort of honorific statue was as a rule reserved for men and, in this case as well, was clearly perceived as a "manly" honour.³⁷³⁷ The rider is most often dressed in military attire, but alternate outfits are attested as well (e.g. agonal nudity, *toga*)³⁷³⁸ - one of these masculine outfits was surely envisioned for the heroine as well.³⁷³⁹ Similar cases are attested as well.³⁷⁴⁰

The fleeting textual references are highly revealing: the women or their "stand-ins" invariably assume the body styling, garments or accessories of men. As such, it seems to have been generally accepted that the *virtus* of women is properly honoured with the same sort of dress codes as men. It is plausible that several women actually dressed like men while performing their courageous deeds, but the cross-dressing cannot be entirely explained in this manner: some of these women surely retained their feminine outfits,³⁷⁴¹ which confirms that the exchange of gendered dress carried a symbolic value as well. The act of dressing up women like men on their memorials seemingly had the effect of treating them like "honorary men", which ultimately reaffirmed the gender hierarchy.

³⁷³³ Plut. mor. 245F.

³⁷³⁴ Polyain. 8, 33. For discussion on the women in Polyainos' *Strategemata* in general, Harder 2007. It seems far more likely that the legend of the women of Argos was invented to explain the transvestitism at the festival, than the ritual being instituted in their honour, Ament 1993, 15f.

³⁷³⁵ Plut. mor. 245F; Polyain. 8, 33.

³⁷³⁶ For ancient literary sources about the statue, Dion. Hal. ant. 5, 35, 2; Liv. 2, 13, 6-11; Plin. nat. 34, 28-29; Plut. mor. 250E-F; Plut. Poplicola 19; Sen. Ad. Marc. 16, 2; Serv. Aen. 8, 646. It seems that the equestrian statue did in fact exist at some point (even if the historicity of the events surrounding the monument are doubtful). In most cases, the ancient authors claim that the statue commemorated her courage (i.e. *virtus*, *audacia*), Liv. 2, 13, 11; Sen. Ad. Marc. 16, 2; Serv. Aen. 8, 646; alternatively, it is proposed that it was selected because she crossed the river on horseback, Plut. mor. 250E-F. For discussion on the monument, Caldwell 2015, 38-43; Galinier 2012, 207; Richardson 1992, 369-370; Roller 2004, 44-50.

³⁷³⁷ For equestrian statues in general, Bergemann 1990. As M.B. Roller argues, the ancient texts usually insist that her equestrian statue is a "manly" honour, which reflects her "manly" *virtus* (e.g. crossing the river, leading the girls); on the other hand, the existence of an alternate version of events, according to which Cloelia receives this honour due to crossing the river on horseback, renders the selection of this usually "manly" honour fortuitous and therefore neutralizes her status as a gender deviant, Roller 2004, 44-50.

³⁷³⁸ For the dress of equestrian statues, Bergemann 1990, 4-6.

³⁷³⁹ The exact dress is not specified here. Plin. nat. 34, 28 mentions that "... this distinction was actually extended to women with the equestrian statue of Cloelia, as if it were not enough for her to be clad in a *toga*..." (translation in Rackham 1961, 149). This does not necessarily mean that Cloelia wears a *toga* here; rather, he seems to suggest that an equestrian statue was selected for Cloelia because a portrait of her wearing a *toga* (which is itself a great honour, as a sign of *romanitas* and *virilitas*, see Goette 2013b; Davies 2005) was deemed insufficient here.

³⁷⁴⁰ Rhodungyne was in the middle of arranging her hair when news of an uprising reached her. She left the task unfinished until suppressing the revolt - in other words, she abstained from typically feminine grooming habits. She was thereafter portrayed on the seals of the kings of Persia with disheveled hair, Polyain. 8, 27. Moreover, a golden statue of her was dedicated with half of her strands braided but the other half left loose, Tractatus de mulieribus 8 (for the text, Gera 1997, 8). Moreover, Xerxes awarded Artemisia with a suit of Greek armour after her participation in the Battle of Salamis, which is described as a monument of valour and a token of bravery, Polyain. 8, 53, 2; Tractatus de Mulieribus 13 (for the text, Gera 1997, 10).

³⁷⁴¹ There would have been no reason for Cloelia to dress like a man. Moreover, there is no reason to imagine that the women of Argos completely abandoned their normal attire while taking up arms against the Spartans.

An imaginary trial from the *Declamationes minores* confirms that feminine dress is generally incompatible with the commemoration of *virtus*.³⁷⁴² A tyrant ordered a girl to be carried to the citadel. Her brother decided to go in her stead, disguised in women's clothes, in order to slay the tyrant. Afterwards, the magistrate set up an honorific statue of him in the same clothing. He reacted by accusing the magistrate of *iniuria* (i.e. injury, insult, affront). On the one hand, the tyrannicide was actually cross-dressed while saving his family and community; on the other hand, he felt wronged when his "manly" deeds were honoured with the same feminine dress.³⁷⁴³ This demonstrates that the actual circumstances of performing acts of *virtus* are irrelevant: what matters is the need to find suitable forms of commemoration. Dressing up men as women on their memorials not only jeopardizes their masculinity,³⁷⁴⁴ but is also simply ill-fitting to their *virtus*.

In summary, masculine dress is intimately linked to the evocation of *virtus* on commemorative monuments in general. With the extension of this virtue to women, the same rules are more or less adhered to.³⁷⁴⁵ As such, it seems that cross-gendered dress for women only found acceptance in their portraiture - if not in real life - due to the readiness to confer *virtus* on them.

There is, however, some room for doubt here. The clearest way of signifying *virtus* in visual culture is through heroic, military and hunting themes - these agonal activities are intrinsically connected to men and their performance of masculinity, including their proper attitude, actions and dress codes, and ultimately symbolize their willingness to face hardship and even death. It is worthwhile asking though: is it possible that a system of visual codes for "womanly" *virtus* developed in its own right, quite independently of standard codes derived from the world of men? In other words, are there portraits of women celebrated for their *virtus*, without needing to dress or act like men in particular?

A few categories of mythological portraiture come to mind. C. Iunius Euhodus and Metilia Acte are shown as Admetus and Alcestis: the woman has decided to sacrifice herself for her husband (pl. 249b).³⁷⁴⁶ Another woman takes on the role of Ceres pursuing Hades, in an attempt to prevent her

³⁷⁴² Quint. decl. 282. For a brief introduction to the *Declamationes minores* (and the genre of declamation in general), Shackleton Bailey 2006, 1-4.

³⁷⁴³ In the following declamation, the magistrate seeks to justify his controversial decision in any way possible: by arguing that peoples have different customs anyway, that tricks are permissible in times of necessity, and that this unique monument actually makes him stand out from the rest. It is generally agreed that declamation is "a socio-cultural institution whose main function is the (re-)production of and contribution to the normative values of the Roman male elite," Stoffel 2017, 153 (but, as argued by this author, the genre is also potentially subversive and taboo-breaking). In this case, the accusation of the tyrannicide fits well into these normative values, whereas the declamation by the magistrate belongs to "the transgressive subjects of declamation... [that] reinforce basic morality and social attitudes about status and gender," Pagán 2007-2008, 165 (the quote comments on declamation in general, not this particular passage). In this manner, the imaginary trial offers valuable insight into the generally accepted practices for commemorating the *virtus* of an individual.

³⁷⁴⁴ For discussion, see chaps. 2.1.2.1; 7.3; app. C.

³⁷⁴⁵ Note the continued need to maintain sexual distinction through dress here, see chap. 7.5.1.3.1.

³⁷⁴⁶ For the sarcophagus, Grassinger 1999b, 227f. cat. 76. Note also that Ovid attributes *virtus* to Alcestis, at least in an indirect manner, as a model for his own wife, Ov. Pont. 3, 1, 93-94. 105-106. Quite similarly, R. Bielfeldt argues that a Roman sarcophagus with a portrait of a married couple as Protesilaus and Laodamia (see Robert 1919, 498-500 cat. 423) was commissioned by the husband and wife before their death and shows them standing in front

daughter Proserpina from being taken to the underworld.³⁷⁴⁷ The mythological paradigms primarily offer an expression of love and loss, whether by a husband for his wife, or a mother for her daughter. Moreover, the women are celebrated for their virtues. C. Iunius Euhodus refers to his wife Metilia Acte as pious (*sanctissima*) – this is perfectly embodied by her mythical role model Alcestis, who proves her loyalty and dutifulness towards Admetus by taking his place in the underworld. Was she merely a model for wifely piety,³⁷⁴⁸ or is it possible that the viewer also recognized her courage, in choosing to face death for a noble cause and with such resolve? And if so, was this understood as *virtus* in particular, or as related qualities (e.g. *fortitudo*, *constantia*)? The portrait of a woman trying to save her daughter from being abducted raises the same questions. The expression of the *virtus* of women in Roman portraiture (or visual culture as a whole) demands more research in this sense.³⁷⁴⁹

It is clear that *virtus* is conferred on men and women alike, in an unequivocal and instantly recognizable way, by dressing them up as heroes, warriors and hunters. The benefit of this visual code is its capacity to signify this quality, irrespective of their precise actions. Whether additional codes for “womanly” *virtus* exist as well – based on certain actions – is another question.

7.5.1.2.2 The Significance of *Virtus* - “Honorary Men”

7.5.1.2.2.1 Children as “Little Adults”?

Children of both sexes are frequently commemorated with imagery related to *virtus* on their funerary monuments.³⁷⁵⁰ A few notable cases have been addressed here as well. Girls are honoured for their *virtus* in an indirect manner, with both male and female role models (e.g. Ascanius hunting a deer, a

of their shared tomb. She claims that their mutual *virtus* – understood here as their freedom from fear at the prospect of death – is expressed by the image of them standing calmly in front of their burial place. Moreover, she notes that the individual feelings and virtues of the woman (including love and grief, as well as piety and courage) are alluded to by the ideal image of Laodamia committing suicide to follow her husband in death, Bielfeldt 2019, 79-86. 90f. The courage of Laodamia is, however, not as straightforward as that of Alcestis: Alcestis willingly sacrifices herself for her husband due to her piety, whereas the suicide of Laodamia is primarily borne out of grief and an unwillingness to be separated from her husband.

³⁷⁴⁷ For the portrait, Wrede 1981, 219 cat. 77.

³⁷⁴⁸ Grassinger 1994, 101-104.

³⁷⁴⁹ It is necessary to conduct a more comprehensive study on how the *virtus* of women is expressed in Roman visual culture, in order to explore these hypotheses in greater detail. For instance, R. Bielfeldt proposes that the portraits of men and women anticipating death in a stoic fashion (e.g. Admetus, Protesilaus, Laodamia) are likewise celebrated for their *virtus*, Bielfeldt 2019. This is beyond the scope of the current analysis, but will be considered in more detail by the author elsewhere.

³⁷⁵⁰ For discussion on children commemorated for *virtus* on their funerary monuments (as well as for adult qualities in general), Backe-Dahmen 2006, 116-118; Birk 2013, 157-180; Dimas 1998, 118-162; Huskinson 1996, 92-94. 102. 105. 108; Mander 2013, 55-62; Simon 1970, 215-220. It is nevertheless notable that children are more often honoured for their *virtus* on sarcophagi by associating them with generic themes related to *virtus* (e.g. hunting, *palaestra*, chariot racing) than by directly identifying them with protagonists exhibiting strength, courage, etc.; as such, the virtue is most often conferred on the children indirectly, Birk 2013, 162.

female athlete celebrating her victory).³⁷⁵¹ It is also possible to directly identify them with female paragons of strength and courage, namely, Omphale, Diana and “Atalante”.³⁷⁵²

The popularity of this theme for children has been explained in a variety of ways elsewhere. It has been argued that *virtus* is not exclusive to adult men, but is achieved by their younger counterparts as well, by performing concrete acts of physical prowess and bravery as part of their education (e.g. athletics, riding, hunting).³⁷⁵³ The opposite has been proposed as well, especially for younger children: that the main interest in children is not their qualities as children, due to their relatively “unformed” lives and lack of notable achievements,³⁷⁵⁴ but rather their potential qualities as adults.³⁷⁵⁵ In other words, children are not seen to possess qualities worthy of social recognition, and are therefore endowed with *virtus* to cast them as “little adults”.³⁷⁵⁶ The association of children with adult virtues is fitting for their premature deaths: it not only puts the lost potential of the child on display in a proleptic manner, but also serves to console grieving parents and give expression to their shattered hopes.³⁷⁵⁷

This hypothesis certainly has its merits, but also its shortcomings. It is therefore worth nuancing the argument. First of all, childhood was recognized as a period of life with its own set of preoccupations, such as playing and learning, which is reflected in the generic imagery on funerary monuments as well.³⁷⁵⁸ It is therefore evident that the lives of children were valued on their own terms, even if these activities were frequently understood as preparation for adulthood.³⁷⁵⁹ Secondly, it is true that *virtus* is primarily ascribed to adult men and that the iconography selected to confer *virtus* on children tends to follow the same models.³⁷⁶⁰ At the same time, there is no need to label it as an “adult virtue” in particular. Children of both sexes are praised for their *virtus* by their contemporaries.³⁷⁶¹ Whether or not these accounts offers an accurate version of events, or likewise a construction of virtue, is irrelevant - the point is that these texts were produced for an audience that must have found it

³⁷⁵¹ For discussion, see chap. 6.1.2; app. C.

³⁷⁵² OMP6; DIA1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7; ATA2. “Atalante” is in quotation marks here and elsewhere because this refers to the demythologized version thereof.

³⁷⁵³ Simon 1970, 216-219; Huskinson 1996, 92f.

³⁷⁵⁴ H. Wrede argues that the child’s unformed life made him or her suitable for mythological portraiture in particular, due to their lack of own achievements, Wrede 1981, 108f.

³⁷⁵⁵ Dimas 1998, 241. As she continues, it is therefore hardly surprising that children’s sarcophagi feature images of children not only getting their education, but also as a “little adults” with all of their qualities (orator, philosopher, etc.). Quite similarly, A. Backe-Dahmen argues that *virtus* is conferred on children of both sexes, even though their short lives precluded them from performing notable acts of strength and courage; it is therefore a matter of parents propagating certain ideals and guiding principles, by projecting on their children virtues that would have ideally manifested in the future, Backe-Dahmen 2006, 116.

³⁷⁵⁶ Birk 2013, 167.

³⁷⁵⁷ Birk 2013, 180; Huskinson 1996, 93f.; Mander 2013, 62.

³⁷⁵⁸ For discussion on the images of children in the pre-adult world, Huskinson 2016, 87-89.

³⁷⁵⁹ It is clear that the so-called “biographical sarcophagi” for children (i.e. first bath, lessons, *conclamatio*) reflects their acquisition of social virtues, Huskinson 1996, 90f. Moreover, “scenes of children at play show them as yet to acquire the qualities of adult society: they are naturally deficient in its skills and morality but are able to learn through play,” Huskinson 1996, 89.

³⁷⁶⁰ For discussion, Dimas 1998, 118-165.

³⁷⁶¹ For discussion on the attribution of *virtus* to boys, Simon 1970, 216-219. For discussion on the attribution of *virtus* (or related qualities) to girls, see chap. 7.5.1.3.2.1.

perfectly reasonable for children to show signs of strength, courage or “virtue”, at least in a manner suited to their stage of life and experience. As such, there is no reason to assume that children praised for *virtus* on funerary monuments are “elevated” completely out of relation to reality, that is, by attributing qualities to them that were still outside the reach of children in general.³⁷⁶² Rather, their purpose was to mourn the fact that these children had - allegedly at least - already begun to exhibit signs of *virtus*, but would never have the opportunity to develop this quality any further.³⁷⁶³

The interest in children engaging in adult forms of *virtus* (e.g. athletics, hunting, warfare) is striking, but there is a logical explanation for this: these were standard visual codes for *virtus*, allowing for its instant recognizability, which also permitted a symbolic viewing.³⁷⁶⁴ It is nevertheless clear that parents were not always satisfied with these purely adult forms of *virtus*, due to the tendency to modify existing models or even to invent new ones, to suit the tender age of the child.³⁷⁶⁵ The portrait of a girl as “Atalante” is a prime example of this: she is engaged in the boar hunt like a little adult, but has been transformed into an eternal child.³⁷⁶⁶ Moreover, the maidens in the guise of Omphale and Diana take on childlike qualities, combining signs of strength with playfulness.³⁷⁶⁷ Since the potential for these girls to develop their *virtus* would have extended into adulthood, the contrast between their childlike state and mature actions surely produced a bittersweet effect for the viewers.³⁷⁶⁸

In summary, imagery related to *virtus* is common on funerary monuments for children not because it reflects physical training for youths, or even casts them as “little adults”, but because qualities like strength and courage - or even “virtue” in general - are relevant to children of both sexes. The emergence of a market for monuments with child-specific iconography for *virtus* indicates that this quality is particularly relevant to boys and girls, precisely because it is a “timeless” quality - it is not limited to certain periods of life, characterized by particular social roles and relationships.³⁷⁶⁹ In contrast, themes related to married life, such as *concordia* or mutual *pietas*, are virtually absent on

³⁷⁶² Children are “elevated” in a variety of ways on their monuments, e.g. mythological identifications, portraying them as older than their years (e.g. physically more developed, in adult roles) or by showing their portrait on the same level as adults, Mander 2013, 55-64.

³⁷⁶³ A. Backe-Dahmen offers a slightly different interpretation of the monuments: the parents recognized the roots of virtue in their children in general, which would have allowed them to exhibit qualities like *virtus* and *pietas* later in life, Backe-Dahmen 2006, 116. Others have noted that children can already be seen to possess the virtues evoked on their monuments, even in a precocious way (e.g. learning for boys, beauty for girls), but without extending this possibility to *virtus* for children of both sexes, Huskinson 1996, 93f.; Mander 2013, 59.

³⁷⁶⁴ In other words, the imagery was convenient because the message was instantly recognizable. Moreover, the imagery related to *virtus* need not be viewed in a literal manner. For instance, there is no reason to assume that those buried in Roman Hunt Sarcophagi actually hunted during their lifetimes; for both children and adults, or males and females, it is primarily an allegory for their *virtus*, Backe-Dahmen 2006, 115. 117.

³⁷⁶⁵ For discussion, Dimas 1998, 118-165.

³⁷⁶⁶ ATA2; for discussion on the mixture of adult and child features, Dimas 1998, 122-128; Birk 2013, 166f. 179.

³⁷⁶⁷ OMP6; DIA1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7. The girls as Omphale and Diana are often shown in a reduced format.

³⁷⁶⁸ For discussion on the impact of substituting images of adults with children/cupids on children’s sarcophagi, see Huskinson 1996, 108f.

³⁷⁶⁹ S. Dimas notes that tendency for “general values” (e.g. *virtus*, *eruditio*) to appear on children’s sarcophagi, Dimas 1998, 206. See also Backe-Dahmen 2006, 115-118; Birk 2013, 162.

children's funerary monuments.³⁷⁷⁰ If the goal had been to cast girls as "little women", then the absence of this defining social relationship on their monuments would seem surprising. As such, the portraits of girls in cross-gendered dress honours their outstanding - but not necessarily precocious - *virtus*, thwarted by their untimely death. These monuments should be viewed both retroactively, in terms of their short lives, as well as proleptically, in terms of their unfulfilled future.

7.5.1.2.2.2 Girls and Gender Ambivalence?

It has been argued elsewhere that for girls in particular, the arrogation of "heroic" identities in their portraiture, as well as the evocation of *virtus*, is permissible due to their resistance to categories of mature sexuality and of gender.³⁷⁷¹ For instance, preadolescent girls appear in the guise of Diana not merely to reflect their virginal state, but also to confer "manly" qualities on them in compensation for their premature deaths: "Dying young, these girls lacked the traditional repertoire of feminine accomplishments (fidelity to a husband and tireless devotion to domestic tasks) that served to praise women in epitaphs; more importantly, the maidens lacked the defining characteristics of the female, that is, the sexual development that begins with marriage and culminates in motherhood. Precisely because they are without this experience, they can be seen as being more like the male..."³⁷⁷²

The main issue with this hypothesis is that women of all ages were honoured for *virtus* in their portraits, with no notable differences in dress or action.³⁷⁷³ Preadolescent girls and married women are portrayed in the same types of masculinizing outfits. There is potential for both age categories to imitate the dress behaviour of Hercules (i.e. Omphale),³⁷⁷⁴ as well as to wear the standard huntress or warriorress costume (i.e. Penthesilea, Virtus, Diana, Atalante).³⁷⁷⁵ Moreover, the differences in their behaviour are minor.³⁷⁷⁶ Girls are invested with considerable freedom to "act like they dress",³⁷⁷⁷

³⁷⁷⁰ Dimas 1998, 206f.; see also Backe-Dahmen 2006, 112.

³⁷⁷¹ E. D'Ambra proposes this for the portraits of girls as Diana, D'Ambra 2008, 181. Likewise, K. Schade argues that Paulina Octavia is represented in masculine terms due to still being a child, and hence to some degree viewed as "asexual" and "ungendered", Schade 2014, 342f.

³⁷⁷² D'Ambra 2008, 181; see also Mander 2013, 58.

³⁷⁷³ E. D'Ambra's examination is selective, but she identifies the portraits of females in the guise of Diana on altars and freestanding statuary as girls and young women (i.e. on the cusp of maturity), D'Ambra 2008, 172-179. However, several cases feature women as Diana, DIA8. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. She also excludes the Roman sarcophagi with portraits of women as Diana (or demythologized versions thereof) (DIA15. 16. 17. 18), arguing that these demand separate consideration, D'Ambra 2008, 171, footnote 1. The phenomenon of commemorating the female deceased as Diana is therefore not limited to maidens, but even extended to married women. As such, even within this single category of mythological portraiture, there is no compelling reason to hinge the significance of *virtus* on the life stage of the female deceased.

³⁷⁷⁴ OMP1. 6. Note, however, that women are nude, in order to show off their sensual bodies, whereas the girl is clothed to eliminate these erotic connotations.

³⁷⁷⁵ PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9; VIR1. 2. 3. 4; DIA1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10. 11. 12. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18; ATA1-2. Note, however, that there is no evidence for the production of private portraiture of girls as goddesses or heroines with the warriorress costume (for a possible example, see Wrede 1981, 304f. cat. 290); this is only securely attested for women. As such, girls are excluded from a few items of dress, such as the *chlamys* and military arms (e.g. helmet, swords/axes, shields). The difference is, however, probably trivial: the commonalities between the warriorress and huntress costumes, both consisting of short tunics and various arms, are far more notable here.

³⁷⁷⁶ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.3.2.

whereas women are a bit more restrained in their actions.³⁷⁷⁸ It is nevertheless possible for women to take on extremely active roles as well.³⁷⁷⁹ As such, it is clear that active roles are generally preferred for girls, but still available to women in a number of cases.

In summary, the precise stage in a female's life course played no substantial role in the suitability of these gender-bending role models. The takeover of masculine dress and roles is not connected to girls in particular, by virtue of their sexual immaturity and resistance to gender categories. Indeed, the mythological portraits reveal a significantly greater degree of flexibility.

7.5.1.2.2.3 Fighting Women?

It has been suggested elsewhere that the portraits of women as mythical warrioresses and huntresses can be viewed in an iconic manner. In other words, the signs find a referent in the real world: women who actually fight and hunt, whether on a regular basis or in exceptional cases. For instance, the portraits of women as Penthesilea were produced for a society in which fighting women were propagated in limited ways (e.g. in defense of their families or households), or at least tolerated in certain contexts (e.g. elite women in military costume, female gladiators).³⁷⁸⁰ These monuments emerged precisely around the time that Septimius Severus banned the appearance of female gladiators in the arena: "due to the prohibition of such a 'real' identification, perhaps new possibilities to live out these wishes in the world of fantasy were sought out with the help of the sarcophagus imagery."³⁷⁸¹ Moreover, the portraits of women as Diana are seen to refer to their passion for hunting.³⁷⁸²

The main issue with this hypothesis is that the evidence for the endorsement of fighting and hunting among contemporary women is rather limited. It is true that women are praised for their capacity to fight, especially in defense of their families and household; nevertheless, the search for these combative women tends to land on legendary cases, confined to the distant past.³⁷⁸³ There is, however,

³⁷⁷⁷ The girl as Omphale assumes a firm and confident pose, closely resembling that of Hercules himself, OMP6. The maidens as huntresses (i.e. Diana, Atalante) are typically in active pursuit of their prey, DIA1. 2. 5. 6; ATA2. It is, however, possible for them to stand and reach for the quiver on their shoulder, DIA4.

³⁷⁷⁸ The woman as Omphale sends mixed signals: she is surprisingly self-assured and upright, but modestly shields herself with the lion skin, which bears no resemblance to Hercules, OMP1. Women are often in the midst of the hunt or battle, but currently "inactive". The women as Diana are typically standing and reaching for their quivers, DIA8. 9. 10. 11. It is possible for women as Virtus to merely stand and observe the lion hunt, VIR1. Women as Penthesilea even assume a passive pose, due to dying in the arms of Achilles, PEN1-9. In some cases, women are entirely removed from the contexts of heroism, war and the hunt (e.g. farewell scenes, sacrifice scenes or undefined contexts), OMP1; DIA15. 16. 17; ATA1.

³⁷⁷⁹ Indeed, the majority of women as Virtus are portrayed with extremely dynamic poses in the lion hunt, VIR2-4; for an exception, VIR1. Other notable cases include women as Diana striding powerfully forward in the hunt, DIA13; subduing a deer with brute force, DIA18; as well as sweeping in to rescue Iphigenia, DIA14.

³⁷⁸⁰ Fendt 2005, 91f. 93.

³⁷⁸¹ Fendt 2005, 92 (translation by the author).

³⁷⁸² Wrede 1981, 137.

³⁷⁸³ Plutarch presents a series of brave women: a few of them kill their enemies (i.e. the women of Argos, of Salmantica and perhaps of Chios), Plut. mor. 245B-C; 3, 245C-F; 3, 248E-249B. However, most of the women merely encourage their menfolk to take action on their behalf; for discussion see McInerney 2003, 337. Pausanias offers another exception to the norm: the Aitolian women gallantly defend their homeland of Kallion, being even more enraged by the Gauls than their menfolk, Paus. 10, 22, 5-6; Fendt 2005, 91 (she suggests that a statue of a

no solid evidence that women were praised by their male contemporaries in the same terms. “Turia” initially seems to fit these criteria, since she defends her home from a band of looters,³⁷⁸⁴ yet the nature of her actions is not elucidated.³⁷⁸⁵ Ovid’s wife is praised for repelling brigands from her household as well, but by beseeching the help of their powerful friends - there is no indication that she assisted in the confrontation.³⁷⁸⁶ Elite women dressing up in military costume are typically treated as monstrous aberrations and sexual deviants in our sources.³⁷⁸⁷ Moreover, female *gladiatores* and *venatores* were awe-inspiring at best - hence their appeal as a spectacle - but a threat to the system of gender roles at worst, which ultimately resulted in their ban from the arena.³⁷⁸⁸ There is also no solid evidence that women were encouraged to hunt, even as an elite pastime.³⁷⁸⁹

Musonius Rufus is seemingly unique in suggesting that contemporary women require courage to fight, at least defensively.³⁷⁹⁰ His proposition is certainly radical, but not facilitated by concrete reforms to the upbringing and training of women.³⁷⁹¹ Plato had recommended physical exercise for women in order to test their abilities, as well as to defend their cities in times of crisis.³⁷⁹² In contrast, Musonius Rufus prefers to respect the traditional division of roles between the sexes at Rome: “‘Come now,’ I suppose someone will say, ‘do you expect that men should learn spinning the same as women, and that women should take part in gymnastic exercises the same as men?’ No, that I should not demand.”³⁷⁹³ The traditional institutions are generally valid, even if there are outliers to the rule (i.e. weaker men, stronger women).³⁷⁹⁴ Moreover, he reverts to a passive meaning of courage once his proposals to reform education come into focus: “And most of all the child who is trained properly, whether boy or girl, must

women dressed like an Amazon was set-up to commemorate their bravery, but the numismatic evidence offered for this is limited). It seems that combative women in the legendary past are held up as role models (i.e. illustrating the innate capacities of women), but that contemporary women are not encouraged to directly imitate them.

³⁷⁸⁴ CIL 6, 41062 col. 2 lin. 8-10. For the suggestion that “Turia” is a fighting woman, Fendt 2005, 91 footnote 82.

³⁷⁸⁵ She repels (*reicere*) the men from her home (CIL 6, 41062 col. 2 lin. 11), which is seemingly employed as a military metaphor here; for discussion the use of military metaphors for women with *virtus*, see chap. 7.5.1.2.2.4. She also defends (*defendere*) her home (CIL 6, 41062 col. 2 lin. 11), which need not involve physical force; for instance, “Turia” also defends (*defendere*) the wishes of her father, by ensuring that the terms of his last will were honoured (CIL 6, 41062 col. 1 lin. 20).

³⁷⁸⁶ Ov. trist. 1, 6, 15.

³⁷⁸⁷ For discussion, see chap. 2.1.2.2.1. The presence of Agrippina Maior in the military camp of her husband Germanicus was nevertheless approved, Tac. ann. 1, 40-44; Fendt 2005, 92 footnote 85. Public officials and military officers were also permitted to bring their wives to their military camps (which was met with mixed reactions, depending on their behaviour); common soldiers, on the other hand, were not permitted to marry (until the reign of Septimius Severus), but could maintain similar relationships with women living just outside the camps, Debrunner-Hall 1996, 213-228.

³⁷⁸⁸ For discussion, see chap. 2.1.2.2.3.

³⁷⁸⁹ See Anderson 1985.

³⁷⁹⁰ Stob. 2, 31, 123 = Musonius Rufus lecture 4 (Lutz 1947).

³⁷⁹¹ Nussbaum 2002, 288-293.

³⁷⁹² Plato, Laws 806A-806C; Nussbaum 2002, 288-293.

³⁷⁹³ Stob. 2, 31, 123 = Musonius Rufus lecture 4 (Lutz 1947) (translation in Lutz 1947, 47). These massive concessions to patriarchal ideals were probably motivated by Musonius Rufus’ need to persuade men of female education, since unlike the Greek Platonists and Stoics before him, he was interested in practical social change rather than ideal political theory, Nussbaum 2002, 288-293. 300-303. Nevertheless, these tactics make it all the more evident that women performing outside of their traditional female roles was not something to which the elite male readership would have been sympathetic.

³⁷⁹⁴ Stob. 2, 31, 123 = Musonius Rufus lecture 4 (Lutz 1947); Nussbaum 2002, 288-293.

be accustomed to endure hardship, not to fear death, not to be disheartened in the face of any misfortune; he must in short be accustomed to every situation which calls for courage [*andreia*].”³⁷⁹⁵ It is therefore perfectly sufficient to nourish this virtue through philosophical training.³⁷⁹⁶

In summary, there is no compelling testimony that the women were openly encouraged to fight or hunt in Roman society, even in limited ways. As such, the portraiture of women under consideration, as a celebration of “female” *virtus*, was probably viewed in a different way.

7.5.1.2.2.4 Virtuous Women

It is a basic semiotic principle that the relationship between the “signifier” and the “signified” is arbitrary.³⁷⁹⁷ The *virtus* of men is evoked in Roman portraiture with military iconography by the Republican Period, and then with hunting iconography by the reign of Domitian,³⁷⁹⁸ which at least has an indexical relationship to the original concept of *virtus*: indeed, men could exhibit their courage by performing physical feats, including subduing enemies and beasts. It is nevertheless essential to recognize that *virtus* was resemanticized, to include an array of corporeal and mental qualities.

Where does this leave Omphale, Penthesilea, Virtus, Diana and Atalante as models for “female” *virtus*? It is probable that the exclusion of contemporary women from the battlefield and the hunt establishes them as purely symbolic mythical models, potentially evoking a variety of qualities. The intention is surely to honour their courage especially,³⁷⁹⁹ but it is necessary to set this quality against its proper social background. Contemporary women are rarely praised for performing physical acts of courage and definitely not in a martial setting; instead, their fortitude is understood in terms of mastering their fears and stoically enduring every blow of fate, in the civic or domestic context. At the same time, it is conceivable that the intention was to honour their “virtue” in general.³⁸⁰⁰

Illustrative Example - The Comparison of Women to Amazons

It is possible to illustrate this point by situating the portraits of women as Penthesilea in their proper social context. It is clear from the literary sources that the Amazons offer a female model for *virtus*, especially due to their strength and courage, but their status as role models for women is extremely ambiguous and requires another look.³⁸⁰¹ It would initially seem impossible to bridge the gap between

³⁷⁹⁵ Stob. 2, 31, 123 = Musonius Rufus lecture 4 (Lutz 1947) (translation in Lutz 1947, 49).

³⁷⁹⁶ Stob. 2, 31, 123 = Musonius Rufus lecture 4 (Lutz 1947); Nussbaum, 2002, 288-293.

³⁷⁹⁷ For discussion on the relationship between the “signifier” and the “signified” in Roman art (e.g. iconic, indexical, symbolic), which is essentially arbitrary, see Hijmans 2009, 52-56.

³⁷⁹⁸ For discussion, see chaps. 5.2.3.4; 6.2.3.4.

³⁷⁹⁹ Birk 2013, 137; Fendt 2005, 89; D’Ambra 2008, 181; Hansen 2007, 107f.

³⁸⁰⁰ B. Borg understands the *virtus* of women as “virtue” (which can also include courage), Borg 2013, 181.

³⁸⁰¹ It is abundantly clear that the Amazons are praised for their physical prowess and courage especially in the literary sources. A few examples will be noted here. Ovid attributes *virtus* to the Amazonian Queen Hippolyta, Ov. epist. 4, 117. Her sister Penthesilea is described in similar terms as well. In Vergil’s *Aeneid*, she is referred to as a *bellatrix* - or female warrior - who dares to battle with men, Verg. Aen. 1, 490-493. In Quintus Smyrnaeus’ *Posthomerica*, she is described as warrior-souled, and is likened to a number of “manly” goddesses: Athena, the goddess of warfare, Enyo, the goddess of battle and destruction, and even Artemis, the mistress of the hunt, Q.

the image of a fierce Amazon and a virtuous Roman matron, but the interplay between these semiotic codes and their social background nevertheless allows for such connections.³⁸⁰²

Fabled or fictional women are compared to Amazons to highlight their strength and courage in particular. Bands of armed women are equated with these legendary warrioresses by default.³⁸⁰³ Women who break out of their traditional roles to defend themselves, their loved ones and their homes are likewise characterized as Amazons.³⁸⁰⁴ In Seneca the Younger's *Trojan Women*, Andromache vows to prevent the Greeks from violating their tombs: "I shall fight back, pit unarmed hands against armed might; anger will give me strength. As the fierce Amazon felled Argive troops... so I shall rush into the midst and die defending the tomb, fighting for its ashes."³⁸⁰⁵ In Nonnos' *Dionysiaca*, the Indians try to breach the city walls of the Bacchantes, who are likened to a series of fierce women (i.e. Atalante, Gorge, Deianeira).³⁸⁰⁶ Orsiboe enters the battle with her husband, as "a woman turned Amazon."³⁸⁰⁷

It is, however, possible to use the same fictional narratives to deter women from behaving like Amazons.³⁸⁰⁸ In the letter from Arethusa to her husband Lycotas - written by Propertius - she wishes to follow the model of Hippolyta as a loving, loyal wife, by dressing up like an Amazon and joining him on the battlefield.³⁸⁰⁹ It is stressed, however, that women are not permitted to serve in the Roman military.³⁸¹⁰ The Amazon "represents everything a Roman *matrona* should not be, forsaking the role of wife and mother, while usurping instead that of a warrior."³⁸¹¹ She therefore exhibits her wifely virtue in a more conventional manner, by sitting at home and spinning for her husband, which is nevertheless

Smyrn. 1, 47; Q. Smyrn. 1, 365-366. She calls on her fellow Amazons to summon up their strength and courage, Q. Smyrn. 1, 217-218. Even in death, she is not only beautiful, but also strong, Q. Smyrn. 1, 718-719. She is compared once again to Artemis after her tragic death, but as a sleeping huntress, exhausted from chasing the lions over the hills, Q. Smyrn. 1, 663-665. A. Fendt discusses the potential for women to be compared to Amazons in the literary sources, to support her argument that the portraits of women as Penthesilea and her fellow warrioresses were produced for a society in which fighting women were propagated in limited ways, or at least tolerated in certain contexts, Fendt 2005, 89-94; the following discussion builds on these observations but takes a different view.

³⁸⁰² Quite similarly, it has been recognized that the goddess Virtus does not only represent *virtus* as a military quality, but also as an ethical quality (in the sense of "manly" perfection, i.e. mastering one's life with combative energy, bravely facing every blow of fate, etc.), Bol 1998, 149-157; Eisenhut 1974, 900.

³⁸⁰³ e.g. Arr. an. 5, 13, 2-6; Demetr. eloc. 213; Philostr. her. 26-27; Curt. 6, 5, 25-32; Verg. Aen. 11, 648.

³⁸⁰⁴ Fendt 2005, 91.

³⁸⁰⁵ Sen. Tro. 671-677 (translation in Fitch 2018, 201).

³⁸⁰⁶ Nonn. Dion. 35, 79-97.

³⁸⁰⁷ Nonn. Dion. 35, 88-91; Fendt 2005, 91.

³⁸⁰⁸ Women behaving like Amazons are already perceived as a threat to the natural order in Classical Athens, Aristoph. Lys. 671-679.

³⁸⁰⁹ Prop. 4, 3; for discussion on Lycotas and Arethusa as a *miles amoris* and Amazon respectively (especially in terms of cross-dressing), DeBrohun 2003, 186-192. In Arethusa's letter, she exhibits characteristics of a chaste wife, but also of a jealous mistress, DeBrohun 2003, 186-188. She imagines herself casting off her feminine garb and dressing up like an Amazon, with a breast-baring garment, weapons and a helmet covering her soft locks. Note that Arethusa's desire to become an Amazon, in order to join her husband on the battlefield, finds another parallel in elegy: in Tib. 3, 8, 7-22, Sulpicia states that she would participate in a hunting expedition (i.e. wandering through the mountains, carrying nets, etc.) just to be at her lover Cerinthus' side.

³⁸¹⁰ As J.B. DeBrohun notes, Arethusa's wish to join her husband by adapting to his world (i.e. cross-dressing) ultimately fails, DeBrohun 2003, 192.

³⁸¹¹ DeBrohun 2003, 190. Moreover, the Amazon is also a fitting role model for a mistress of love elegy, in so far as she disregards "the Roman rules of decorum with respect to both nudity and to the mingling of the sexes", DeBrohun 2003, 190-192.

“described in terms... closely associated with the genuine hardships of a military campaign.”³⁸¹² The debate between Tisiphone and Theano in the *Posthomerica* is another obvious justification of traditional gender roles. Penthesilea inspires Tisiphone to spur the Trojan women to battle, to defend their families and homeland,³⁸¹³ but her impassioned plea is quickly rebutted by Theano.³⁸¹⁴ She does not necessarily deny that the virtues of men and women are equal in principle, but reminds the Trojan women of their lack of military training - as such, their defence ought to be left to their menfolk.

It is even possible to praise contemporary women for their *virtus* in particular by comparing them to the Amazons.³⁸¹⁵ This might initially seem surprising, but in the end, the message hardly differs from Theano’s conservative advice to the Trojan Women.

Musonius Rufus argues that the *virtus* of the sexes is equal, by drawing on the Amazons as a mythical example: “That women had some prowess in arms the race of Amazons demonstrated when they defeated many tribes in war. If, therefore, something of this courage [*andreia*] is lacking in other women, it is due to lack of use and practice rather than because they were not endowed with it.”³⁸¹⁶ This is, however, an extreme illustration of women’s innate *virtus*, not an invitation for them to behave like warrioresses.³⁸¹⁷ He initially contends that women need *virtus* to protect their chastity in the face of force, or to defend their children from harm,³⁸¹⁸ but then undercuts this proposition by arguing that physical training for women is not necessary, since it is perfectly sufficient to nourish their *virtus* through philosophical training.³⁸¹⁹ The focus is instead shifted to passive fortitude - that is, not being

³⁸¹² DeBrohun 2003, 188f.

³⁸¹³ “‘Friends, let us be as strong in heart as our husbands, who without respite fight the enemy for their fatherland, for their children and for us; we should take courage and turn our minds to the fight which is the same for all. We are not much different from young men in strength: we have the same spirit, the same eyes and limbs, everything the same; ... In what way has god made men superior to us? Then let us not shun the battle. Do you not see this woman [Penthesilea] performing far better at close quarters than the men she fights...’ At these words desire for the hateful battle struck them all; they longed to don armor and hurry outside the walls, keen to defend their city and its people, and their courage rose. ... just so the women of Troy urged one another on as they hurried toward the din of battle, discarding their wool and workbaskets and instead snatching up grim weapons,” Q. Smyrn. 1, 409-446 (translation in Hopkins 2018, 43-45).

³⁸¹⁴ “Wretched women, untried in the work of war and innocently eager for a task that is beyond your powers, why this foolish urgency toward the horrors of war’s work? Your strength will not match that of experienced Danaan warriors. The Amazons devote themselves to cruel conflict, horse riding and manly pursuits from their earliest years. That is why they always have a warlike spirit and are not inferior to men: constant practice has strengthened that spirit and made them stand firm and fearless... All mankind has a single origin, but there is a variety of occupations; and it is best to be occupied with what one knows best. Refrain, then, from the clamor of conflict and attend to your weaving indoors: war will be the concern of our menfolk... No need to fear calamity: the enemy do not have our city pitilessly encircled, and there is no compelling need for women to fight,” Q. Smyrn. 1, 451-469 (translation in Hopkins 2018, 47).

³⁸¹⁵ A. Fendt argues that Amazons can stand for the strength and courage of contemporary women (specifically deceased women), based on the example of Priscilla (Stat. silv. 5, 1, 127-134), Fendt 2005, 89.

³⁸¹⁶ Stob. 2, 31, 123 = Musonius Rufus lecture 4 (Lutz 1947) (translation in Lutz 1947, 45-47). For discussion on the passage, Caldwell 2015, 21f.; Nussbaum 2002, 288f.; Tuomela 2014, 50-52.

³⁸¹⁷ Nussbaum 2002, 288f. 295f.

³⁸¹⁸ In Musonius Rufus’ perspective, the *virtus* of women is ideally directed towards traditional female roles, Stob. 2, 31, 126 = Musonius Rufus lecture 3 (Lutz 1947); Stob. 2, 31, 123 = Musonius Rufus, lecture 4 (Lutz 1947); Caldwell 2015, 19-23; Nussbaum 2002, 288f. 295f.

³⁸¹⁹ Stob. 2, 31, 123 = Musonius Rufus lecture 4 (Lutz 1947); Nussbaum 2002, 228-293.

swayed by fear or hardships - which is a precondition for ethical qualities, especially self-control.³⁸²⁰ Overall, “Musonius’s interest in armed fighting is more theoretical than practical... he keeps things safely abstract, establishing only that there are no grounds for thinking that women differ in any respect, either with regard to the goal or with regard to their equipment for reaching it.”³⁸²¹

The other ancient authors are considerably more restrained in comparing contemporary women to Amazons. Ovid praises his wife for working tirelessly to have him recalled from exile.³⁸²² He compares himself to a trumpeter urging on brave men, or a general urging on soldiers who are already fighting well.³⁸²³ He commends her moral rectitude (*probitas*), but asks her to summon up enough courage (*virtus*) to match it.³⁸²⁴ In the same breath, however, he states: “Thou hast not to take up in my behalf the Amazon’s battle-axe nor bear with thy frail hand the indented target [i.e. *pelta*].”³⁸²⁵ He prefers models for wifely virtue, who defend their chastity through deception (i.e. Penelope), sacrifice their lives to save their husbands (i.e. Alcestis), or follow their husbands to the grave (i.e. Laodamia, Iphias).³⁸²⁶ It is hardly even necessary to resort to such extreme measures: his wife can fearlessly toil for him by imploring, or even praying to the imperial family to grant him forgiveness.³⁸²⁷

It is even possible to liken deceased women to the Amazons, precisely to commend their “manly” qualities.³⁸²⁸ This is demonstrated by Statius’ consolatory speech for T. Flavius Abscantius, in honour of his late wife Priscilla: “With you she would have travelled the frozen North and Sarmatia’s winters and Hister and the pale frosts of the Rhine, with you steeled her courage through every heat, and, if the army allowed, even been fain to bear a quiver and shield her flank with Amazonian targe [i.e. *pelta*], so long as she might see you in the dust-cloud of battles close to the thunderbolt that is Caesar’s horse, brandishing divine weapons and spattered with the sweat of his great spear.”³⁸²⁹ She is therefore characterized as a loyal and courageous woman, who would have followed her husband to the ends of the earth and even into battle like an Amazon.³⁸³⁰ None of this, however, presents a challenge to conservative values. Her fortitude is primarily understood in the sense of physical and mental endurance. Her intrusion into the realm of warfare is, on the other hand, completely hypothetical:

³⁸²⁰ Stob. 2, 31, 123 = Musonius Rufus, lecture 4 (Lutz 1947).

³⁸²¹ Nussbaum 2002, 289.

³⁸²² Ov. Pont. 3, 1, 94.

³⁸²³ Ov. Pont. 3, 1, 91-92.

³⁸²⁴ Ov. Pont. 3, 1, 93-94.

³⁸²⁵ Ov. Pont. 3, 1, 95-96 (translation in Wheeler - Goold 1924, 79).

³⁸²⁶ Ov. Pont. 3, 1, 105-112.

³⁸²⁷ Ov. Pont. 3, 1, 97-104; 3, 1, 113-166. The members of the imperial family are treated like gods here.

³⁸²⁸ A. Fendt argues that Amazons can stand for the strength and courage of deceased women, based on the example of Priscilla (Stat. silv. 5, 1, 127-134), Fendt 2005, 89.

³⁸²⁹ Stat. silv. 5, 1, 127-134 (translation in Shackleton Bailey - Parrott 2003, 305-307); Fendt 2005, 89. Note, however, that Priscilla is not explicitly praised for her *virtus* here.

³⁸³⁰ The comparison of Priscilla to an Amazon has been understood in terms of her loyalty, support and partnership behaviour, which basically shows no bounds (Grassinger 1999a, 328; see also Coleman 2019, 58), but also in terms of her strength and courage in particular (Fendt 2005, 89).

indeed, she would have joined her husband on the battlefield, had it been allowed.³⁸³¹ Moreover, her husband assumes the leading role here, alongside the emperor, whereas she herself is presented as a witness to their glorious deeds. Overall, Statius wants to express that Priscilla is courageous enough to fight like an Amazon in principle, at least in a supportive role, but that the use of physical force is rightfully off-limits to women in practice. As he notes elsewhere, she would have confronted natural disasters or even armed bands to defend her husband from harm, but in the absence of such adversities, faithfully prayed to the gods for his well-being instead.³⁸³²

On a related note, it is possible to evoke the *virtus* of women with military metaphors. The husband of “Turia” refers to her as a military spy (*speculatrix*) and defender (*propugnatrix*).³⁸³³ He frequently describes her defense of him with military terminology: for instance, she provided him with reinforcements, deceived the enemy guards, prepared against their opponents, chose allies for her stratagems, and suffered cruel wounds.³⁸³⁴ Her actual actions are, of course, far removed from combative contexts. She instead exhibits her courage (*virtus*) by pleading on behalf of her husband, by suffering physically and mentally to ensure his return, and by safeguarding their household.³⁸³⁵ Statius encourages Julius Menecrates to show his daughter the path to “virtue” (*virtus*), in hopes that she will defend (*defendere*) her father and allow him to conquer (*vincere*) anything.³⁸³⁶ Seneca the Younger gives the following advice to his mother Helvia: “... cruel Fate contrived that you should neither be with me in the midst of disaster, nor have grown accustomed to my absence. But the harder these circumstances are, the more courage [*virtus*] you must summon up, and you must engage with Fortune the more fiercely, as with an enemy well known and often conquered before.”³⁸³⁷ He conjures up a powerful image of his mother on the battlefield against fortune, but the message is simply to bear his exile with grace. In summary, it is possible to characterize daughters, wives and mothers as fighting women, even in a military setting, regardless of how their *virtus* manifests itself in reality.

It is necessary to place the portraits of women as Penthesilea against this social background. It is clear that these monuments evoke their *virtus*, but there is no need to view this in iconic manner, as an endorsement of fighting women in particular. Rather, the image of the Amazon functions in a symbolic manner, illustrating women’s innate capacity for *virtus*.³⁸³⁸ She primarily stands for the *courage/bravery* of contemporary women, which is generally expressed in non-combative ways, such as fearlessly toiling for a noble cause or enduring physical and mental anguish. At the same time, it is evident that the Amazon stands for a multitude of related virtues in women, including *strength/vigour*

³⁸³¹ Stat. silv. 5, 1, 127-134.

³⁸³² Stat. silv. 5, 1, 66-74.

³⁸³³ CIL 6, 41062 col. 2. lin. 71; Hemelrijk 2005, 189.

³⁸³⁴ Hemelrijk 2005, 189.

³⁸³⁵ She also ensured that her parents murderers were brought to justice, which was probably seen as courageous.

³⁸³⁶ Stat. silv. 4, 8, 43-44. 57-58. The same is true of his sons.

³⁸³⁷ Sen. Ad Helv. 11, 15, 4 (translation in Basore 1932, 469-471).

³⁸³⁸ C.T. Lewis - C. Short 1879, 1997 (s.v. *virtus*).

(to physically withstand hardships), *aptness/capacity* (to be willing and able to perform), as well as *worth/excellence/virtue* (to do the right thing). Besides that, their *virtus* is intimately connected to a series of ethical qualities (e.g. self-control, loyalty, piety). In this final analysis, it is possible for the Amazon to stand for “virtue” in general, but in terms of being an ideal Roman woman.

Summary - Virtuous Women

In summary, the portraits of women as herculean women, warrioresses and huntresses were produced in a society that generally discouraged women from arrogating “manly” roles. As such, an iconic or indexical interpretation of the imagery ought to be rejected in favour of a purely symbolic one. The issue is that *virtus* is generally evoked by agonal iconography (e.g. heroism, fighting, hunting). Whether praising men or women for their *virtus*, it is useful to employ an instantly recognizable and continuously replicated visual code; for women especially, there is no need to take this at face value. The semantic range of *virtus* had greatly expanded by the time the monuments under consideration were produced. *Virtus* no longer referred specifically to courage in a military context, but to a whole range of corporeal and mental qualities. By the time women were commemorated as herculean women, warrioresses or huntresses, it was natural for a major “discrepancy” between the basic content of the image and its actual, symbolic meaning to emerge. It still referred to their fortitude, but manifesting itself in ways and settings relevant to women. Moreover, it could even refer to their “virtue” in general, encompassing both traditional masculine and feminine qualities.

7.5.1.3 The Evocation of “Female” *Virtus* in the Portraiture - Limitations

There were, however, certain reservations about ascribing *virtus* to members of the female sex. The main issue is that “women may be ennobled by reference to male characteristics, but a woman behaving like a man is a monster who overturns social order and stability, and undermines the proper masculinity of any man with whom she was associated.”³⁸³⁹ It is therefore necessary to come up with visual strategies for conveying a particularly “female” *virtus* on the monuments, in order to prevent calling traditional gender roles, relations and hierarchies into question.³⁸⁴⁰

7.5.1.3.1 “Honorary Men”? Bodies and Dress

It is notable that sex-specific models are consistently selected to evoke women’s *virtus*.³⁸⁴¹ Moreover, the dress of herculean women, warrioresses and huntresses is patterned after that of their male

³⁸³⁹ Hansen 2007, 108.

³⁸⁴⁰ I.L. Hansen rightly recognizes that the portraits groups of men and women on VIR2, PEN3 and DIA16 need to negotiate a complex web of honorific and iconographic references to prevent undermining the masculinity of the husbands and the social order as a whole, Hansen 2007, 108. The following analysis builds on this compelling idea, by proposing that the portraits of women in cross-gendered dress as a whole have the capacity to express particularly “female” forms of *virtus*, in terms of their bodies/dress especially, but also in terms of their actions, interactions, contexts and so on.

³⁸⁴¹ It is true that sex-specific models for *virtus* are not necessary in other portrait types. For instance, women are occasionally portrayed in the guise of the main lion hunter on Roman Hunt Sarcophagus, but issues of re-use probably play a significant role here; for discussion, see chap. 7.3; app. C.

counterparts, but without completely suppressing or obscuring their “true” female nature.³⁸⁴² Their dress is notoriously subject to the whims of female fashion (e.g. stylish hairstyles, certain patterns, shift to high girding), at least during the development of the dress code. It also incorporates barbarian features, casting them as feminized intruders. Their dress works to cover their bodies and reduce their sexual associations, but never entirely. Moreover, their desexualization is actually counteracted in a variety of ways: their body styling points up their essential femininity, while their garments and accessories serve to reveal, retrace and even embellish their female bodies.

It follows that the women are never dressed precisely the same as their male counterparts, despite assuming the same essential identities. This phenomenon is known as gender marking: in this model, the herculean men, warriors and hunters are presented as the norm, whereas their female counterparts are presented as secondary, by marking them off through gendered signs as the “other”.³⁸⁴³ The implication is seemingly that women are capable of acquiring *virtus*, but that the women are still in some sense different from men. Was this a sign of “empowerment” for women? A way of allowing them to fulfill traditionally male roles - at least in visual culture - without abandoning their femininity? In other words, could the image of a woman in a short, but high-girdled *chiton* have been a way of marking out a symbolic space for her to be both perfectly “manly” and a woman?³⁸⁴⁴ Or should we

³⁸⁴² For discussion, see chap. 7.2.

³⁸⁴³ For discussion on gender marking, Senne 2016, 5. This phenomenon is frequently attested for women taking on traditionally male roles during the 20th century. In general, women entering into positions of authority within institutionalized political systems (e.g. military personnel, police officers, judges) are required to wear uniforms, which downplay the sexual characteristics of the wearer due to their coverage of the body and general conformity in shape, structure, colour, texture, etc.; at the same time, women tend to retain feminine body styling (e.g. cosmetics, hairstyles) and even accessories (e.g. types of shoes), Eicher - Roach-Higgins 1992, 20f. The potentially negative effects of gender marking are brought out by several case studies: 1) An excellent case in point are the manifestations of the uniform of policewomen in Britain from World War I until the 1980s. In general, women were only permitted to join the police force with reluctance and under certain conditions, such as taking on tasks that were not valued among men or concerned with the welfare and care of the community, as an extension of their “natural” domestic roles. Policewomen were seen as physically and mentally weaker and could therefore only function as “pseudo-males”, who necessarily abandoned the norms of femininity (in dress and action), but without being fully accepted in this traditionally male domain. The marginalization of policewomen was reflected by their uniform requirements as well: it tended to androgenize them and subject them to informal ridicule (e.g. requirements to wear short hair, but impractical garments and accessories like short, tight skirts and soft, unprotective “hostess” hats, which followed current fashions for women), Young 1992; 2) The evolution of the suit for businesswomen in the United States is also notable. In the late 1960s, women working in white-collars jobs in the United States began to wear tailored business suits with jackets similar to their male counterparts, to claim equal opportunity among men and women. At first, gender distinctions were only maintained in minor ways (e.g. body styling, the possibility of combining the jacket with a skirt, jewellery), but this increased in the course of time: indeed, “masculine properties in colors, texture, garment shape, and even the suit itself, gave way to more feminine-distinct features in dress, such as bright colours and surface designs in fabric”. The radical feminists felt betrayed that this politically potent symbol had been drawn into the folds of fashion, Eicher - Roach-Higgins 1992, 22f.; moreover, the male suit can, at least superficially, efface the male body, but it cannot obliterate the female body, which is always feminine and by association sexual, Entwistle 2000, 342-344; 3) Female athletes continue to face issues with gender marking in modern sports media. In general, women are taught from a young age that they are soft, passive and less capable than men in sports. Female athletes are therefore seen to intrude into a masculine domain, and so the focus in the media is often placed on their femininity (i.e. their body shape and body styling, such as fashionable hair and make-up, as well as their personal qualities) as well as their heterosexuality, which belittles their athletic accomplishments, Senne 2016, 5. 8f.

³⁸⁴⁴ However, there remains the uncomfortable proposition that female strength is ultimately expressed by drawing on the visual codes for men (i.e. masculine dress of heroes, warriors and hunters).

assume that because these images were produced in a society dominated by patriarchal ideals, that women “intruding” into traditionally masculine domains were deliberately set off with the markers of socially inferior categories (i.e. female, barbarian), in order to hint at their implicit inferiority?

In any case, the benefit of conferring *virtus* on women through gender-bending dress is clear: it conveys their exceptional status through signs of gender transgression, yet - at the same time - it prevented entirely calling into question the prevailing belief that gender ought to be predicated on sexual difference. The dress is sufficiently masculine to cast women as “honorary men”, but still draws attention back to their female nature and with it their traditional social status and roles. Their potential to exhibit *virtus* is inseparable from their womanhood, or even incorporated into it, and therefore most readily understood in these terms. As a general rule, “the ideal performance for women seems to have been largely contradictory: the virtuous woman should strive to achieve masculine traits in a way that never troubled her firm identification with femininity.”³⁸⁴⁵

The impacts of demythologization on the dress also aided in promoting a binary system of gender based on sexual difference, but this is discussed below (see: 7.7 The Trend Towards Demythologization).

7.5.1.3.2 Virtuous Actions - Chaste Daughters, Loyal Wives, Devoted Mothers

The dress of the girls and women ensures that their *virtus* is evoked in principle, regardless of their precise actions. It is nevertheless worthwhile inquiring whether their actions hint at how their *virtus* should manifest itself in practice, according to life stage.

7.5.1.3.2.1 Girls

The maidens are most often shown alone,³⁸⁴⁶ less often with their siblings.³⁸⁴⁷ The girl as Omphale closely imitates the stance and dress behaviour of Hercules.³⁸⁴⁸ The girls as Diana and “Atalante” are typically in active pursuit of their prey,³⁸⁴⁹ but also briefly pause during the hunt.³⁸⁵⁰ There were seemingly no reservations about putting their vigorous, intrepid behaviour on display, but these “manly” qualities were surely understood in terms of their role as virtuous daughters.

Girls Commemorated Alone

Musonius Rufus maintains that women require *virtus* from a young age to defend their chastity, in the face of force or threat.³⁸⁵¹ His proposal is echoed by the legends of Lucretia, who committed suicide like a man to redeem her sexual honour,³⁸⁵² as well as Cloelia, who courageously traversed the Tiber in

³⁸⁴⁵ Upson-Saia 2011, 104f. This is relevant to Christians and non-Christians alike.

³⁸⁴⁶ OMP6; DIA1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7. (Note, however, that OMP6 and DIA4 are currently standing still.)

³⁸⁴⁷ ATA2.

³⁸⁴⁸ OMP6.

³⁸⁴⁹ DIA1. 2. 5. 6; ATA2.

³⁸⁵⁰ DIA4.

³⁸⁵¹ Stob. 2, 31, 123 = Musonius Rufus lecture 4 (Lutz 1947).

³⁸⁵² Edwards 2007, 180-183.

order safeguard the virginity of herself and others.³⁸⁵³ “In spite of the talk of manliness, ... the reason that Romans want their girls to display *virtus*... is quite conventional: it emboldens them to preserve their modesty.”³⁸⁵⁴ It is therefore hardly coincidental that the portraits of girls tend to combine signs of innocence with fortitude.³⁸⁵⁵ Omphale is transformed into a sweet and modest girl, but exudes self-confidence.³⁸⁵⁶ Diana and “Atalante” are likewise sexually immature, but strong and aggressive; setting the portraiture against its mythological background, it is conceivable that these huntresses were in part understood as fierce defenders of their virginity as well.³⁸⁵⁷

The endorsement of *virtus* in girls is, however, not strictly directed towards the preservation of their chastity. “Turia” ensured that her parents’ killers were brought to justice;³⁸⁵⁸ Tullia supported Cicero by meeting him in exile, but also bore all of the problems caused by his absence with grace.³⁸⁵⁹ The *virtus* of the girl as “Atalante” is likewise directed towards familial concerns, since she assists her male relative (probably her brother) in the hunt.³⁸⁶⁰ A broader search for maidenly models of fortitude lands on Minicia Marcella, the daughter of Fundanus.³⁸⁶¹ Pliny the Younger describes her as childlike in some respects, but as mature beyond her years in others: “She had not yet reached the age of fourteen, and yet she combined the wisdom of age and dignity of womanhood with the sweetness and modesty of youth and innocence.”³⁸⁶² He commends her for bearing her illness with self-control (*temperantia*), endurance (*patientia*) and firmness (*constantia*).³⁸⁶³ After her physical strength failed her, she carried on by sheer force of will.³⁸⁶⁴ It is probable that the fierce and bold actions of the girls as Omphale, Diana and “Atalante” were seen to reflect their physical and mental fortitude in general, in practically any context where these qualities were appreciated.³⁸⁶⁵

There was seemingly a greater willingness to portray girls in autonomous, active roles than women, probably for a number of reasons, such as the general association between children and play, or the fact that the maidens are not yet fully mature or connected to a husband.

³⁸⁵³ Caldwell 2015, 38-43.

³⁸⁵⁴ Caldwell 2015, 40f.

³⁸⁵⁵ L. Caldwell notes that the portraits of girls as Diana express innocence and aggression, but argues that the primary purpose is to express that the female deceased will remain forever virginal, Caldwell 2015, 21f. Nevertheless, “the way in which funerary commemoration [i.e. the portraits of girls as Diana, with Amazonian features] and a Stoic treatise [i.e. Musonius Rufus, 3] partake in common assumptions about feminine virtues should not be overlooked,” Caldwell 2015, 21.

³⁸⁵⁶ OMP6.

³⁸⁵⁷ DIA1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7; ATA2. Moreover, the portrait of the girl as “Atalante” (ATA2) is transformed into a female cupid, which distances her from the romantic content of the myth.

³⁸⁵⁸ CIL 6, 41062 col. 1 lin. 3-9. The death of her parents made her an orphan; however, she was married the following day and avenged their deaths after that.

³⁸⁵⁹ Cic. fam. 14, 1, 1 (Terentia); Cic. fam. 14, 11 (Tullia); Cic. Att. 10, 8, 9 (Tullia); McDonnell 2006, 163f.

³⁸⁶⁰ ATA2.

³⁸⁶¹ Plin. epist. 5, 16. For discussion on Minicia Marcella, including her “manly” qualities (reflecting the virtue of her father especially), Caldwell 2015, 23-27.

³⁸⁶² Plin. epist. 16, 2 (translation Radice 1969, 379).

³⁸⁶³ Plin. epist. 5, 16, 4.

³⁸⁶⁴ Plin. epist. 5, 16, 4.

³⁸⁶⁵ DIA1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7; ATA2.

Girls Commemorated with their Brothers

The cultural consensus held that *virtus* is innate to men, but anomalous for women, even from a young age.³⁸⁶⁶ This mentality is clearly revealed by Statius' advice to his friend Julius Menecrates. He encourages him to show his three children - two boys, one girl - the path to "virtue" (*virtus*).³⁸⁶⁷ The children are still young, but already revealing their promise: he mentions the "manly" strength of his sons and likens his daughter to Helen as a toddler, already worthy to enter the Spartan wrestling grounds.³⁸⁶⁸ Nevertheless, *virtus* is more so suited to his sons, whereas his daughter will serve him best by providing him with grandchildren.³⁸⁶⁹ As such, to suggest that the *virtus* of one's son and daughter is perfectly equal would thus seem to violate the norms for commemoration.

This mentality is clearly revealed by a portrait group of a boy and girl as a hunter and huntress, presumably destined for the commemoration of siblings.³⁸⁷⁰ They are presented on relatively equal terms: both of them occupy the central position of the monument, wearing hunting dress and actively participating in the hunt. The boy is nevertheless the main actor, pursuing the boar on horseback, whereas his sister is primarily cast in a supportive role, directing him towards his goal. It is evident that girls are permitted to assume active, "manly" roles, even in the presence of their brothers. It is nevertheless necessary to produce a certain degree of asymmetry between the sexes, by placing their valiant deeds in a clear hierarchy - the immaturity of the deceased makes no difference here.

7.5.1.3.2.2 Women

The actions of women exhibit more variation. Women take on active roles as well, including striding powerfully forward,³⁸⁷¹ subduing beasts,³⁸⁷² or sweeping in to rescue innocent victims.³⁸⁷³ Quite often, however, the women are currently "inactive": at one extreme, they are still in the midst of the hunt, but simply taking a short break,³⁸⁷⁴ at the other extreme, they are already dying on the battlefield.³⁸⁷⁵ Moreover, women are entirely removed from the contexts of heroism, war and the hunt in a number of instances (e.g. farewell scenes, sacrifice scenes, undefined contexts).³⁸⁷⁶ As such, there is potential for women to "act as they dress" or, conversely, to be partially distanced from their "manly" roles.

It seems that the actions of women were selected on a case by case basis in order to achieve two overarching aims. First of all, *to demonstrate that their capacity for virtus is similar to that of their male relatives, while still reinforcing the traditional gender hierarchy*. Secondly, *to give expression to*

³⁸⁶⁶ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.1.

³⁸⁶⁷ Stat. silv. 4, 8, 57-58.

³⁸⁶⁸ Stat. silv. 4, 8, 25-29.

³⁸⁶⁹ Stat. silv. 4, 8, 27.

³⁸⁷⁰ ATA2.

³⁸⁷¹ DIA13; VIR2-4.

³⁸⁷² DIA18.

³⁸⁷³ DIA14.

³⁸⁷⁴ DIA8. 10. 11. 12; VIR1.

³⁸⁷⁵ PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.

³⁸⁷⁶ OMP1; DIA15. 16. 17; ATA1.

forms of *virtus* particularly relevant to their own sex, such as exhibiting physical and mental endurance, as well as directing their “manly” qualities towards their roles as wives and mothers. These trends only become evident by identifying patterns of behaviour, comparing them to other monuments for women, and situating them in their social context.

Women Commemorated Alone

Women are rarely commemorated in their own right.³⁸⁷⁷ It is true that they are most often cast in a “manly” role: the women as Omphale pose with the club and lion skin like Hercules,³⁸⁷⁸ while the women as Diana take part in the hunt.³⁸⁷⁹ However, the women are virtually always stationary.³⁸⁸⁰ As such, the image of the independent, courageous woman is hardly appreciated as a form of commemoration; moreover, the possibility for strenuous behaviour is seemingly avoided in these cases. If it is accepted that a portrait of a woman is detectable in the image of Diana sweeping in to rescue Iphigenia, then she is shown in a much more active role than usual.³⁸⁸¹

These observations fit well into broader trends: indeed, portraits of women praised for their *virtus* on their own terms are exceedingly rare.³⁸⁸² It is certainly possible for women to usurp the role of the lion hunter on Roman Hunt Sarcophagi (pls. 29b. 30a),³⁸⁸³ which should be viewed as a marker of their *virtus*.³⁸⁸⁴ It is notable that “their own biological sex seems to have been no hindrance to their use of this iconography;”³⁸⁸⁵ moreover, by drawing on well-established models for *virtus*, the evocation is completely unambiguous. The lion hunter was, however, never destined for the addition of female individualized features, and hence never intended as a female role model for *virtus* in the same sense as the monuments under consideration. In fact, it seems that the selection of these monuments was at least partially dictated by practical circumstances (e.g. supply, reuse),³⁸⁸⁶ and so the idea that these were deliberately sought out by the female deceased is the least probable scenario.³⁸⁸⁷ In any case, the

³⁸⁷⁷ OMP1; DIA8. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14.

³⁸⁷⁸ OMP1. This is, however, partially off-set by her imitation of Venus.

³⁸⁷⁹ DIA8. 10. 11. 12. 13.

³⁸⁸⁰ OMP1; DIA8. 10. 11. 12. For an exception, DIA13.

³⁸⁸¹ DIA14.

³⁸⁸² This is based on the current understanding of the subject. A fuller analysis of women and *virtus* in visual culture is certainly merited, in order to assess these possibilities in greater detail. This is beyond the scope of the current analysis, but will be considered by the author elsewhere.

³⁸⁸³ This is attested on two Roman Hunt Sarcophagi. The first monument is located in the Catacombe di San Sebastiano, Museo (Rome), Andreae 1980, 99f.; 169f. cat. 150; Deichmann 1967, 155 cat. 298; Vaccaro Melucco 1963-1964, 34f. cat. 32. The second monument is in Nieborów Palace (Poland), Mikocki 1995a, 118f. cat. 58. Note, however, that it is difficult to tell if girls or women (or both) are commemorated here.

³⁸⁸⁴ Backe-Dahmen 2006, 115. 117; Birk 2011, 248f.; Huskinson 2002, 26-28; Sande 2009, 61-63.

³⁸⁸⁵ Birk 2013, 138.

³⁸⁸⁶ The monument in the Catacombe di San Sebastiano (Museo) at Rome could have been reused for the female deceased (Bera): indeed, the sarcophagus itself was produced between 290-300 CE, but the portrait head dates to 315 CE, Andreae 1980, 100. The sarcophagus in Nieborów Palace in Poland could have been purchased on stock for the female deceased (but probably not under the most ideal circumstances).

³⁸⁸⁷ It has been argued that women selected these monuments for themselves, Birk 2011, 249; Sande 2009, 61-63.

Roman Hunt Sarcophagi were at least suitable: the fact that the portrait head of the female deceased was even carved onto the lion hunter, with a male body and dress, clearly demonstrates this.

Women Commemorated with their Husbands

In the majority of cases, the women are portrayed next to their husbands as heroes, warriors or hunters.³⁸⁸⁸ Their actions generally fall into two categories. 1) It is possible to insert women into scenes primarily focused on “manly” deeds.³⁸⁸⁹ Here, the women typically assume active roles in the hunt, even imitating their husbands to some degree.³⁸⁹⁰ The men are still the main actors here - as the central protagonist, pursuing the lion or boar on horseback - whereas their wives are primarily cast in a supportive role - positioned behind him, without directly attacking the beasts, and with the possibility of encouraging her husband to action.³⁸⁹¹ The sarcophagus of C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus and Domitia Severa offers a slightly different solution.³⁸⁹² The husband and wife are portrayed as independent actors, hunting in their own visual fields, but the woman is presented in a secondary position, as the pendant to her husband. This impression is achieved in a variety of ways: the man receives the majority of the space to hunt, in scenes grounded in reality, whereas the actions of his wife are marginalized and relegated to the mythical plane; the man faces a boar, whereas his wife chases a fleeing deer; and the man is permitted to use weapons, whereas his wife is disarmed.

2) It is also possible to insert women into scenes that are not primarily focused on heroism, battle and the hunt - these themes merely serve as a backdrop for a scene of loving togetherness.³⁸⁹³ The husbands and wives are equally inactive here and locked in a loving embrace. It is easy to imagine that *both* partners had just been active in battle or the hunt - due to the raging battle around them, or the dead boar on the ground³⁸⁹⁴ - or at least at some point in the past,³⁸⁹⁵ but it is clear that the men’s vigour and capacity for dynamic action is foregrounded in special ways.³⁸⁹⁶ In some cases, the men redirect all of their strength and energy towards supporting their dying wives, which at least fits into the gender dichotomy of active/male and passive/female.³⁸⁹⁷ In other cases, the married couples dress as hunters

³⁸⁸⁸ PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9; VIR1. 2. 3. 4; DIA15. 16. 17; ATA1. The cross-dressing is problematized in the case of a mutual exchange of gendered dress. The husband and wife as Hercules and Omphale (OMP4) do not trade their garments and accessories, despite risking the comprehensibility of their identities - as such, the man alone is celebrated for his *virtus*. Otherwise, it is preferable to dress the women in masculine dress, provided that it maintains a certain degree of sexual difference and clearly distances their takeover of masculine roles from reality.

³⁸⁸⁹ VIR1. 2. 3. 4; DIA18.

³⁸⁹⁰ VIR2. 3. 4; DIA18. In one case, the woman simply observes her husband pursuing a lion, VIR1.

³⁸⁹¹ VIR2. 3. 4.

³⁸⁹² DIA18.

³⁸⁹³ PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9; DIA15. 16. 17; ATA1. For discussion, see chap. 7.5.3.5.

³⁸⁹⁴ PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9; ATA1. For DIA16, however, the dead boar is the result of the husband’s hunt.

³⁸⁹⁵ DIA15. 16. 17.

³⁸⁹⁶ Likewise, in the portrait group of a married couple as Hercules and Omphale (OMP4), the heroic labours of the man are displayed in the background. (The woman is excluded from the praise of *virtus* though.)

³⁸⁹⁷ PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. I.L. Hansen suggests that the representation of the married couple on PEN3 follows a traditional format of active-male and passive-female, but stresses the fact that Penthesilea “succumbs as a proper female to a masculine force,” Hansen 2007, 115. 117. The preceding conflict between Achilles and

and show affection in the departure scene in the domestic context, but only the husbands reappear in the hunting scene in the outside world.³⁸⁹⁸ He is therefore permitted to assume an active role in another scene, whereas his wife is left at home.³⁸⁹⁹

Overall, the women are typically presented next to their husbands, either performing “manly” acts of *virtus* or at least connected with heroism, war and the hunt. It therefore seems that the image of the strong and courageous woman is primarily appreciated in connection with their husbands.

Symmetry and Asymmetry in Virtus

It is possible to offer a few explanations for this trend in commemoration, none of which are mutually exclusive. The visual interest in mythical couples on sarcophagi is significantly more pronounced during the 3rd century CE.³⁹⁰⁰ These monuments often include themes like heroism, war and the hunt: it follows that “pictorially the association of *virtus* with Roman women is influenced and facilitated by the lively and well-developed iconographical system for depicting mythological pairs...”³⁹⁰¹ This does not, however, entirely explain the inclination to fit women into masculine contexts that had been previously reserved for their husbands. It seems that the extension of *virtus* to women is primarily motivated by the penchant to express the symmetry between husband and wife, including their moral equality and resultant partnership behaviour, as an expression of their harmonious marriage.³⁹⁰² At the same time, their capacity for *virtus* is placed in a clear hierarchy.

The hypothesis presented here fits well into broader trends. Indeed, it is common to highlight the mutual virtue of married couples on sarcophagi with “realistic” themes, but in a highly gendered manner. Husbands and wives are praised for their shared *pietas* (piety): the man actually makes the offering, whereas his wife accompanies him in prayer (pl. 254b).³⁹⁰³ It is also common to celebrate their shared *eruditio* (learnedness): the man typically holds a scroll and makes a gesture of speech, whereas his wife is often shown without a scroll, and instead plays a lyre or merely listens to her husband (pl.

Penthesilea is almost completely suppressed here, and therefore did not clearly convey this message. As has been argued here, the battle of the sexes is instead “outsourced”; for discussion, see chap. 5.2.3.4.

³⁸⁹⁸ DIA15. 16. 17. In two of the three cases (DIA15. DIA17), there is a curtain in the background of the departure scene, indicating a domestic context.

³⁸⁹⁹ In addition, he is allotted more space to perform his heroic deeds over the course of time: he is gradually pushed into the centre in the hunt scene, which leaves less room for the departure scene with his wife, DIA16. 17.

³⁹⁰⁰ The popularity of mythical pairs on sarcophagi has been attributed to the increased interest in *concordia* (i.e. the unity and permanence of the couple) in general, Hansen 2007, 116f.

³⁹⁰¹ Hansen 2007, 117.

³⁹⁰² The penchant to express the symmetry between spouses is exemplified by the Vita Romana Sarcophagi: indeed, these monuments are increasingly preoccupied with the dual self-representation of the husband and wife, shown together or independently. The earliest caskets (i.e. General/Wedding Sarcophagi) are primarily focused on the man, but later caskets tend to include a side for the husband and a side for the wife, with overlapping qualities (e.g. *pietas*, *concordia*) and equal space dedicated to them, Reinsberg 2006, 182-184. For further discussion on the evocation of moral equality (as an key aspect of *concordia*) on these monuments, see chap. 7.5.2.5.

³⁹⁰³ For examples, Reinsberg 2006, 196f. cat. 15; 213f. cat. 73; 218 cat. 87. For discussion, chap. 6.3.3.2.1.

267b).³⁹⁰⁴ The desire to evoke their mutual, but differentiated *virtus* is detectable in isolated cases as well. On the so-called Balbinus Sarcophagus (pl. 195a),³⁹⁰⁵ the man is dressed as a military commander, crowned by Victoria and accompanied by Mars, all of which evoke his *virtus*. His wife appears in the guise of Venus in order to evoke her *pulchritudo* (beauty).³⁹⁰⁶ She is nevertheless escorted by Virtus, which mirrors the commemoration of her husband.³⁹⁰⁷ The monument displays the symmetry in virtue between the spouses, including *pietas* (piety), *eruditio* (learnedness) and *concordia* (conjugal harmony), while retaining a certain degree of asymmetry.³⁹⁰⁸ The extension of *virtus* to not only the husband, but also the wife, surely fits into these same trends as well.

The evocation of shared *virtus* on other sarcophagi with “realistic” themes is, however, far more ambivalent in other instances. In one case, the spouses are each accompanied by their own Victoria, reaching out to crown them (pl. 141a).³⁹⁰⁹ However, the man alone receives a wreath, whereas the hand reaching towards the woman is empty. Moreover, the spouses are portrayed with other attributes that reinforce the *virtus* of the man (e.g. short tunic, *paludamentum*, spear, helmet on the ground), but evoke the *pulchritudo* of the woman (e.g. Venus locks, slipping drapery, cupids). In another case, the husband is portrayed as a military commander seated on a *sella castrensis* and granting clemency to defeated barbarians (pl. 268a).³⁹¹⁰ To the left, his wife is portrayed as a learned woman in front of a curtain, held up by women approximating Virtus in appearance: indeed, the women wear the short tunic and boots of the goddess of “manliness”, but are completely disarmed here.³⁹¹¹ The intention was seemingly to produce a sense of moral equality, also in terms of *virtus*, but it is clear that there was considerable reluctance to actually fulfill this criteria for women.

The portraits of married couples as mythical warriors and warrioresses, or hunters and huntresses ought to be viewed in a similar light: the conferral of *virtus* on women was primarily driven by a desire for symmetry with their husbands. In some cases, the monuments characterize *virtus* as their premier

³⁹⁰⁴ For examples, Ewald 1999, 173 cat. E 6; 196 cat. F 32; 203f. cat. G 16. For discussion on learned men and women on Roman sarcophagi, especially the gendered representation, Birk 2013, 73-94; Hansen 2008; Huskinson 1999. Note that the sarcophagus of C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus and Domitia Severa (DIA18) also evokes their shared *eruditio*, but in a gendered manner (despite being in separate visual fields): he holds a scroll and makes a gesture of speech, whereas she is shown as a learned woman (i.e. *palliata* figure).

³⁹⁰⁵ For the sarcophagus, Reinsberg 2006, 213f. cat. 73. For discussion on the virtues conferred on the male and female deceased here, Reinsberg 2006, 107-109.

³⁹⁰⁶ She is identified as Venus due to the sceptre, slipping drapery, and the cupid with a mirror.

³⁹⁰⁷ Reinsberg 2006, 107f. She argues that the woman is praised for her *virtus* due to her direct connection to Virtus, but that this refers to “virtue” in general; moreover, the man is also praised for his *virtus* due to the inclusion of Virtus in general, especially in a military sense. It seems, however, that the woman has the special connection to Virtus here (not her husband) and that this refers to her general “virtue”, which can also include “manly” qualities like strength, bravery and capacity.

³⁹⁰⁸ The symmetry in virtue is clear: *pietas* is evoked by the mutual sacrifice; *concordia* is evoked by the wedding scene; the lid also evokes *eruditio* due to the scroll in the man’s hand and his wife listening, as well as *concordia* due to the close embrace. Note, however, that the asymmetry is not so pronounced in this case: the man makes a libation, but the woman also makes her own incense offering; moreover, the man shows his wife affection by putting his hand on her shoulder (on the lid).

³⁹⁰⁹ For the sarcophagus, Reinsberg 2006, 228f. cat. 123.

³⁹¹⁰ For the sarcophagus, Reinsberg 2006, 201 cat. 31.

³⁹¹¹ Their similarity to Virtus has been noted, Reinsberg 2006, 201 cat. 31.

quality, by bringing their shared, equal strength and courage into focus - the women are typically just as active as their husbands, in order to contribute to the sense of symmetry.³⁹¹² In other cases, their mutual *virtus* is merely a secondary consideration, evoked by their dress rather than their activities.³⁹¹³ These instances are nevertheless revealing: there is often no narrative reason to dress both the men and their wives as hunters, which suggests that these outfits were introduced in a gratuitous manner, in order to convey their mutual *virtus* in particular.³⁹¹⁴ The *virtus* of the men and women is equal in principle, but the manifestation of this quality in men is seen to surpass that of their wives in practice, in order to prevent the breakdown of traditional gender roles, relations and hierarchies. Their *virtus* is differentiated through their actions in a variety of ways: by pushing the women to the side, behind their husbands, in order to assign them an auxiliary, supportive role;³⁹¹⁵ by portraying the woman in a compromised position, in need of assistance from their husbands;³⁹¹⁶ or, in the most extreme cases, by permitting the men to publically perform “manly” acts of *virtus*, but not their wives.³⁹¹⁷

It is certainly common to praise married couples on sarcophagi with “realistic” themes for the same qualities, but with their virtues expressed in a gendered manner. It is nevertheless possible to extol women for precisely the same qualities not only independently of their husbands, but also in a manner similar to men, in another scene. Women are praised for their *pietas* by actually making an offering, not just by attending and praying (pl. 268b);³⁹¹⁸ or for their *eruditio* by actually holding a scroll, not just by playing an instrument or listening to their husbands (pl. 269a).³⁹¹⁹ Likewise, it seems that women are given considerably more freedom to show off their *virtus* through their actions within their own visual fields. The portraits of C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus and Domitia Severa fit into this trend as well.³⁹²⁰ The woman is not positioned directly next to her husband, but appears as his pendant in a separate scene. As such, she is permitted to actually hunt like a man, and therefore to express her *virtus* like a man. The imbalance between the sexes is hinted at in a more subtle manner (e.g. by the unequal space, realism of the setting, difficulty of the targets, etc.). Here more than ever, she reflects her husband in terms of *virtus*, to produce an image of a well-matched pair.³⁹²¹

Expressions of “Female” Virtus

³⁹¹² VIR1. 2. 3. 4; DIA18.

³⁹¹³ PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9; DIA15. 16. 17. 18; ATA1.

³⁹¹⁴ DIA15. 16. 17. 18; ATA1. For the portrait groups of married couples as Achilles and Penthesilea, on the other hand, their dress was determined by the narrative context, PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.

³⁹¹⁵ VIR1. 2. 3. 4.

³⁹¹⁶ PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.

³⁹¹⁷ VIR1; DIA15. 16. 17.

³⁹¹⁸ For examples, Reinsberg 2006, 195 cat. 13; 212 cat. 67; 230 cat. 128. For discussion, see chap. 6.3.3.2.1.

³⁹¹⁹ For examples, Ewald 1999, 172f. cat. E2; 178 cat. E 17; 188 cat. F 4. For discussion on learned men and women on Roman sarcophagi, especially their gendered representation, Birk 2013, 73-94; Hansen 2008; Huskinson 1999.

³⁹²⁰ DIA18

³⁹²¹ For further discussion, see chap. 7.5.2.5.

If we take all of these monuments into consideration, it becomes clear that the actions of these women give expression to forms of *virtus* particularly relevant to their own sex. Women are rarely celebrated for their *virtus* on their own terms. If such monuments are selected at all, then the iconography is in part formulated to direct their *virtus* towards the preservation of their modesty. The portrait of the woman as Omphale is a unique case, where her beauty, modesty and strength are more or less equally weighted.³⁹²² It is possible to view these virtues in various combinations (i.e. beauty/chastity, beauty/strength),³⁹²³ but pairing strength and chastity is probably significant as well.³⁹²⁴ The portraits of women as Diana allow for a similar interpretation, but only if the imagery is considered against its mythological background: indeed, the women are associated with a virginal and strong huntress, or an icon of militant chastity.³⁹²⁵ There is, however, no reason to assume that the *virtus* of these women is strictly directed towards this end. Qualities like strength, courage and capacity - not to mention “virtue” in general - were certainly appreciated in any social context relevant for women. The imagery itself offers no further insight, only the general social context in which it was produced.

As for the portrait of a woman as Diana rescuing Iphigenia, it is difficult to draw conclusions.³⁹²⁶ The identity of Diana as a huntress is pushed into the background, whereas her identity as a cosmic saviour is foregrounded. It is notable that she rushes in to save the life of a desperate girl: this closely echoes the endorsement of mothers who summon up their fortitude to defend their offspring from harm. Perhaps the monument represents a creative attempt to formulate a unique, sex-specific iconography for the *virtus* of women in Roman visual culture.³⁹²⁷

The portraits of married couples are primarily celebrated for their mutual *virtus* in order to express their moral equality and resultant partnership behaviour. Besides this, it seems that women with *virtus* are usually appreciated in connection with their husbands due to the social background in which this “manly” quality allowed them to fulfill their roles as loyal wives. The women are typically placed in a supportive role, by accompanying their husbands or touching them encouragingly.³⁹²⁸ It is possible for women to actively share in their husbands’ trials - this is especially true of Virtus, who is the divine source of strength for her husband in the lion hunt, but even of Penthesilea, who is recast as the

³⁹²² OMP1.

³⁹²³ It is clear that beauty and strength are intimately connected here, to show that the woman conquered the heart of her husband due to her exquisite beauty. Moreover, beauty and chastity are also intimately connected, to show her as a sexually attractive, but also morally impeccable woman.

³⁹²⁴ In the portraits of men as Hercules, there is of course no parallel for their *virtus* being tied up with notions of *pudicitia*. It is a foreign element here, presenting the woman as sexually attractive but impeccably chaste, as well as “strong” enough - if not in body then in mind - to guard her modesty.

³⁹²⁵ DIA8. 9. 10. 11. 12. The iconography alone does not point to the quality of *castitas*, see chap. 6.2.3.3.

³⁹²⁶ For discussion, see chap. 6.2.3.7.

³⁹²⁷ Of course, this must remain a mere hypothesis, since the monument is too poorly understood at the moment, thereby posing more questions than answers.

³⁹²⁸ PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.; VIR1. 2. 3. 4.; DIA15. 16. 17.; ATA1. The portrait groups of married couples as Achilles and Penthesilea (recast as comrades) currently portray the husband in the supportive role, holding his dying wife. Nevertheless, Achilles and Penthesilea had been actively fighting until this moment (not against each other, but on the same side).

comrade of her husband.³⁹²⁹ These features recall the contemporary women who exhibit *virtus* for the sake of their husbands, not on the battlefield or in the hunt, but in contexts suitable to their sex, such as ensuring their well-being, following them into exile, or protecting their property.³⁹³⁰ In some cases, the women are limited to showing their support in the domestic context, probably to reflect their proper place in Roman society.³⁹³¹ It has been suggested elsewhere that the portrait of an active, strong and courageous woman appealed to a female viewership, whereas the image of a sexually desirable but weak woman appealed to a male viewership.³⁹³² The monuments examined here actually indicate the opposite: that men did in fact appreciate qualities like strength and courage in their wives, provided that the men remained the superior partners and their wives operated for their benefit. Moreover, the *virtus* of contemporary women is often seen to compensate for the temporary powerlessness of their husbands,³⁹³³ but on these monuments, there is no trace of this loss of control.

Women often take on active roles in conjunction with their husbands - or are at least imagined to - but passive roles are of interest as well. The portrait groups of married couples as Achilles and Penthesilea celebrate their moral equality and partnership, as comrades on the battlefield, but also shift the focus to the death of the warriorress. Quite notably, Penthesilea continues to exhibit physical endurance and especially mental fortitude in the face of death.³⁹³⁴ She has not completely lost control over her body - which is surely a sign of mind over matter - and there are still hints of the fortitude she had exhibited until this point. Her virtues come into focus by comparing her to other women in compromised positions (e.g. unwillingly dying, being abducted) on mythological sarcophagi. Creusa (pl. 269b), Proserpina and the Leukippides are portrayed with terrified expressions, trying to flee or flailing their arms in desperation - these piteous women provided an *exemplum mortalitatis* for the female deceased.³⁹³⁵ Moreover, women in a state of jeopardy occasionally invite direct identification,³⁹³⁶ without even needing to downplay their weak and emotional state (pl. 270a).³⁹³⁷ The women in the guise of Penthesilea, on the other hand, continue prove their exceptional fortitude.

³⁹²⁹ For monuments portraying women actively sharing in their husbands' trials, VIR1. 2. 3. 4; DIA18. For monuments where their participation in battle or in the hunt is merely implied, PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9; ATA1.

³⁹³⁰ For discussion on women and *virtus*, see chap. 7.5.1.1.

³⁹³¹ The women as "Diana" offer their moral support, but do not actually participate in the hunt, DIA15. 16. 17 (esp. DIA17, with the curtain in the background and no accompanying figures). Note that the woman as Atalante on ATA1 also shows her moral support (but seemingly at the end of the hunt).

³⁹³² Fendt 2005, 93.

³⁹³³ Hemelrijk 2004, 189-191 (this phenomenon is discussed in relation to "Turia", Terentia and Ovid's wife).

³⁹³⁴ For discussion, see chap. 5.2.3.4.

³⁹³⁵ For tragic death on mythological sarcophagi as an *exemplum mortalitatis*, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 63-115.

³⁹³⁶ C. Russenberger notes that only women and children are directly identified with dying or abducted mythological figures, Russenberger 2015, 403-406. The same is true of mythological imagery on sarcophagi in general: it is true that both men and women suffer horrible deaths, but women are more likely to be kidnapped, whereas men are more likely to be shown on their death beds like heroes, Zanker 2005, 244.

³⁹³⁷ For instance, there are four portraits of women in the guise of Proserpina on Roman sarcophagi. In one case, she sits calmly in the chariot, as if accepting her fate (perhaps to produce a more hopeful image of death); for the sarcophagus, Robert 1919, 477f. cat. 392; for discussion, Newby 2011a, 223; Wood 2000, 88; Zanker 2019, 19. In the other three cases, she is shown in a vulnerable and often emotional state; for the sarcophagi, Robert 1919, 471 cat. 380; 475f. cat. 390; 482f. cat. 399; for discussion, Newby 2011a, 219-224.

The possibility to praise women for their *virtus*, yet show them in a vulnerable state, is extremely significant. The fortitude of women is often understood in terms of enduring physical pain and mental anguish; the endorsement of passive forms of *virtus* is by no means exclusive to women,³⁹³⁸ but, for the purposes of self-representation and commemoration, it seems to have been valued among women in a manner that finds no clear parallel among men.³⁹³⁹ This is not due to a lack of mythological models: Adonis offers a mythical paradigm for both untimely death and “manly” qualities, but, precisely due to his vulnerable state, men are never directly identified with the hero.³⁹⁴⁰

Overall, the women in the guise of Penthesilea are not in the midst of battle (like men), nor lamenting their fate (like women), but rather bearing their miserable circumstances with fortitude (like “masculine” women). It is seemingly unthinkable to show men suffering a downfall, let alone a loss of control over their bodies and emotions.³⁹⁴¹ For women, however, passive forms of *virtus* - extending to the noble death - offer a perfectly dignified form of commemoration. Perhaps other cases of passive *virtus* for women are detectable on these monuments as well. For instance, the wives in the guise of “Diana” encourage their husbands, but do not join him on the hunt; instead, these women graciously bear their husbands’ departure as well as the dangers awaiting them.³⁹⁴²

7.5.1.4 Summary

The original significance of *virtus* is physical courage especially, but its resemanticization allowed for its extension to members of the female sex. Women in the past are established as role models for *virtus*, even for taking up arms or leading armies.³⁹⁴³ The attribution of *virtus* to contemporary women is, however, fairly uncommon and set within fixed boundaries.³⁹⁴⁴ It still refers to courage, but primarily in terms of mental fortitude and endurance, in social contexts suitable for women. It can also refer to “virtue” in general. Both meanings are relevant in the sepulchral context. There were, moreover, rules for attributing *virtus* to contemporary women: they are treated like “honorary men”, but their *virtus* is ultimately bound up with traditional female roles and qualities.

The portraits of women as goddesses and heroines in cross-gendered dress share a striking commonality: all of these evoke the *virtus* of the female deceased, primarily through the dress itself, due to its

³⁹³⁸ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.1.

³⁹³⁹ Indeed, (adult) men are never even portrayed dying or being abducted in their portraiture, Russenberger 2015, 405f. On the other hand, R. Bielfeldt suggests that men and women commissioned mythological sarcophagi for themselves while still living, with the possibility of including portraits of themselves in situations expressing their freedom from fear at the prospect of death (understood here as *virtus*); in these cases, the patrons of the monuments are always shown in liminal situations associated with death (e.g. in front of their tomb, at the entrance to the underworld, etc.), Bielfeldt 2019. If this hypothesis is correct, then men and women alike might be said to show passive forms of *virtus*.

³⁹⁴⁰ Russenberger 2015, 406.

³⁹⁴¹ Russenberger 2015, 406.

³⁹⁴² DIA15. 16. 17. In contrast, note that the portraits of women as Ariadne and Phaedra witnessing the departure of their loved ones are not as self-controlled in their emotions, see Birk 2013, 305 cat. 592; 308f. cat. 612.

³⁹⁴³ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.1.1.

³⁹⁴⁴ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.1.2.

associations with heroism, war and the hunt.³⁹⁴⁵ It seems that the celebration of *virtus* is closely intertwined with masculine dress codes on commemorative monuments, regardless of the sex of the honoured individual. As such, female-to-male cross-dressing was considered a threatening aberration in real life, but condoned as a source of honour in their portraiture.

The fact that these portraits confer *virtus* on females has been explained in a variety of ways elsewhere. It has been proposed that children are endowed with *virtus*, in order to cast them as “little adults” worthy of social recognition,³⁹⁴⁶ and that this “manly” quality is extended to girls as well, due to their resistance to categories of mature sexuality and of gender.³⁹⁴⁷ The portraits under consideration, however, do not support either of these hypotheses. Both preadolescent girls and married women are celebrated for their *virtus*, with no notable differences in either their dress or actions. Furthermore, it has been proposed that these monuments were produced for a society in which fighting or hunting were endorsed for the female sex in a limited manner, or at least tolerated.³⁹⁴⁸ The evidence for this social background is, however, insufficient.

It seems, rather, that the portraits of women as herculean women, warrioresses and huntresses were purely symbolic.³⁹⁴⁹ These mythical models stand for the fortitude of the female deceased, but in the sense that was endorsed for their sex: that is, mastering her fears and stoically enduring every blow of fate, for the sake of her honour, her loved ones and her household. They can even stand for her “virtue” in general. This becomes clear by considering the comparisons between Amazons and contemporary women in the literary sources. The mythical warrioresses are presented as proof of women’s innate *virtus*, but the connection more or less ends there. Indeed, contemporary women are encouraged to exhibit their *virtus* in non-combative ways; moreover, this virtue is connected back to their ethical qualities, which allows them to better fulfill their prescribed social roles. It initially seems paradoxical, but it is possible to set up role models for “female” *virtus* in Roman society, without demanding that women directly imitate them, or even wanting them to do so - in fact, this would lead to a crisis.³⁹⁵⁰ The more exaggerated the role model, the better.

It seems that a specifically “female” *virtus* was formulated for women in these portrait types, in order to prevent calling traditional gender roles, relations and hierarchies into question. This is partially achieved by the dress itself.³⁹⁵¹ The dress of herculean woman, warrioresses and huntresses is sufficiently masculine to cast them as “honorary men”, while still drawing attention back to their female nature and social roles; as such, their potential to exhibit *virtus* is bound up with their

³⁹⁴⁵ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.2.1

³⁹⁴⁶ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.2.2.1.

³⁹⁴⁷ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.2.2.2.

³⁹⁴⁸ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.2.2.3.

³⁹⁴⁹ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.2.2.4.

³⁹⁵⁰ This is true not only of the mythical Amazons, but a whole series of legendary women in the ancient world, who even take up arms and lead armies if the situation demands it.

³⁹⁵¹ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.3.1.

womanhood. This is partially achieved by their actions as well. Girls are most often portrayed on their own, in particularly active roles.³⁹⁵² It is not uncommon to pair signs of innocence with fortitude, probably because their *virtus* is ideally directed towards the preservation of their chastity. Women are typically portrayed next to their husbands as heroes, warriors or hunters.³⁹⁵³ The overall aim is to produce symmetry between husband and wife, especially in terms of their moral equality and resultant partnership behaviour. Nevertheless, the *virtus* of women never outshines that of their husbands and is overtly directed towards their roles as supportive wives. It is even possible for women to be celebrated for *virtus* in a vulnerable state, which finds no parallels for men in their portraiture.³⁹⁵⁴

7.5.2 Other Virtues

Women are never praised for their *virtus* alone, since this is generally balanced by traditional feminine qualities. These additional virtues demand further consideration here.

7.5.2.1 *Pulchritudo*

Women are frequently praised for their *pulchritudo* - or beauty - in Roman society, which is understood in both an abstract and concrete sense.³⁹⁵⁵ This quality is certainly relevant to the portraits of girls and women under consideration, but to varying degrees.

7.5.2.1.1 Strength in Beauty

The portraits of women as Omphale are primarily honoured for their *pulchritudo*, by modeling them after Venus herself.³⁹⁵⁶ Nude models are favoured to celebrate their sexual desirability.³⁹⁵⁷ Their possession of the club and lion skin of Hercules reinforces this as well.³⁹⁵⁸ The women are so beautiful that their husbands willingly surrender their arms to them, just like the hero before them; moreover, their close imitation of the hero lends these women an air of strength and capacity, but in matters of love rather than war. As such, their beauty is treated as a source of strength in the imagery.

³⁹⁵² For discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.3.2.1. In contrast, women are rarely portrayed on their own: if so, then the women assume “manly” roles, but tend to remain stationary, see chap. 7.5.1.3.2.2. As with girls, there are some hints that their *virtus* is directed towards protecting their honour and perhaps also their children. The visual culture alone provides no further insight into this matter: the *virtus* of these “independent” girls and women is commended in potentially any social context relevant to them.

³⁹⁵³ There are two overarching possibilities for representation; for discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.3.2.2. First of all, it is possible for the married couple to assume an active role in battle or the hunt, but with the husband assuming the leading role and the wife a supportive one. Secondly, it is possible to portray the married couple in a scene of loving togetherness, with heroism, battle or the hunt serving as backdrop, at times referencing their previous heroic deeds. As such, the image of the strong and courageous woman is primarily appreciated in connection with their husbands. In contrast, there is only one girl portrayed alongside her brother; for discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.3.2.1. She is permitted to assume an active, but clearly supportive role - the relative immaturity of the children therefore presented no significant exception for adhering to the gender hierarchy.

³⁹⁵⁴ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.3.2.2

³⁹⁵⁵ C.T. Lewis - C. Short 1879, 1489 (s.v. *pulchritudo*). For beauty as a female virtue in general, Von Hesberg-Tonn 1983, 214. It is also possible to praise the physical beauty of women (e.g. Allia Potestas, CIL 6, 37965 lin. 17-23; Von Hesberg-Tonn 1983, 184f.; Zanker 1999, 126f).

³⁹⁵⁶ OMP1. 2. 4. 5. For discussion, see chaps. 4.2.3.2.1; 4.2.3.3.2.

³⁹⁵⁷ In several of the possible portraits, however, their bodies are deliberately clothed, in order to partially tone down these connotations or to at least introduce a modest element, OMP3. 5. 6.

³⁹⁵⁸ OMP1, 2.

It seems that these monuments were produced for a society witnessing the rise of companionate marriage,³⁹⁵⁹ including a positive reevaluation of *eros* in this context. The main advocate for mutual erotic love in marriage is Plutarch.³⁹⁶⁰ His “unequivocal praise of conjugal, heterosexual love” marks a significant turning point in the discourse on sexuality, as part of the broader trend towards the equivalence between the sexes.³⁹⁶¹ In the *Erotikos*,³⁹⁶² he characterizes Eros as the most powerful of all deities: even the most warlike of men (e.g. Hercules) come under the control of Eros,³⁹⁶³ which is described as a divine possession.³⁹⁶⁴ He refutes the claims that *eros* is an uncontrollable desire that ruins the soul.³⁹⁶⁵ Rather, the enslaving power of *eros* is ameliorating.³⁹⁶⁶ It awakens the affectionate, sociable and unifying elements in humans and drives them towards an intimate and virtuous union.³⁹⁶⁷ The pleasure of sexual intercourse between husbands and wives is certainly fleeting, but gives rise to friendship (*philia*) in the long term – that is, respect (*time*), kindness (*charis*), mutual affection (*agapēsis*) and loyalty (*pistis*).³⁹⁶⁸ It is therefore through their bodies that newlyweds come to appreciate each other’s character and enter into a stable and harmonious union.³⁹⁶⁹ In the process, *eros* brings out the noblest qualities in humankind: it abolishes arrogance and disrespect, inspires high-mindedness, modesty, generosity and courage, and even leads lovers to sacrifice everything for their beloveds.³⁹⁷⁰ Love truly conquers all: “Women have no part at all in Ares; but if Love possesses them, it leads them to acts of courage beyond the bounds of nature, even to die.”³⁹⁷¹ Plutarch’s endorsement of conjugal *eros* is bound up with a nobler Platonic vision: physical bodies allow humans to catch a glimpse of the genuine, incorruptible Beauty.³⁹⁷² It is nevertheless conceivable that his endorsement of erotic love within marriage in some sense reflects broader attitudes in contemporary society.

³⁹⁵⁹ For further discussion, see chap. 7.5.2.5.

³⁹⁶⁰ For discussion, Beneker 2012, 7-57; Chapman 2011, 59-92; Tsouvala 2014. As both a Greek and a Roman citizen and statesman, he offers a hybrid perspective on the attitudes towards love during the late 1st to early 2nd centuries CE, Tsouvala 2014, 191f. A. Chapman, on the other hand, argues that Plutarch endorses marriage, but he does not really valorize female sexuality, Chapman 2011, 59-92.

³⁹⁶¹ McLnerney 2003, 319f. Plutarch’s praise of conjugal love marks a significant turning point in the philosophical treatises on this topic; the appreciation for sexual love in marriage is detectable before this in other sources (e.g. wedding songs, religious rites), but not yet fully articulated in this way.

³⁹⁶² For discussion on Plutarch’s *Erotikos*, Beneker 2012, 31-39; Chapman, 2011, 59-92; Tsouvala 2014.

³⁹⁶³ Plut. am. 759E-762A; Tsouvala 2014, 196f.

³⁹⁶⁴ Plut. am. 758E-759D; Tsouvala 2014, 197.

³⁹⁶⁵ This is merely a misconception, reflecting the complaints of men trapped in a loveless marriage: marriages of convenience (i.e. for a dowry, heirs) cause husbands to treat their wives with contempt or of zero consequence, Plut. am. 767C-D; Tsouvala 2014, 200f.

³⁹⁶⁶ Overall, “Plutarch describes the benefits one could derive from conjugal *eros*: stability, union, fellowship, harmony and children,” Tsouvala 2014, 203.

³⁹⁶⁷ Plut. am. 757C-758C; Tsouvala 2014, 196.

³⁹⁶⁸ Plut. am. 769A; Tsouvala 2014, 202f. Despite all the vituperative accounts, even the *eros* between Perikles and Aspasia is seen to give rise to *philia*, Beneker 2012, 39. 43-54.

³⁹⁶⁹ Plut. am. 765A-D; 769A; Tsouvala 2014, 199f.

³⁹⁷⁰ Plut. am. 760D-761F. 762B-F. 767D-768B; Tsouvala 2014, 197.

³⁹⁷¹ Plut. am. 761E; Tsouvala 2014, 197 (translation in Minar et al. 1961, 383).

³⁹⁷² Plut. am. 764A-766B; Tsouvala 2014, 197-199.

Sexual desire was not the primary motivation for marriage, but the ideal of falling in love and remaining together until death was evidently worth striving for.³⁹⁷³ Wedding songs encouraged newlyweds not only to fulfill their reproductive duties, but also to take pleasure in each other.³⁹⁷⁴ The concerns of married women with their sexual desirability and fertility was legitimated by religious rites aimed at promoting these virtues, conducted under the auspices of goddesses like Juno, Venus and Fortuna Virilis.³⁹⁷⁵ Wives are also known to use spells and potions to enhance their desirability in the eyes of their husbands.³⁹⁷⁶ This is, however, not a one-sided phenomenon. The image of the husband enslaved by passion for his wife is certainly a cliché in literary sources, but presumably based on the lived experience of moralizing authors - their issue is seemingly not with sexual pleasure in itself, but with uncontrolled and consuming passion, since marriage requires a more solid foundation than this.³⁹⁷⁷ Moreover, men writing to or about their wives occasionally appropriate conventions from elegiac poetry, such as declaring their physical obsession with them or their need for their presence.³⁹⁷⁸

The value placed on sexual desire is attested in the sepulchral context as well. The expression of romantic love and passionate grief was not avoided by either sex in funerary inscriptions.³⁹⁷⁹ Women are occasionally praised for their physical beauty.³⁹⁸⁰ The epitaph for the freedwomen Allia Potestas is particularly striking: she has beautiful facial features and hair, as well as snow-white breasts and a lovely body,³⁹⁸¹ which were perhaps honoured with a portrait statue of her in the nude.³⁹⁸² Moreover, the mythological imagery on Roman sarcophagi reveals the sentimental content of marriage, including a positive re-evaluation of sensuality and desire.³⁹⁸³ Mythical lovers come into the foreground here.³⁹⁸⁴ The focus is often on their beautiful bodies and their passionate emotions, as well as the pain of rejection or separation through death.³⁹⁸⁵ It is also worth drawing attention to a fascinating mirror from a woman's grave on the Esquiline Hill at Rome: here, a nude woman with a hairstyle characteristic of

³⁹⁷³ Treggiari 1991, 259-261.

³⁹⁷⁴ Dixon 2003, 118-120. S. Dixon considers a poem by Catullus (see Cat. 61) probably written for the wedding of his friend Manlius Torquatus; it is seemingly a refined version of the more down-to-earth sexual advice offered by older generations.

³⁹⁷⁵ Dixon 2003, 116-118.

³⁹⁷⁶ Dixon 2003, 120f.

³⁹⁷⁷ In moralizing discourses, the husband's sexual passion for his wife is generally viewed negatively, since the foundation of marriage should be not be instant attraction but other more solid considerations (e.g. long-term affection), Dixon 2003, 122-125. At the same time, it was generally believed - and repeated in these discourses as well - that sexual pleasure increases the chances of conception, Dixon 2003, 123.

³⁹⁷⁸ Dixon 2003, 125-127.

³⁹⁷⁹ Treggiari 1991, 249. Romantic feelings are also attested in the literary sources, Treggiari 1991, 253.

³⁹⁸⁰ Riess, 494f.

³⁹⁸¹ CIL 6, 37965 lin. 17-23.

³⁹⁸² Fejfer 2008, 126.

³⁹⁸³ Ewald 2005, 57-59.

³⁹⁸⁴ Ewald 2005, 59-67.

³⁹⁸⁵ Ewald 2005, 59-67. Note, however, that mythical themes are supplanted by philosophical and hunting themes around the middle of the 3rd century CE, Ewald 2005, 67-71.

the Flavian Period is shown making love in an intimate setting.³⁹⁸⁶ It is therefore plausible that erotic love was in fact valued between husband and wife at this time in various social strata.

The portrait of a girl as Omphale is treated a bit differently.³⁹⁸⁷ Her *pulchritudo* is evoked with minimal reference to the physical body. She is dressed in an elegant but concealing *peplos*, with the drapery slipping from her shoulder. She also wields the club and lion skin of Hercules, in order to signify the disarming power of her beauty. The extension of the mythical allegory from conjugal to child-parental relationships prompted the desexualization of this role model. This fits well into broader trends: indeed, departed daughters are generally praised for their beauty in an abstract sense³⁹⁸⁸ as well as portrayed in the guise of clothed Venuses, with the drapery merely slipping off the shoulder.³⁹⁸⁹

7.5.2.1.2 Beauty in Strength

The remaining portraits of girls and women as goddesses and heroines in masculine dress are not particularly concerned with celebrating their *pulchritudo*.³⁹⁹⁰ It is true that Penthesilea, Virtus, Diana and Atalante are beautiful women - all of them have lovely faces and hairstyles, as well as ideal, flawless bodies. Moreover, their imitation of men ironically draws attention back to their female bodies, with all of its somatic connotations (weakness, eroticism, etc.). What the majority of these women lack are visual cues that evoke their beauty in particular. For instance, the bare breast is not a straightforward sign of beauty. It is primarily a sign of their “manliness”, pointing to their fierce behaviour, but with the potential to become the object of the voyeuristic gaze.³⁹⁹¹

In fact, if the patrons had wanted to focus on the beauty or sexual desirability of these women, then alternate models were available as well. Female beauty is most clearly evoked by the attributes of Venus,³⁹⁹² which are transferrable to other goddesses and heroines as well.³⁹⁹³ Indeed, Penthesilea, Diana and Atalante are occasionally portrayed nude, with transparent garments or even with slipping drapery, but these models were overwhelmingly rejected in the portraiture.³⁹⁹⁴

³⁹⁸⁶ Clarke 2003b, 45f. In general, there is a shift in the representation of sex scenes in classical antiquity, from the demeaning orgies of upper-class men and prostitutes in Classical Athens, to more romantic and intimate encounters between lovers in the Hellenistic Period and into the Roman Period, Clarke 2003b, 40-46.

³⁹⁸⁷ OMP6.

³⁹⁸⁸ In the *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* (CLE), for instance, children are praised for their physical beauty with general terms like *forma* and *species*, as well as comparisons to flowers and cupids, Laes 2004, 61-63.

³⁹⁸⁹ For examples in freestanding statuary, Backe-Dahmen 2006, 104f.; 169f. cat. F 15; 184 cat. F 55; 193f. cat. F 80; for examples in relief, Mander 2013, 58f.; 170f. cat. 52; 173 cat. 63; 175 cat. 71.

³⁹⁹⁰ PEN2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9; VIR1. 2. 3. 4; DIA1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18; ATA1. 2. For discussion, see chaps. 5.2.3.5; 5.3.3.3; 6.2.3.5; 6.3.3.2.4; 6.3.4.3.

³⁹⁹¹ It is even possible to deliberately cover the breast in order to eliminate these connotations, PEN5.

³⁹⁹² For the portraits of women as Venus, D'Ambra 1989, 392-400; D'Ambra 1996; D'Ambra 2000; Hallett 2005, 199. 209-212. 219-222. 331-332; Kleiner 1981; Kousser 2007; Salathé 2000; Wrede 1971, 131. 144-145. 157-161; Wrede 1981, 306-318 cat. 292-316.

³⁹⁹³ For the portraits of women as Ariadne, Wrede 1981, 209-212 cat. 44-57. For the portraits of women as Rhea Silva, Wrede 1981, 271f. cat. 200-204. For the portraits of women as Omphale, see chap. 4.2.

³⁹⁹⁴ The portrait of a woman as Penthesilea wearing a *chiton* slipping off her shoulder stands out here, PEN1. The motif is practically unique among the Amazons. It is therefore evident that additional effort could have been taken to evoke beauty in particular, but was generally not.

Overall, the portraits of girls and women as Penthesilea, Virtus, Diana and Atalante are primarily honoured for their *virtus*, but their imitation of men nevertheless reveals their *pulchritudo*. As such, their strength is treated as source of beauty in the imagery.

7.5.2.1.3 Summary

The portraits of girls and women as Omphale, Penthesilea, Virtus, Diana and Atalante share two commonalities - all of them are celebrated for their *virtus* and *pulchritudo*. It is nevertheless evident that these qualities are weighted to varying degrees. For Omphale, the evocation of *virtus* is embedded in the evocation of *pulchritudo*; for Penthesilea, Virtus, Diana and Atalante, the inverse is true. Contemporary women are commonly praised for their *virtus* and qualities related to beauty and fertility (e.g. *pulchritudo*, *claritas*, *fecunditas*) in the same breath.³⁹⁹⁵ These virtues balance each other in their portraiture as well, to show that hyperfeminine women can in fact aspire to masculine ideals, or, conversely, to show that “honorary men” are never completely defeminized.

7.5.2.2 Pudicitia

Pudicitia - or chastity, modesty, purity - is the premier quality of Roman women, expressed by austere and concealing dress, restrained behaviour, as well as upholding a high standard of sexual ethics.³⁹⁹⁶ Quite interestingly, this virtue is hardly relevant in the portraiture under consideration. The portraits of women as Omphale tend to exhibit signs of *pudicitia*, such as modestly shielding or draping their pudenda.³⁹⁹⁷ It is ideal to characterize these women as beautiful, but also modest, to prevent calling their sexual integrity into question. The overall combination of modesty and strength is probably significant as well: these women are seen direct their *virtus* towards the preservation of their chastity, thus striking careful balance between masculine and feminine virtues.³⁹⁹⁸

It seems, however, that signs of modesty are absent in the remainder of the portraiture under consideration.³⁹⁹⁹ The bodies of the girls and women are put on display more than usual, due to their adoption of masculine dress.⁴⁰⁰⁰ There is, moreover, no restraint in their actions, due to their takeover of active, masculine roles. It is possible that girls and women portrayed in the guise of warrioresses and huntresses are viewed as particularly chaste, but only in light of the mythological background: Diana is a fierce defender of her virginity; Atalante rejects the advances of men as long as possible; the Amazons only have sex for procreation; and Virtus is an asexual goddess, at home in the world of battle. Perhaps their *virtus* is in part directed towards the preservation of their chastity, but the iconography itself sheds no further light on this matter.

³⁹⁹⁵ For discussion, see chaps. 7.5.2.1.1; 7.5.2.1.2.

³⁹⁹⁶ C.T. Lewis - C. Short 1879, 1486 (s.v. pudicitia); Von Hesberg-Tonn 1983, 214.

³⁹⁹⁷ OMP1. 4; see also 3. 5. The girl as Omphale (OMP6) is also clothed. For discussion, see chaps. 4.2.3.2.2; 4.2.3.3.2.

³⁹⁹⁸ OMP1; see also OMP6.

³⁹⁹⁹ PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9; VIR1. 2. 3. 4; DIA1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10. 11. 12. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18; ATA1. 2.

⁴⁰⁰⁰ The only exception is a unique portrait of a woman as Diana dressed in a *peplos*, which carries modest connotations, DIA13.

Overall, it is relatively common for contemporary women to be praised for their *virtus* and qualities related to chastity and modesty (e.g. *castitas*, *sanctitas*, *modestia*) in the same breath. In the portraiture, however, there is little visual evidence for these virtues being balanced.

7.5.2.3 *Pietas*

Pietas refers to the dutiful conduct towards the divine, as well as one's parents, relatives, benefactors and homeland.⁴⁰⁰¹ It is a praiseworthy quality for men and women alike,⁴⁰⁰² but hardly relevant in the portraiture under consideration. The portrait group of a married couple as Meleager and Atalante is portrayed in a mutual act of devotion, which produces a sense of symmetry, but the visual code is highly gendered.⁴⁰⁰³ Her *pietas* counterbalances her *virtus*: she is presented as a strong and courageous woman, devoted not only to the gods, but also to her husband. As such, *pietas* is uncommon on these monuments, but intersects with the other virtues of women in a meaningful way.

7.5.2.4 *Clementia*?

Clementia is the indulgent, forbearing conduct towards the errors and faults of others: moderation, mildness, humanity, benignity or mercy.⁴⁰⁰⁴ It has been asked whether a unique image of "Penthesilea" receiving a kneeling figure on a sarcophagus was understood in terms of the *clementia* of the female deceased.⁴⁰⁰⁵ It is true that *clementia* is generally attributed to men, but not to women: indeed, "women could not bestow or receive *clementia* [in a public setting] because to do so would implicate them in an exchange of social and political power from which they were barred because of their gender."⁴⁰⁰⁶ Women nevertheless exhibited forgiving behaviour, which emerged from their natural place in the private setting, but potentially impacted the public setting as well.⁴⁰⁰⁷ This female version of *clementia* is primarily understood in a moral sense: that is, less so as a public display of power and more so as a private gesture of healing and mutual respect.⁴⁰⁰⁸ The blurring of civic and domestic life essentially pushes "forgiveness toward its more modern incarnation as a private, interpersonal exchange rather than something that only has meaning within a social hierarchy."⁴⁰⁰⁹ It is therefore possible that the image of "Penthesilea" receiving the kneeling figure was understood in terms of the *clementia* of the female deceased, at least in its ethical sense.⁴⁰¹⁰ If this hypothesis is correct, then her

⁴⁰⁰¹ C.T. Lewis - C. Short 1879, 3174f. (s.v. *pietas*).

⁴⁰⁰² Von Hesberg-Tonn 1983, 209f. 212-214.

⁴⁰⁰³ ATA1. For discussion, see chap. 6.3.3.2.1. The husband makes the offering on the altar, as a longstanding visual code for *pietas* among men; the wife prays in the background, much like the goddess *Pietas* herself.

⁴⁰⁰⁴ C.T. Lewis - C. Short 1879, 353 (s.v. *clementia*).

⁴⁰⁰⁵ PEN3. For discussion, see chap. 7.5.2.4.

⁴⁰⁰⁶ Milnor 2012, 99.

⁴⁰⁰⁷ K. Milnor discusses some examples (e.g. Livia convinced Augustus to spare the life of the traitor L. Cinna; an unnamed Roman woman forgave and married her rapist).

⁴⁰⁰⁸ Milnor 2012.

⁴⁰⁰⁹ Milnor 2012, 114.

⁴⁰¹⁰ Otherwise, she is receiving treatment for her wound, which fits into the *virtus* theme.

clementia would serve to counterbalance her *virtus* as well: indeed, she would be not only strong and courageous, but also morally impeccable and forgiving.⁴⁰¹¹

7.5.2.5 *Concordia*

The portraits of women portrayed next to their husbands share a notable commonality: all of these monuments confer *concordia* on both the husbands and wives.⁴⁰¹² It is necessary to consider the significance of celebrating conjugal harmony here, by positioning the monuments in their proper social context. Moreover, the astute observation that *concordia* neutralizes the attribution of *virtus* to women demands further consideration.⁴⁰¹³ A comprehensive analysis of the monuments reveals a variety of strategies for achieving this. In some cases, the women's *concordia* perfectly aligns with their *virtus*, but in a manner that prevents destabilizing the traditional gender hierarchy.⁴⁰¹⁴ In other cases, their *concordia* is prioritized over their *virtus*, in order to stress their role as proper matrons.⁴⁰¹⁵ Finally, it is even possible for their *concordia* to entirely substitute evocations of *virtus*.⁴⁰¹⁶

7.5.2.5.1 *Concordia* and Women

Marriage is frequently characterized as a loveless bond in Roman society, with wives treated as a necessary evil for the production of freeborn citizens and legitimate heirs, for the posterity of their families and the distribution of their properties.⁴⁰¹⁷ The prevalence of this literary topos is hardly surprising, considering the realities of marriage as a social institution.⁴⁰¹⁸ Women were often married off at a young age to older men chosen by their families, and selected based on practical criteria, such as birth, rank, wealth, social connections or traditional virtues.

It is nevertheless possible to trace the rise of companionate marriage at Rome, which is based not primarily on archaic notions of domination, but rather on ideals of lifelong partnership, mutuality and

⁴⁰¹¹ This hypothesis could be tested by exploring the possibility that a specifically female *clementia* was evoked in Roman visual culture in greater detail. This is, however, beyond the scope of the current analysis.

⁴⁰¹² OMP4. 5; PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9; VIR1. 2. 3. 4; DIA15. 16. 17. 18; ATA1. I.L. Hansen rightly identifies the overall connection between *concordia* and *virtus* on PEN3, VIR2 and DIA16, Hansen 2007. In her examination, *concordia* is understood as the emphasis on the couple in general, bound up with notions of unity and permanence, Hansen 2007, 111f. The visual codes for expressing *concordia* between husbands and wives in visual culture are, however, not laid out in detail: the essential point is seemingly their appearance as a pair, marked out in the composition, but especially their gestural relationship (e.g. making eye contact, turning towards each other, making physical contact); the viewer's knowledge of the mythical narrative plays a role here as well, Hansen 2007, 108-116. As such, it will be necessary here to clearly lay out the visual codes for *concordia* in Roman visual culture, before addressing the significance of this theme against its social background.

⁴⁰¹³ I.L. Hansen has identified and partially discussed this trend for VIR2, DIA16 and PEN3: in general, the intimate relationship of these women with men tempers their masculine character, Hansen 2007, 114-116. It is worthwhile building on this astute observation here.

⁴⁰¹⁴ VIR1. 2. 3. 4; DIA18.

⁴⁰¹⁵ PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9; DIA15. 16. 17; ATA1.

⁴⁰¹⁶ OMP4. 5

⁴⁰¹⁷ S. Dixon notes that this view largely stems from certain didactic and moralizing genres, as well as love poetry, Dixon 2003, 114f.

⁴⁰¹⁸ For discussion on the social realities of marriage in Roman society, but also the emergence of companionate marriage as an ideal, Treggiari 1991, 83-261. The marital ideals outlined here of course pertain to legally married couples (*matrimonium iusta*), but perhaps the desire for compatibility and mutual affection extends to other sexual unions as well (*matrimonium iniusta*, i.e. *concubinatus* and *contubernium*); for discussion on the different types of "marriages" in Roman society, Treggiari, 1991, 43-57.

affection.⁴⁰¹⁹ This shift in attitude was greatly influenced by the gradual erosion of paternal authority in Roman law, as well as the increasing weight placed on individualism and personal happiness.⁴⁰²⁰ It is true that marriage was not idealized and romanticized for the first time under the Romans, but the public yearning for partnership and loyalty, as well as for an eternal marital bond, comes more into focus than ever. The endorsement of companionate marriage is attested by a variety of sources, including philosophical texts (e.g. Musonius Rufus, Plutarch), literary sources (e.g. letters exchanged between spouses) and epigraphic sources (e.g. funerary inscriptions).

Concordia and Women in Roman Society

Essential to companionate marriage is the virtue of *concordia*, which refers to the perfect agreement and unity between husbands and wives.⁴⁰²¹ The idealization of conjugal harmony finds its origins in Greek philosophical texts.⁴⁰²² It was generally accepted that women must remain under the control of their husbands due to their moral inferiority.⁴⁰²³ On the other hand, Plato and Xenophon, as well as the Pythagoreans and the Stoics, assert the moral perfectibility of women and idealize the partnership and community (*koinonia*) between husband and wife. Their conception of conjugal harmony nevertheless rests on the leadership of the husband and ultimately serves his benefit: “the wife was to subordinate herself as well as her work. She must share his misfortunes, tolerate all his vices and failings, do everything according to his wishes, avoid having any social contacts which exclude him and cut to minimum her activities outside the house, run an efficient household, be strictly chaste, dress economically and plainly: in short, suppress her personality and depend entirely on him.”⁴⁰²⁴ As such, conjugal harmony was not necessarily synonymous with equality.⁴⁰²⁵

The idealization of conjugal harmony by the Greek philosophers influenced Graeco-Roman theories on marriage, but with some notable innovations, including a greater emphasis on reciprocity, mutual erotic

⁴⁰¹⁹ See footnote 4018.

⁴⁰²⁰ The *paterfamilias* lost the legal right to arrange marriages for his children by the 2nd century BCE at the latest. At this point, his children needed to consent to the match. Moreover, the *paterfamilias* could not forbid his children from selecting their own spouses by the Augustan Period. He was not only required to give his consent, but even to provide a dowry. It also seems that individualism played an important role as well. The increased tendency to seek out personal happiness in one’s career and private life around the beginning of the 1st century BCE probably heightened the desire for emotional benefits in marriage.

⁴⁰²¹ C.T. Lewis - C. Short 1879, 403 (s.v. *concordia*).

⁴⁰²² For discussion on the Greek philosophical background for the Roman ideology of marriage (which includes the sense of conjugal harmony), Treggiari 1991, 183-204.

⁴⁰²³ The main proponent of this view in the philosophical texts is Aristotle, Treggiari 1991, 187f. 202. For the view that men are courageous and women are cowardly, e.g. [Aristot.] *phgn.* 809a-b; Hippokr. *virg.*

⁴⁰²⁴ Treggiari 1991, 202f. (quote on p. 203).

⁴⁰²⁵ Xenophon’s *Oeconomicus* comes closest to promoting a symmetrical relationship between husband and wife. He reaffirms a traditional division of labour among the sexes, but without placing the outdoor tasks of men and the domestic tasks of women in a hierarchy. He insists on the equal responsibilities and privileges of husband and wife, at least in terms of their sexual relationship and property, Treggiari 1991, 185-187.

love and affection.⁴⁰²⁶ Musonius Rufus presents a particularly egalitarian and sympathetic view on conjugal harmony, which is - for the first time - expressly underpinned by mutual affection between husband and wife.⁴⁰²⁷ It is not enough for spouses to create a communal life with the aim of producing children,⁴⁰²⁸ for “in marriage there must be above all perfect companionship and mutual love of husband and wife, both in health and in sickness and under all conditions...”⁴⁰²⁹ Quite interestingly, his advocacy of equal education for boys and girls is directed towards the production of ideal marriage prospects.⁴⁰³⁰ The bride and groom should be united not based on their social rank, possessions or appearance, but on their equality in virtue, as the foundation for partnership (*koinonia*) and unanimity (*omonoia*) in the conjugal relationship.⁴⁰³¹ As he states, “now, wouldn’t the woman who practices philosophy be... a blameless partner in life, and a good worker in common causes, and devoted in her responsibilities towards her husband...?”⁴⁰³² In addition, the cultivation of virtues in women - i.e. reason (*phronesis*), self-control (*sophrosyne*), justice (*dikaiosyne*) and even courage (*andreia*) - allows them to better run the household, as well as to exercise material, emotional and sexual restraint.⁴⁰³³ The husband and wife should strive to outdo each other in devotion,⁴⁰³⁴ since their union only fares well if each partner pulls together with his “yoke-mate” and consider the other’s best interests.⁴⁰³⁵

Musonius Rufus’ views on marriage are certainly striking, but partially undermined by his efforts to simultaneously appeal to conservative attitudes. The issue is his endorsement of a traditional division of labour - with the husband as a “good citizen”, and his wife as a “good household manager” -⁴⁰³⁶ but especially his endorsement of continued male domination.⁴⁰³⁷ A virtuous wife is able “to serve her husband with her own hands, and willing to do things which some would consider no better than slaves’ work.”⁴⁰³⁸ She is also not quarrelsome, which fits well into traditional ideals of female obedience.⁴⁰³⁹ It is true that he also criticizes the double standard on adultery for men and women,⁴⁰⁴⁰ but this is based

⁴⁰²⁶ The Greek philosophers’ views on marriage were available to the Romans by the time of Cicero, Treggiari 1991, 204. For discussion on Graeco-Roman theories of marriage (which includes the sense of conjugal harmony), Treggiari 1991, 205-228.

⁴⁰²⁷ For discussion on Musonius Rufus’ views on marriage, Treggiari 1991, 220-223; Nussbaum 2002. As noted by S. Treggiari, “now we have a full philosophic statement of the sharing of love as a motive for marriage. This had certainly been present in Roman idealization of marriage, on tombstones for example,... but the philosophers had neglected the topic,” Treggiari 1991, 222.

⁴⁰²⁸ Stob. 4, 22, 90 = Musonius Rufus lecture 13A (Lutz 1947).

⁴⁰²⁹ Stob. 4, 22, 90 = Musonius Rufus lecture 13A (Lutz 1947) (translation in Lutz 1947, 49).

⁴⁰³⁰ Nussbaum 2002, 293f.; Caldwell 2015, 19-23.

⁴⁰³¹ Stob. 4, 22, 104 = Musonius Rufus lecture 13B (Lutz 1947).

⁴⁰³² Stob. 2, 31, 126 = Musonius Rufus lecture 3 (Lutz 1947) (translation in Lefkowitz - Fant 2016, 69).

⁴⁰³³ Stob. 2, 31, 126 = Musonius Rufus lecture 3 (Lutz 1947).

⁴⁰³⁴ Stob. 4, 22, 90 = Musonius Rufus lecture 13A (Lutz 1947).

⁴⁰³⁵ Stob. 4, 22, 90 = Musonius Rufus lecture 13A (Lutz 1947) (translation in Lutz 1947, 49).

⁴⁰³⁶ For Musonius Rufus’ endorsement of separate sphere for husbands and wives, Nussbaum 2002, 300-303.

⁴⁰³⁷ For Musonius Rufus’ continued endorsement of male domination, Nussbaum 2002, 303f.

⁴⁰³⁸ Stob. 2, 31, 126 = Musonius Rufus lecture 3 (Lutz 1947) (translation in Lutz 1947, 43); Nussbaum 2002, 303.

⁴⁰³⁹ Stob. 2, 31, 126 = Musonius Rufus lecture 3 (Lutz 1947).

⁴⁰⁴⁰ Women commit adultery by pursuing extramarital relations of any kind, whereas men only commit adultery by harming the sexual integrity of married women, permitting them to seek out relations with prostitutes and slaves, see Treggiari 1991, 299-319. According to Musonius Rufus, however, both husbands and wives should remain faithful to each other, Stob. 3, 6, 23 = Musonius Rufus lecture 12 (Lutz 1947); Nussbaum 2002, 298f.; Treggiari 1991, 221f.

not primarily on ideals of mutual respect, but on conservative notions of male superiority.⁴⁰⁴¹ Indeed, he maintains that men who seek out illicit affairs lose their self-control, which is required to justify their authority over inferior social groups (e.g. women, children, slaves).

The discourse on conjugal harmony reaches its peak in the works of Plutarch, with his endorsement of mutual erotic love between husbands and wives.⁴⁰⁴² In the *Advice to the Bride and Groom*, Plutarch draws a distinction between cohabiting (*synoikein*) and sharing a life together (*sumboiein*): husbands and wives cohabit for procreation or the procurement of a dowry, but their aim should be to create an intimate, loving union by sharing everything in common, including their bodies, social contacts and property.⁴⁰⁴³ Erotic love (*eros*) leads to longstanding friendship (*philia*), which is the foundation for perfect harmony:⁴⁰⁴⁴ indeed, the ideal lovers and friends, “though separated in body, forcibly join their souls and fuse them together, no longer wishing to be separate entities, or believing that they are so.”⁴⁰⁴⁵ Men are able establish this sort of bond with their wives due to their equal capacity for virtue, including prudence (*sophrosyne*), intelligence (*synesis*), loyalty (*pistis*), justice (*dikaiosyne*) and even “a daring and great-hearted courage [*andreia*] which is truly masculine.”⁴⁰⁴⁶ The result is conjugal harmony: “it is a lovely thing for the wife to sympathize with her husband’s concerns and the husband with the wife’s, so that, as ropes, by being intertwined get strength from each other, thus, by the due contribution of goodwill in corresponding measure to each member, the co-partnership may be preserved through the joint action of both.”⁴⁰⁴⁷

In the end, however, women assume traditional roles as obedient housewives and subordinate themselves to their husbands.⁴⁰⁴⁸ Indeed, the creation of conjugal harmony rests on women perfectly harmonizing their lives and character with their husbands.⁴⁰⁴⁹ Wives should not have emotions, opinions, personalities, friends or even deities of their own.⁴⁰⁵⁰ Their public identities are entirely dependent on their husbands: the virtuous woman is visible but silent in the company of her husband, “for in her talk can be seen her feelings, character and disposition,” and remains hidden at home when her husband is absent.⁴⁰⁵¹ In addition, men are encouraged to avoid extramarital affairs to prevent causing their wives

⁴⁰⁴¹ Stob. 3, 6, 23 = Musonius Rufus lecture 12 (Lutz 1947); Nussbaum 2002, 303f.

⁴⁰⁴² Treggiari 1991, 224-226; Tsouvala 2014.

⁴⁰⁴³ Plut. mor. 142E-143A; Tsouvala 2014, 200f.

⁴⁰⁴⁴ Plut. am. 769A. For discussion on his endorsement of mutual erotic love in married life, see chap. 7.5.2.1.1.

⁴⁰⁴⁵ Plut. am. 767E (translation in Minar et al. 1961, 419); Tsouvala 2014, 201.

⁴⁰⁴⁶ Plut. am. 679B-C (translation in Minar et al. 1961, 429); Tsouvala 2014, 203.

⁴⁰⁴⁷ Plut. mor. 140E (translation in Babbitt 1928, 313).

⁴⁰⁴⁸ Plut. mor. 139C-D; Chapman 2011, 13-58; Treggiari 1991, 224. It has been suggested that Plutarch was nevertheless open to the idea of a wife leading her husband in certain areas of the relationship in which she had more competence (e.g. Ismenodora is older and more experienced than Bacchon), Beneker 2012, 36f.

⁴⁰⁴⁹ Plut. mor. 139F; Chapman 2011, 13-58; Tsouvala 2014, 202.

⁴⁰⁵⁰ Plut. mor. 140A. 140D. 142C-D; Chapman 2011, 13-58; Tsouvala 2014, 202.

⁴⁰⁵¹ Plut. mor. 139C. 142C-D (translation in Babbitt 1928, 323); Chapman 2011, 13-58; Tsouvala 2014, 202.

grief,⁴⁰⁵² but women are still asked to perceive their husbands' lust for courtesans and maidservants as a sign of respect, due to protecting them from their drunkenness and debauchery.⁴⁰⁵³

Concordia is treated as the key to a successful marriage not only among theorists, but by the broader population as well.⁴⁰⁵⁴ It is common to stress ideals of agreement, partnership and romantic feelings in the literary sources,⁴⁰⁵⁵ as well as kindness, respect, co-operation, loyalty and sexual fidelity in the epigraphic sources.⁴⁰⁵⁶ In funerary epitaphs, the display of sentiment in marriage is prioritized: indeed, "while generally deserving (*bene merens*) or moral (*sanctissima* or *optima*) conduct is stressed for wives, the affection which they inspire or in which they are held (*carissima*, *dulcissima*) is more important than specific virtues such as chastity or faithfulness."⁴⁰⁵⁷ Moreover, it is common for husbands and wives to claim to have lived in perfect harmony (*concordia*).⁴⁰⁵⁸ The majority of the funerary epitaphs provide little insight into the nature of *concordia*,⁴⁰⁵⁹ surely because the desire to convey private sentiments outweighed the need to elaborate on its dynamics. The celebration of *concordia* is expressly connected to notions of equality and reciprocity in some instances:⁴⁰⁶⁰ "we lived in agreement with equal character,"⁴⁰⁶¹ "they were like-minded and accommodating,"⁴⁰⁶² or "she lived a joyous life with him as his partner in equal harmony and would not be separated from him in death."⁴⁰⁶³ Nevertheless, the subordinate status of women in the conjugal relationship is still detectable, with wives receiving praise for putting their husbands first.⁴⁰⁶⁴

In summary, conjugal harmony was "the result of a balance of forces, and it took two to produce it... [but] there may be some tendency to put more responsibility on the wife, for accommodating herself her husband..."⁴⁰⁶⁵ These two attitudes towards *concordia* co-existed in the Roman world: the emphasis

⁴⁰⁵² Plut. mor. 144D; Treggiari 1991, 226.

⁴⁰⁵³ Plut. mor. 140A-B; Treggiari 1991, 224.

⁴⁰⁵⁴ For discussion, Treggiari 1991, 229-261.

⁴⁰⁵⁵ For discussion, Treggiari 1991, 249-261. The letters exchanged between spouses are an excellent case in point: Cicero, for instance, treats his wife Terentia as an equal partner, with her own duties and talents, and openly shows his affection for her, Treggiari 1991, 253-259.

⁴⁰⁵⁶ For discussion, Treggiari 1991, 230-249.

⁴⁰⁵⁷ In funerary epitaphs in general, Roman men are honoured for both their public and private lives, whereas women are honoured in relation to their domestic lives, including their dedication to their husbands, their children and their household, Treggiari 1991, 243-245. S. Treggiari reaches these conclusions about funerary epitaphs based on the examination of sources from Rome in particular, Treggiari 1991, 231f.

⁴⁰⁵⁸ CIL 1, 1220; CIL 2, 3596; CIL 6, 9663; 10215; 13300; 18414; 21165; 26926; 37556, CIL 9, 1837; 3158; compiled by Treggiari 1991, 245 footnote 129.

⁴⁰⁵⁹ There are, however, a multitude of funerary inscriptions in which husband praise their wives for never having argued with them, which could fit into their notions of how *concordia* works.

⁴⁰⁶⁰ Treggiari 1991, 245f.

⁴⁰⁶¹ CIL 9, 1837; Treggiari 1991, 245.

⁴⁰⁶² CIL 6, 33087.

⁴⁰⁶³ CIL 2, 3596. Perhaps men even put their wives on a pedestal. This sort of imbalance is perhaps detectable in the funerary epitaph dedicated by Aurelius Eutyches to Aurelia Cleopatra: he claims to have lived in complete harmony with his chaste and decent wife, but seems to admit that he is not her equal and therefore expressly places her above himself, CIL 6, 13300. The text is, however, unclear.

⁴⁰⁶⁴ Treggiari 1991, 245.

⁴⁰⁶⁵ Treggiari 1991, 251f. As discussed by C.-E. Centlivres Challet, *concordia* between husbands and wives produced both a sense of symmetry and asymmetry in gender roles: "for women, it meant to accept a subservient position

placed on the equality and cooperation of the married couple or, conversely, the subordination of the wife differed from case to case, depending on the particular aims, context and audience of the textual sources. Even the most “open-minded” theorists on Graeco-Roman marriage (e.g. Musonius Rufus, Plutarch) still offer a less egalitarian and reciprocal view on *concordia* than particular literary and especially epigraphic sources⁴⁰⁶⁶ - this seems natural, since treatises dedicated to marriage offer an abstract and ideal vision of conjugal harmony, frequently bound up with patriarchal values, whereas the letters exchanged between spouses or funerary epitaphs are a bit more “down-to-earth” and, to some degree at least, also connected back to personal experience. It is with these trends in mind that the portraiture under consideration ought to be approached.

Concordia and Women in Roman Visual Culture

The portraits of married couples frequently evoke their *concordia*.⁴⁰⁶⁷ Beginning in the late Republican Period, husbands and wives are portrayed on their funerary reliefs joining their right hands together (*dextrarum iunctio*) (pl. 270b).⁴⁰⁶⁸ The motif was popular among freedpersons, in order to advertise their right to marry (*conubium*) and hence their new status as citizens.⁴⁰⁶⁹ In general though, the act of joining hands signifies unity and agreement and hence another precondition of marriage entirely, namely their willingness to marry (*affectio maritalis*).⁴⁰⁷⁰ In the 1st and early 2nd centuries CE, husbands and wives are then portrayed with the *dextrarum iunctio* on funerary altars and grave urns.⁴⁰⁷¹ At this point, the motif was extended to freeborn members of society as well.⁴⁰⁷²

The portrayal of spouses with the *dextrarum iunctio* is not so much a reflection of the nuptial rite, but rather an idealized image of marriage.⁴⁰⁷³ During the wedding ceremony, the bride is led to the groom, who then takes her by the hand in a unilateral manner (pl. 271a). This ritual marks the passage of the

and to act in public in accordance with ideological gender rules as reflected by the traditional voice [i.e. the stereotypical discourse describing traditional ideals about women]; for men, it meant to accept in private and to give women the leeway reflected by the individual voice [i.e. the discourse that expresses views relating to female behaviour that contrasts with ideological expectations and describes the female gender as sharing characteristics with the male gender],” Centlivres Challet 2013, 160.

⁴⁰⁶⁶ Treggiari 1991, 245f. 252.

⁴⁰⁶⁷ It is not entirely clear whether the earliest visual code for *concordia*, the *dextrarum iunctio*, first appeared in a political or military context, Walter 1979, 273. For discussion on the expression of *concordia* in Roman visual culture among married couples in general (i.e. *dextrarum iunctio*, embrace, etc.), Alexandridis 2004, 95-98. (Note that it is also possible for spouses to exhibit no physical interaction whatsoever, Lovén 2010, 205-209.)

⁴⁰⁶⁸ For the monuments, Kleiner 1977, 22-46; Zanker 1975, 285-288. For discussion on the *dextrarum iunctio* in general (especially in marriage), Reinsberg 2006, 80 footnote 594; Davies 1985, 632-639; Hersch 2010, 208-212; Lovén 2010, 209f.; Reekmans 1958, 23-95; Walter 1979.

⁴⁰⁶⁹ Zanker 1975, 288. For discussion on the capacity and intent to get married in general, Treggiari 1991, 37-80.

⁴⁰⁷⁰ The *dextrarum iunctio* serves as a visual cue for *concordia* in a political context on coinage by ca. 70 CE (see Hölscher 1990, 490 no. 134), in order to propagate the idea that military unity was a precondition of civil peace, Walter 1975, 273. This motif, as well as its broader connotations, was transferred to the portraits of married couples, but to signify their *affectio maritalis* in particular, Reinsberg 2006, 80 footnote 594.

⁴⁰⁷¹ For the monuments, Sinn 1987; Boschung 1987 (the relevant monuments are listed in Alexandridis 2004, 96 footnote 917). For further discussion, Alexandridis 2004, 96; Davies 1985, 632-635.

⁴⁰⁷² Alexandridis 2004, 96.

⁴⁰⁷³ Reinsberg 2006, 79-81; see also Hersch 2010, 208-212.

woman from her father's to her husband's *domus*. The gesture - as a symbol of the transfer of the bride and her possession by the groom - is naturally asymmetrical. In contrast, the *dextrarum iunctio* on funerary monuments is a mutual handshake, offered by both the husbands and wives as "equal" partners: the gesture creates a sense of symmetry, as a symbol of their conjugal harmony (i.e. *concordia*). It is notable that from the Claudian-Neronian Period and above all in the Flavian Period, further gestures for *concordia* are introduced to highlight the affective quality of marriage, such as embracing each other, or setting a hand on the shoulder or cheek.⁴⁰⁷⁴

Concordia was finally propagated in imperial imagery during the Antonine Period.⁴⁰⁷⁵ The conjugal harmony between Antoninus Pius and Faustina Maior is celebrated with a series of coins portraying them joining together their right hands together with the legend CONCORDIA (pl. 271b), as well as with the establishment of an imperial cult in which engaged couples sacrificed before their statues.⁴⁰⁷⁶ It seems that the statue group of Mars and Venus from the Forum Augustum was incorporated into Antonine "propaganda" for *concordia* as well, due to the medallions and coins with Faustina Minor on the obverse and Mars/Venus on the reverse (pl. 272a).⁴⁰⁷⁷ The unity and solidarity of the imperial pair was seen to ensure the production of heirs and hence the continuation of their dynasty.⁴⁰⁷⁸

Under the influence of imperial "propaganda", conjugal harmony was embraced as an elite ideal on the Vita Romana Sarcophagi, which were produced for the senatorial class especially, but also for equestrians.⁴⁰⁷⁹ Here, the married couple is brought together, with the husband in a *toga* and holding a scroll, and the wife typically veiled and modestly inclining her head.⁴⁰⁸⁰ The spouses are portrayed with the *dextrarum iunctio*, but in rare cases with additional or alternate gestures (e.g. putting a hand on the shoulder, wrapping an arm around the shoulders) (pl. 272b).⁴⁰⁸¹ It is common for Concordia to stand in the background, placing her arms around the husband and wife, as well as for Hymenaeus to stand at their feet, holding up a torch. The mythological portraits of married couples began to express conjugal harmony as well, by employing the same sorts of visual codes⁴⁰⁸² - this portrait type was favoured by imperial freedpersons especially, mimicking the trends of the imperial court.⁴⁰⁸³

⁴⁰⁷⁴ Alexandridis 2004, 96f.; Lovén 2010, 210-213.

⁴⁰⁷⁵ For discussion, Alexandridis 2004, 97; Davies 1985, 638; Reinsberg 2006, 81-84. 180f.

⁴⁰⁷⁶ For an overview of the evidence, Alexandridis 2004, 97; Reekmans 1958, 31-37. Note, however, that the *dextrarum iunctio* is already attested for Hadrian and Sabina, Davies 1985, 638.

⁴⁰⁷⁷ Alexandridis 2004, 97f. R. Kousser, however, argues against this connection, Kousser 2007, 674-676.

⁴⁰⁷⁸ Reinsberg 2006, 84.

⁴⁰⁷⁹ For the Vita Romana Sarcophagi, Reinsberg 2006. For discussion on the wedding scenes in general, Alexandridis 2004, 98; Davies 1985, 638-639; Reinsberg 2006, 75-85. 109-116. 180-183.

⁴⁰⁸⁰ For the iconography of the wedding scenes in general, Reinsberg 2006, 75-85. 109-116.

⁴⁰⁸¹ For examples with additional or alternate gestures, Reinsberg 2006, 215f. cat. 80; 216 cat. 82.

⁴⁰⁸² For the *dextrarum iunctio* in mythological imagery in general, Davies 1985, 635-637; Reinsberg 2006, 79. A prime example is the portrait groups of married couples as Mars and Venus from the Antonine Period, where the wife reaches to embrace her husband; for discussion on the monuments, Kleiner 1981; Kousser 2007.

⁴⁰⁸³ Wrede 1981, 159-170.

For the portraits of married couples in scenes of *concordia* as a whole, their gaze, body orientation, poses and gestures vary considerably. These differences probably served to define the conjugal relationship in a certain manner. The interactions between the husband and wife are often mutual, which produces a feeling of reciprocity and symmetry. On the Vita Romana Sarcophagi, for instance, the men and women in the wedding scene practically always look at each other and grasp hands,⁴⁰⁸⁴ to signify their mutual bond (pls. 201b. 206b).⁴⁰⁸⁵ In other cases, the asymmetry in their relationship is evident. In the portrait groups of a married couple in the *clipeus* of sarcophagi, for instance, the man is positioned in front of his wife, who puts her arms around him in order to demonstrate her loving support (pl. 269a).⁴⁰⁸⁶ In rare cases, the woman is positioned in front of her husband instead, perhaps to create a deliberate inversion in gender roles,⁴⁰⁸⁷ but the embrace - and with it the unequivocal display of conjugal harmony - is eliminated at the same time (pl. 273a).

It is plausible that expressions of moral equality are tantamount to *concordia* as well. This hypothesis is supported by medallions and coins portraying co-emperors in the same pursuits with the legend CONCORDIA AVGG.⁴⁰⁸⁸ Caracalla and Geta wear military dress and make an offering over an altar, while being crowned by their own Victoria (pl. 273b).⁴⁰⁸⁹ Diocletian and Maximian sit on curule chairs and hold a globe and *parazonium*, while being crowned by Victoria (pl. 274a).⁴⁰⁹⁰ Moreover, a series of coins minted under Balbinus and Pupienus feature clasped hands (pls. 274b. 275a).⁴⁰⁹¹ The motif often stands for *concordia*,⁴⁰⁹² but quite interestingly, the possible legends include not only CONCORDIA AVGG, but also AMOR MVTVS AVGG, CARITAS MVTVA AVGG, FIDES MVTVA AVGG and PIETAS MVTVA AVGG.

This numismatic evidence reveals that shared virtues between two partners signify *concordia* in particular. It is, however, important to ask if the connection between the signifier (i.e. mutual virtue) and the signified (i.e. *concordia*) was strongly established enough in the visual record to be immediately recognizable, or if this understanding of this imagery is largely aided by other textual and visual cues.⁴⁰⁹³ Caracalla and Geta, as well as Diocletian and Maximian, are honoured for their individual virtues, but the most striking point is their perfect symmetry in virtue. It is therefore conceivable that

⁴⁰⁸⁴ Note that the spouses tend to look at each other, but are portrayed in a variety of poses (e.g. man turning towards the wife or vice versa), see Reinsberg 2006. There is, however, some variation. For instance, the wife could look towards the floor (e.g. Reinsberg 2006, 192 cat. 6; 196f. cat. 15; 226f. cat. 119) or even nowhere at all, due to her veil blocking her vision (e.g. Reinsberg 2006, 238f. cat. 156).

⁴⁰⁸⁵ Russenberger 2015, 395.

⁴⁰⁸⁶ Birk 2013, 153. For the *clipeus* busts of couples, Birk 2013, 277-285 cat. 430-476.

⁴⁰⁸⁷ Birk 2013, 154.

⁴⁰⁸⁸ For examples, Hölscher 1990, 491 nos. 145. 146.

⁴⁰⁸⁹ For the medallion, Gnechi 1912b, 77 no. 2; Hölscher 1990, 491 no. 146.

⁴⁰⁹⁰ For the medallion, Gnechi 1912a, 13 no. 6; Hölscher 1990, 491 no. 145.

⁴⁰⁹¹ For the coins, Carson 1962, 256-258 nos. 67-94; Hölscher 1990, 491 no. 156.

⁴⁰⁹² For examples (where *concordia* is explicitly indicated), Hölscher 1990, 491 nos. 152-158.

⁴⁰⁹³ A number of motifs stand for *concordia* on coins and medallions, such as the peacock (of Juno), the dove (of Venus), or even the she-wolf with Romulus and Remus; for the coins/medallions, Hölscher 1990, 492 nos. 173. 174. 176. It is obvious, however, that the viewer would have never connected these particular symbols to *concordia* without the textual cues.

the image was perceived in terms of unity and harmony, but the legend ensures this understanding.⁴⁰⁹⁴ As for Balbinus and Pupienus, the clasped hands would have surely brought *concordia* to mind before this wide array of mutual virtues. As such, these legends purposely direct the viewer away from the most obvious interpretation of the imagery and towards a particular layer of significance. Overall, there is no reason to doubt that mutual virtues were in fact connected to *concordia*, due to the sheer existence of this pattern in the visual record; it nevertheless possible to assist the viewer with “reading aids”, in order to ensure a particular understanding of the imagery.⁴⁰⁹⁵

It we turn to the portrait groups of married couples on sarcophagi with “realistic” themes, it is plausible that the celebration of mutual virtues (e.g. *pietas*, *eruditio*, *virtus*) was perceived as a sign of *concordia* in its own right.⁴⁰⁹⁶ Nevertheless, this message was often reinforced in other ways. The *pietas* of married couples making an offering is clearly supplemented with *concordia* by including the quality goddess between them (pl. 254b);⁴⁰⁹⁷ moreover, learned men are embraced by their learned wives to accentuate their *concordia* in particular (pl. 269a).⁴⁰⁹⁸ On the so-called Balbinus Sarcophagus, the *virtus* of the husband and wife is paired with a wedding scene to the side, to express their *concordia* through the standard *dextrarum iunctio* (pl. 195a). At the very least, their shared pursuits and similarity in virtue was surely seen to contribute to a happy and functioning marriage.

In summary, the celebration of *concordia* in visual culture was embraced by all social strata exercising the right to marry, ranging from freedpersons to the imperial family. The *dextrarum iunctio* was initially popular among freedpersons to advertise their social advancement, but was extended to the freeborn classes as well, due to its capacity to signify conjugal harmony. By the Antonine Period, the endorsement of marriage as a social institution and conjugal harmony as an ethical ideal was finally propagated in imperial imagery, giving a new impetus to the theme on funerary monuments of elite and socially aspirational classes alike.⁴⁰⁹⁹ The visual interest in *concordia* was largely influenced by the rise in companionate marriage, underpinned by Stoic philosophy, which viewed marriage not merely as a political and economic necessity - e.g. for offspring, transfer of property - but also in emotional and moral terms.⁴¹⁰⁰ Above all, it was held that love was essential to married life, and that the husbands and wives should care for each other, as well as share in each other’s virtues.⁴¹⁰¹ At the same time, the possibilities for evoking *concordia* expanded over time. In the beginning, it was limited to the

⁴⁰⁹⁴ Caracalla and Geta are honoured for their mutual *pietas* (i.e. making a offering) and *virtus* (i.e. military dress/being crowned by Victoria). Diocletian and Maximian are honoured for their mutual *auctoritas* (i.e. seated in curule chairs, holding a globe) and *virtus* (i.e. being crowned by Victoria).

⁴⁰⁹⁵ “Reading aids” refers to other textual and visual cues for *concordia* and mutual virtues.

⁴⁰⁹⁶ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.3.2.2.

⁴⁰⁹⁷ For examples of Concordia standing between a husband and wife making an offering on Vita Romana Sarcophagi”, Reinsberg 2006, 232f. cat. 137; 237 cat. 153.

⁴⁰⁹⁸ For examples of learned women embracing their learned husbands on sarcophagi, Ewald 1999, 195f. cat. F 31; 196 cat. F 32.

⁴⁰⁹⁹ Reinsberg 2006, 180f.

⁴¹⁰⁰ Reinsberg 2006, 180f.

⁴¹⁰¹ Reinsberg 2006, 180f.

dextrarum iunctio, but more affectionate forms of interaction, such as embracing, were gradually added to the mix.⁴¹⁰² It is even possible that moral equality and its associated partnership behaviour were considered tantamount to *concordia*.⁴¹⁰³ The particular arrangement of the couple offers an idealized view of their relationship, as the basis for their attainment of conjugal harmony. It is worth evaluating how the portraiture under consideration fits into these broader trends.

7.5.2.5.2 The Evocation of *Concordia* in the Portraiture

7.5.2.5.2.1 The Signifiers of *Concordia* - Mutual Affection and Virtues

The earliest and most common means of signifying the *concordia* of married couples is to show them joining their right hands together. In the portrait types under consideration, the *dextrarum iunctio* is consistently substituted with an embrace, as an alternate means of evoking conjugal harmony.⁴¹⁰⁴

The significance of this interaction becomes clear by probing its closest iconographic model: that is, the statue group of Mars and Venus in the Forum Augustum, which inspired a series of portraits of married couples in the Antonine Period (pl. 140b).⁴¹⁰⁵ “The *concordia* coins [of the imperial family] - with their protagonists in contemporary dress, their restrained and formal gestures, and their prosaic rendering of Roman religious practices - highlighted the public and official character of Roman marriage...”⁴¹⁰⁶ The portraits of married couples as Mars and Venus, on the other hand, shift the focus to the affective nature of marriage.⁴¹⁰⁷ In general, the recourse to mythical imagery freed the commissioners “from the constraints of real-life decorum,” and allowed them to “take on new roles in a fantasy world of romantic passion”.⁴¹⁰⁸ Moreover, the image of the goddess of love embracing the god of war expresses the amorous relationship of the married couple, which surely resonated with their emotional experience of marriage. It therefore seems that the *dextrarum iunctio* was traded in for an embrace, in order to shift the accent of *concordia* to the emotional side of married life.⁴¹⁰⁹

It is plausible that expressions of moral equality were perceived as a celebration of *concordia* as well. The evocation of mutual virtues is relevant for practically all of the portrait types under consideration: the husbands and wives are consistently honoured for their shared *virtus*,⁴¹¹⁰ and in one case for their

⁴¹⁰² There are other ways to express *concordia* as well, such as the inclusion of the goddess Concordia.

⁴¹⁰³ However, the constantly replicated iconographic conventions for *concordia* are more reliable indicators.

⁴¹⁰⁴ OMP4 (see also OMP5); PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9; VIR2; DIA15. 16. 17; ATA1. For discussion, see chaps. 4.2.3.3.1; 5.2.3.3; 5.3.3.4; 6.2.3.6; 6.3.3.2.2.

⁴¹⁰⁵ It is frequently noted that the portrait groups under consideration are modeled after the statue group of Mars and Venus (from the Forum Augustum), e.g. Hansen 2007, 109-111; Koch 1975, 56; Zanker 1999, 130. For the portrait groups of married couples as Mars and Venus in the Antonine Period, Kleiner 1981; Kousser 2007. Note, however, that the portrait groups of Achilles and Penthesilea are patterned after the Pasquino Group.

⁴¹⁰⁶ The interaction between Mars and Venus is understood differently than the imperial portraits for *concordia*, which heavily influenced private funerary monuments (e.g. Vita Romana Sarcophagi), Kousser 2007, 675.

⁴¹⁰⁷ Kousser 2007, 685.

⁴¹⁰⁸ Kousser 2007, 685; see also Huskinson 2015, 173.

⁴¹⁰⁹ For discussion on the evocation of passionate love, see chap. 7.6.2.

⁴¹¹⁰ PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9; VIR1. 2. 3. 4; DIA15. 16. 17; ATA1. The exception are the portrait groups of married couples as Hercules and Omphale, where the cross-dressing motif is virtually eliminated, OMP4; see also OMP5.

shared *pietas* as well.⁴¹¹¹ It seems, however, that if the patrons wanted to stress their *concordia*, then more obvious visual cues for this virtue were included.⁴¹¹²

7.5.2.5.2.2 The Significance of *Concordia* - Matronly Women

The married couples are celebrated for their *concordia* in a manner that produces both a sense of symmetry and asymmetry between the sexes.⁴¹¹³ The husbands and wives are presented on relatively equal terms by focusing of their mutual virtues, as a sign of their moral equality and ultimately conjugal harmony. Both their dress and actions serve to characterize them as fitting partners. The women are generally well-matched to their husbands due to their preference for masculine, Hellenic dress.⁴¹¹⁴ It is even possible for their outfits to exhibit direct points of overlap - at times in unexpected ways - in order to intensify their feelings of companionship.⁴¹¹⁵ The women also tend to participate in the same activities as their husbands, whether directly or implicitly.⁴¹¹⁶ In some instances, the women even closely imitate the actions of their husbands.⁴¹¹⁷ Overall, the symmetry in their dress and actions bolster feelings of equality and cooperation between the spouses.

On the other hand, the visual codes for *concordia* are carefully formulated, in order to produce a feeling of asymmetry between the sexes. In some cases, the women are inserted into the masculine domain and share in the heroic deeds of their husbands.⁴¹¹⁸ The focus is on their *virtus* (i.e. mutual virtue = *concordia*). The men nevertheless assume the leading role, whereas their wives assume the supportive role. They are shown in perfect harmony, but the effect is only achieved by the women

⁴¹¹¹ ATA1.

⁴¹¹² On the Roman Hunt Sarcophagi, the husband and wife assume the role of the main lion hunter and *Virtus* in order to celebrate their mutual *virtus*. In most cases, there is no physical contact between them, since both of them are focused on the lion hunt (VIR1. 3. 4). There is, however, an exception to the rule, with the woman touching her husband on the hip (VIR2). In her role as the goddess of "manliness", the gesture signifies the transfer of *virtus* to the lion hunter; however, in her role as his wife, the gesture signifies their *concordia*, see chaps. 5.3.3.2; 5.3.3.4. On the Meleager Sarcophagus, the husband and wife participate in a shared offering in order to celebrate their mutual *pietas*, but the woman embraces her husband as well to show their *concordia* (ATA1). Moreover, all of the married couples dressed in military or hunting dress in a moment of loving togetherness express shared *virtus*, but the embrace brings their *concordia* into focus.

⁴¹¹³ In contrast, I.L. Hansen argues that "*concordia* is more effectively illustrated when an equal visual status is conferred upon the couple," Hansen 2007, 117. It is true that *concordia* is connected to ideas of symmetry, but there is also potential for the virtue to produce asymmetry in the relationship: both trends are clearly detectable in the visual codes for *concordia* as well.

⁴¹¹⁴ The main exception to the rule are the portrait groups of married couples as Hercules and Omphale, where the cross-dressing motif is virtually eliminated, OMP4; see also OMP5. Note, however, that feminine and barbarian features are never completely eliminated.

⁴¹¹⁵ Direct points of overlap include bunching their cloaks on the shoulder in the same manner (VIR2), hanging a baldric with a sword over the shoulder on the same side (VIR 2. 3), or wearing the same kinds of fur boots (VIR 1. 3). In most cases, Achilles and Penthesilea wear the same types of *chlamys*, which is notable considering that this cloak is rarely attested among the Amazons, PEN2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. Moreover, the progressive demythologization of Hippolytus and Diana is accompanied by increasing similarities in their dress: indeed, Hippolytus becomes clothed in a short tunic (like Diana), whereas Diana gradually trades in her bow and arrows for a spear (like Hippolytus), despite the fact that stabbing implements are rarely attested for the divine huntress, DIA15. 16. 17.

⁴¹¹⁶ These activities include the battle, the hunt or the sacrifice after the hunt. For direct participation, VIR1-4; DIA18; ATA1. For implicit participation (indicated by their dress), PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9; DIA15. 16. 17; ATA1.

⁴¹¹⁷ The women imitate the actions of their husbands by striding on foot in a similar manner (VIR2), throwing their right arms up in the air as though preparing to attack (VIR4), or grasping their swords at their right sides (VIR1).

⁴¹¹⁸ VIR1. 2. 3. 4; DIA18 (which shows the woman at least in a secondary role).

recognizing and accepting their husbands' interests as their own common interests - in other words, the women subordinate their own identities and values to those of their husbands.⁴¹¹⁹

In other cases, the married couple is shown in a moment of loving togetherness.⁴¹²⁰ The focus is on their *concordia* (i.e. embrace = *concordia*). As in the statue group of Mars and Venus, the woman gazes at her husband, orients herself or even turns towards him, and touches him on the shoulder or chest with one or both hands.⁴¹²¹ Her husband gladly accepts her loving gesture, but hardly reciprocates. Indeed, he looks at his wife and orients himself towards her, but makes no physical contact with her.⁴¹²² By formulating their interaction in this manner, the foundation of their marital concord is ultimately seen to rest on the woman attending to her husband, due to the feelings of devotion and affection being primarily shifted to the wife.⁴¹²³ This image of the married couple is an oft recurring one, conditioned by traditional gender roles: "the man represents the *familia* as an autonomous subject to the outside, while the woman in her actions and attitude orients herself toward her husband."⁴¹²⁴ It is possible to reinforce this idea, by permitting men to actually depart and perform their heroic deeds, while women show their moral support at home and remain there (pls. 23b-25).⁴¹²⁵

Finally, the two possibilities for representing married couples (i.e. shared deeds, moment of loving togetherness) are at times combined.⁴¹²⁶ The husband and wife participate in the same activities, but with a clear difference: the men are completely focused on their tasks, whereas the women demonstrate their support for their husbands by touching them affectionately. Their attention is not reciprocated. As such, the women's role in establishing *concordia* is highlighted especially.

The portraits groups of married couples as Achilles and Penthesilea offer a striking exception to the rule.⁴¹²⁷ Their interaction is instead modeled after the so-called Pasquino Group: that is, representations of warriors holding their fallen companions.⁴¹²⁸ Quite interestingly, the men are cast in the main supportive role. The visual code for *concordia* is, however, uniquely formulated in a manner that allows the men the opportunity to show off their physical strength: indeed, the matronly women

⁴¹¹⁹ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.2.5.

⁴¹²⁰ DIA15. 16. 17.

⁴¹²¹ DIA15. 16. 17.

⁴¹²² DIA15. 16. 17; see also OMP4.

⁴¹²³ In contrast, I.L. Hansen argues that the pose and gestures of the spouses on DIA16 "emphasise the concord of the couple by implying a chosen collaboration between them", Hansen 2007, 112.

⁴¹²⁴ Russenberger 2015, 395 (translation by the author).

⁴¹²⁵ DIA16. 17; see also DIA15.

⁴¹²⁶ On a Roman Hunt Sarcophagi (VIR2), the husband and wife are actively engaged in their heroic deeds, with the former assuming the leading role and the latter assuming the supportive role. The man is completely focused on his goal. The woman looks and turns away from her husband, but demonstrates her unequivocal support for him by placing her hand on his hip. On a Meleager Sarcophagus (ATA1), the husband and wife engage in a shared offering, with the former actually pouring it and the latter assisting in prayer. The man is completely focused on his task, while his wife wraps her arms around him.

⁴¹²⁷ PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.

⁴¹²⁸ For discussion, see chap. 5.2.3.3.

just discussed merely embrace their husbands,⁴¹²⁹ but these men basically bear the entire weight of their wives' bodies. The women also manage to wrap their arms around their husbands, which demonstrates their shared affection for their husbands as well.

In the portrait group of a married couple as Hercules and Omphale (pl. 3), the celebration of *concordia* leads to a shift in this constellation of virtues.⁴¹³⁰ The woman is denied the club and lion skin: as such, qualities like beauty and modesty are brought to the forefront, whereas qualities like strength are eliminated. The man alone is celebrated for his *virtus*, due to his heroic costume. Their interaction is freely modeled after the statue group of Mars and Venus (pl. 140b): the man and woman face each other and orient their bodies towards each other, but the wife alone reaches out to touch her husband on the shoulder. As such, both are celebrated for their *concordia*, but the creation of conjugal harmony primarily hinges on the woman devoting herself to her husband.⁴¹³¹

7.5.2.5.3 Summary

In summary, the emergence of companionate marriage in Roman society, based on ideals of lifelong partnership and mutual affection, brought about the idealization of conjugal harmony.⁴¹³² There were seemingly irreconcilable, but co-existing attitudes towards *concordia*. At one extreme, the creation of marital concord is based on the equality and cooperation between husband and wife. At the other extreme, it ultimately rests on the subordination of the wife to her husband, insofar as she serves his needs and benefit in a more or less unilateral manner.

In the portraits of spouses under consideration, their *concordia* is expressed in two ways.⁴¹³³ First of all, the *dextrarum iunctio* is universally rejected. Instead, the men and women are portrayed together, with the wives reaching out to touch their husbands in a loving way.⁴¹³⁴ The interaction between the husband and wife is typically modelled after the statue group of Mars and Venus from the Forum Augustum, to shift the accent to the affective nature of marital life.⁴¹³⁵ Secondly, the husbands and wives are celebrated for their mutual qualities.⁴¹³⁶ These two visual codes for *concordia* are often combined - at times in emphatic ways⁴¹³⁷ - probably because their physical interaction is a far more conspicuous sign for conjugal harmony than their moral equality in itself.

⁴¹²⁹ VIR2; DIA15. 16. 17; ATA1.

⁴¹³⁰ OMP4; see also OMP5, For discussion, see chap. 4.2.3.3

⁴¹³¹ If it is accepted that a similar monument (OMP5) shows a portrait group of a married couple as Hercules and Omphale, then the interaction is much different: the husband and wife are locked in a mutual embrace, which produces a more reciprocal image of conjugal harmony.

⁴¹³² For discussion, see chap. 7.5.2.5.1.

⁴¹³³ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.2.5.2.1.

⁴¹³⁴ OMP4 (see also OMP5); PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9; VIR2; DIA15. 16. 17; ATA1.

⁴¹³⁵ Note, however, that PEN1-9 is closely modelled after the Pasquino Group.

⁴¹³⁶ PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9; VIR1. 2. 3. 4; DIA15. 16. 17; ATA1.

⁴¹³⁷ VIR2; ATA2.

Both the men and women are celebrated for their *concordia*, but the virtue is especially relevant to women, who honour and cherish their husbands.⁴¹³⁸ In the majority of cases, *concordia* produces a feeling of asymmetry. Some women follow and assist their husbands in their heroic deeds, in a symbolic show of support;⁴¹³⁹ others embrace their husbands in a unilateral way⁴¹⁴⁰ and even remain at home to reflect their roles as proper housewives.⁴¹⁴¹ It follows that the conjugal harmony of the spouses is primarily founded on the headship of the husband and ultimately directed towards his needs and benefit. In exceptional cases, *concordia* produces a greater feeling of symmetry, with the husbands and wives locked in a mutual embrace.⁴¹⁴² These women are presented as deserving of love and care, but other visual cues ensure that the husbands do not seem too uxorious.⁴¹⁴³ Overall, these portrait groups of spouses are certainly unusual, but hardly challenge traditional gender roles.

The majority of the portraits of married couples under consideration are celebrated for both their *virtus* and *concordia*, which is extremely significant.⁴¹⁴⁴ Indeed, their *concordia* is formulated in a manner that partially counterbalances the unconventional attribution of *virtus* to not only men, but also to women.⁴¹⁴⁵ This is achieved in a couple of ways. First of all, the presentation of herculean women, warrioresses and huntresses in intimate relationships mollifies their identities as fierce, “masculine” women.⁴¹⁴⁶ These warrioresses and huntresses are notorious for rejecting the institution of marriage. By portraying them embracing their male partners (= *concordia*), these untamed women are suddenly imbued with matronly qualities⁴¹⁴⁷ like devotion and affection.⁴¹⁴⁸ Secondly, the warrioresses and huntresses perform acts of *virtus* in partnership with their male companions (= *concordia*), but in a clear hierarchy: the husbands assume a leadership role, whereas the women are cast in a supportive role.⁴¹⁴⁹ These women are “elevated and honoured by having access to both female and male

⁴¹³⁸ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.2.5.2.2.

⁴¹³⁹ This is visualized in some cases (i.e. VIR1. 2. 3. 4; DIA15), but merely implied in others (i.e. PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9; ATA1).

⁴¹⁴⁰ OMP.4; PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9; VIR2; DIA15. 16. 17; ATA1.

⁴¹⁴¹ DIA15. 16. 17; see also OMP4. OMP5.

⁴¹⁴² OMP5; PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.

⁴¹⁴³ For discussion, see chap. 7.6.2.

⁴¹⁴⁴ I.L. Hansen identifies the connection between *concordia* and *virtus* on PEN3, VIR2 and DIA16, Hansen 2007.

⁴¹⁴⁵ I.L. Hansen recognizes that problems can arise in attributing both *concordia* and *virtus* to married couples: “on the one hand, *concordia* [i.e. the focus on the couple in general, bound up with notions of unity and permanence] is more effectively illustrated when an equal visual status is conferred upon the protagonists; on the other, emphasizing the presence of the female character in associations with *virtus* risks unbalancing the relative gendered status of the couple.” It is therefore necessary to prevent this by trying to formulate their relationship in a manner that fits into traditional ideals, Hansen 2007, 117. Quite notably though, the solution to the problem is actually the visual codes for *concordia* themselves (i.e. physical interaction, moral equality), due to their potential to produce not only symmetry between husbands and wives, but also asymmetry.

⁴¹⁴⁶ I.L. Hansen notes this trend for VIR2, PEN3 and DIA 16, Hansen 2007, 114.

⁴¹⁴⁷ I.L. Hansen notes this trend for DIA16 in particular, Hansen 2007, 116.

⁴¹⁴⁸ VIR2; PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9; DIA15. 16. 17; ATA1.

⁴¹⁴⁹ VIR1. 2. 3. 4; DIA18. For discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.3.2.2. In contrast, I.L. Hansen argues that there are “subtle differences in the relationship to articulate traditional gendered status relationships and assist in establishing a correct balance between active-male and female-passive,” Hansen 2007, 117. It is nevertheless clear that the proposed dichotomy is not universally applicable, since husbands and wives can assume equally active roles; the decisive point is actually that the women are virtually always cast in supportive or secondary roles.

ideals,”⁴¹⁵⁰ but the iconography for conjugal harmony is carefully formulated to retain the proper asymmetry with their husbands. Furthermore, in extreme cases at least, the celebration of *concordia* provokes a reorientation of the men and women’s virtues along gendered lines, with *virtus* ascribed exclusively to the husbands, but more traditional qualities to their wives.⁴¹⁵¹

7.6 The Expression of Private Feelings in the Portraiture

7.6.1 Untimely Loss

It was previously believed that parents were relatively indifferent to the loss of their children, due to the high child mortality rates in the Roman world.⁴¹⁵² The exclusion of parental grief on monuments for children is short-sighted: the sad task of burying their children is seen as inversion on the natural order; moreover, their laments are based on genuine pain and misery at the moment of their children’s death, as well as their frustrated hopes and expectations for the future.⁴¹⁵³

There is a tendency to commemorate girls in the guise of mythical figures that draw attention to their youthfulness and inexperience. The portrait of a girl as Omphale is a charming conceit: it extends the metaphor of disarming love from mythological lovers to non-sexual beings, to show that the little girl has metaphorically conquered the hearts of her parents.⁴¹⁵⁴ Her interaction with the arms of Hercules gives an impression of strength, but also playfulness. It seems that Diana is a particularly popular role model for girls due to having a recognizable childhood, as well as due to remaining in a state of innocence for her entire life.⁴¹⁵⁵ The portrait of a girl as “Atalante” is portrayed as a “female cupid”, to cast her as an eternal child.⁴¹⁵⁶ The hunt is also transformed into a game. Overall, the imagery draws attention to their premature deaths, which prompts feelings of sadness, pity or nostalgia.

It seems that grieving parents wished to show their affection for their offspring, as well as their sadness for their loss, by ennobling them on their funerary monuments. This is achieved by portraying them in the guise of immortals, surpassing their years - both in terms of physical appearance and activity - or else “floating” next to their parents on the same monuments.⁴¹⁵⁷

The portraits of girls as Omphale, Diana and “Atalante” fulfilled these needs as well. First of all, the genre of mythological portraiture is particularly suitable for not only children, but also the female sex as a whole, insofar as these groups had fewer social roles considered worthy of commemoration.⁴¹⁵⁸ The identification of little girls with goddesses and heroines celebrates their personal virtues - still budding,

⁴¹⁵⁰ I.L. Hansen notes this trend for DIA16 in particular, Hansen 2007, 112.

⁴¹⁵¹ OMP4. 5.

⁴¹⁵² Ariès 1962.

⁴¹⁵³ For discussion, Laes 2004, 48-54; Mander 2013, 8-15.

⁴¹⁵⁴ OMP6. For discussion, see chap. 4.2.3.2.1.

⁴¹⁵⁵ DIA1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7. For discussion, see chap. 6.2.3.3.

⁴¹⁵⁶ ATA2. For discussion, see chap. 6.3.4.4.

⁴¹⁵⁷ See Mander 2013, 55-64.

⁴¹⁵⁸ Wrede 1981, 160.

not fully in bloom - on a mythical and hence lofty plane.⁴¹⁵⁹ Secondly, the girls are portrayed with traits beyond their years (e.g. matronly hairstyles, adult roles), in order to turn the viewer's attention to their unfulfilled potential.⁴¹⁶⁰ Thirdly, it is even possible to show daughters with their mothers, as their "spitting image" and raised to the same level.⁴¹⁶¹

In summary, the portraits of girls are expressions of parental love and grief. Their role models not only serve to express feelings of untimely loss and thwarted potential, but also - and presumably in compensation for this - to elevate these little girls to a higher level.

7.6.2 Passionate Love

The married couples are frequently identified with mythical lovers, namely, Hercules/Omphale, Achilles/Penthesilea or Meleager/Atalante.⁴¹⁶² These narratives deal with heroes who are infatuated with beautiful women, and it seems that the romantic content generally appealed to the patrons of the funerary monuments. It is nevertheless evident that the expression of inordinate passion is deliberately avoided on the monuments - especially for men - presumably due to being a sign of faltering masculinity⁴¹⁶³ as well as a source of condemnation and strife.

The portrait groups of married couples are primarily modeled after the statue group of Mars and Venus from the Forum Augustum.⁴¹⁶⁴ The woman directs her full attention towards her husband, but her husband reciprocates in a limited manner, or even not at all.⁴¹⁶⁵ The men are not lovesick heroes and the passionate feelings are primarily shifted to their wives, which completely subverts the mythical narratives. The portrait groups of married couples as Achilles and Penthesilea, modeled after the so-called Pasquino Group, form the exception to the rule: the man wraps his arms around his dying wife, who reciprocates by placing one arm around her husband's shoulders.⁴¹⁶⁶ The passionate feelings of the husband are more openly expressed, but there is a lack of emotional engagement due to the averted gazes and the entire scene is staged in a highly artificial manner.

⁴¹⁵⁹ S. Mander, on the other hand, suggests that "... the positive traits of the gods were a substitute for the lack of 'achievements', at least in cultural terms, of the children themselves," Mander 2013, 59.

⁴¹⁶⁰ Mander 2013, 62.

⁴¹⁶¹ DIA3.

⁴¹⁶² OMP4; PEN1-9; ATA1.

⁴¹⁶³ For discussion, see chaps. 2.1.2.1; 7.3; app. C.

⁴¹⁶⁴ OMP4; ATA1; see also VIR2; DIA15. 16. 17. For discussion, see chaps. 4.2.3.3.1; 6.3.3.2.2.

⁴¹⁶⁵ The woman gazes at her husband, orients herself or even turns towards him, and touches him on the shoulder, chest or hip (with one or both hands), OMP4; ATA1. In one case, the man looks at his wife and orients himself towards her, but makes no physical contact with her, OMP4. In another case, however, the man fails to acknowledge his wife whatsoever, ATA1.

⁴¹⁶⁶ PEN1-9. For discussion, see chap. 5.2.3.3. Another possible exception to the rule is a monument with Hercules and a Venus-like woman locked in a mutual embrace, but it is not clear if this is actually Omphale or if Hercules was actually furnished with individualized features in antiquity, OMP5.

The theme of inordinate lust - which is perceived as a feminizing force - is symbolized in all of these mythical narratives by forsaking signs of “manly” honour.⁴¹⁶⁷ It is therefore necessary to minimize the motif in the portraiture as much as possible: Hercules retains his club and lion skin;⁴¹⁶⁸ Achilles still bears defensive arms especially, as a reminder of his warlike character;⁴¹⁶⁹ and Meleager does not clearly surrender the boar.⁴¹⁷⁰ These tales of star-crossed lovers certainly resonated with the patrons of these funerary monuments, but the potentially emasculating details were entirely suppressed.

The married couples are also identified with platonic companions, namely, the Lion Hunter/Virtus or Hippolytus/Diana.⁴¹⁷¹ Their role models are simply recast as lovers, by showing physical contact between them.⁴¹⁷² To this end, the statue group of Mars and Venus in the Forum Augustum is generally latched onto as a model: this has the effect of investing the women with passionate feelings that are completely foreign to their characters, but keeping the men relatively detached.⁴¹⁷³ The platonic companions are also recast as lovers by placing cupids next to them.⁴¹⁷⁴ It is remarkable that the same motifs introduced to clarify their amorous relationship tend to reinforce the “manliness” of the husbands as well. Indeed, Virtus touches the lion hunter not merely to display her love and affection for him, but also to transfer qualities like strength and courage to him.⁴¹⁷⁵ The cupids are shown arming a man for battle in one case,⁴¹⁷⁶ but probably disarming a “housewife” in another.⁴¹⁷⁷

The portraits of married couples are not, however, universally concerned with expressing the love between husbands and wives.⁴¹⁷⁸ Indeed, a few monuments are solely concerned with moral equality, with no indication of a romantic connection between them whatsoever.

⁴¹⁶⁷ Hercules is so enamoured by Omphale that he willingly enters into her slavery, by performing domestic tasks and exchanging dress with her. Achilles tragically falls in love with Penthesilea just after mortally wounding her: instead of joining the others in gathering the spoils of battle, the hero pitifully mourns the loss of the beautiful warriorress. Meleager awards Atalante the boar hide in part due to her exceptional display of prowess in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, but primarily due to his lust for her. As such, all of these narratives are characterized by men abandoning their “manly” honours for the sake of women.

⁴¹⁶⁸ OMP4. For discussion, see chap. 4.2.3.3.

⁴¹⁶⁹ PEN1-9. For discussion, see chap. 5.2.3.3.

⁴¹⁷⁰ ATA1. For discussion, see chap. 6.3.3.2.2.

⁴¹⁷¹ VIR1-4; DIA15. 16. 17. For discussion, see chaps. 5.3.3.4; 6.2.3.6.

⁴¹⁷² VIR2; DIA15. 16. 17.

⁴¹⁷³ In most cases, the woman gazes at her husband, orients herself or even turns towards him, and touches him on the shoulder, chest or hip (with one or both hands), VIR2 (note, however, that the woman looks and turns away from her husband, but still makes physical contact with him); DIA15. 16. 17. The man most often looks at his wife and orients himself towards her, but makes no physical contact with her, DIA15. 16. 17. In another case, however, he fails to acknowledge her whatsoever, VIR2.

⁴¹⁷⁴ VIR1; DIA17.

⁴¹⁷⁵ VIR2.

⁴¹⁷⁶ VIR1.

⁴¹⁷⁷ DIA17.

⁴¹⁷⁸ Half of the spouses portrayed in the guise of lion hunters and Virtus lack all indications of a romantic connection between them (VIR 3. 4). Moreover, C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus and Domitia Severa (DIA18) are not even shown in the same scene. On the front of the casket, the spouses are portrayed in separate *aediculae*. The remaining sides are dedicated to the husband hunting the boar and the wife subduing a deer, in different scenes.

7.7 The Trend Towards Demythologization

Demythologization refers to the process of reinterpreting a subject so that it is partially or completely divested of mythical elements.⁴¹⁷⁹ In Roman visual culture, the trend towards demythologization is characterized by the simplification or adjustment of standardized mythological image types, but especially the loss of narrative and the alteration of essential details – the end result is the abbreviation, transformation or even distortion of the tale.⁴¹⁸⁰ Moreover, there is an intrusion of “real life” elements, thus blurring the boundaries between the mythical and contemporary worlds.⁴¹⁸¹ Demythologization has been treated as a sign of degeneration, indicating that the mythical narratives and their traditional significance were no longer grasped or appreciated.⁴¹⁸² It seems, however, that the suppression of mythological content and the infiltration of contemporary elements are actually “due to an intentional manipulation of the myths and their iconographies in order to make them fit the messages that the... patrons now wanted to convey.”⁴¹⁸³ This phenomenon resulted from the increasing desire for the Romans to identify with divinities and heroes, especially in terms of their personal values and positive qualities, whereas problematic details were suppressed.⁴¹⁸⁴

The relationship between demythologization and self-representation is clearly illustrated by Roman sarcophagi. Mythological imagery related to tragic death and especially the pleasures of life predominated in the 2nd century CE: the former provoked an emotional response, such as grief, sympathy and compassion, while providing consolation to the survivors (*exemplum mortalitatis*); the latter reflected on the positive experiences in life, such as love, dance and wine, and serves as a reminder to “seize the day”, coupled with vague hopes for a blissful afterlife (*exemplum felicitatis*).⁴¹⁸⁵

⁴¹⁷⁹ For the origins of the concept of demythologization (i.e. *entmythologisierung*), Gerke 1940, 12f. For discussion on the phenomenon of demythologization in Roman visual culture in general, Borg 2013, 162-178; Blome 1978; Brandenburg 2004, 3f. 8f.; Dunbabin 1978, 38-45; Koch - Sichtermann 1982, 615-617; Huskinson 2015, 178-180; Koortbojian 1995, 138-141; Koortbojian 2013, 153-157; Muth 1998, 282-289; Raeck 1992, 71-78. 160-166; Zanker 2005; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 255-261.

⁴¹⁸⁰ Koortbojian 1995, 138. On a related note, standardized mythological image types with certain commonalities start to blend in the visual record; for discussion, Turcan 1987; for the relationship between this sort of eclecticism and demythologization, Huskinson 2015, 160f.

⁴¹⁸¹ Huskinson 2015, 179.

⁴¹⁸² Noted by Borg 2013, 162f. 178f.; Huskinson 2015, 179f. It is true that demythologization has been treated as a sign of degeneration, but it seems that the themes of decline and devaluation are not as pronounced in the history of research as assumed. This becomes evident by considering the scholarship about the demythologization of sarcophagi featuring the myth of Endymion (collected in Koortbojian 1995, 139f.). F. Matz notes in passing that the mythological narrative was no longer recognizable or understood, Matz 1958, 78. According to H. Sichtermann, the mythological protagonist is not necessarily recognizable anymore; however, the process of demythologization is not necessarily negative, since it at least served the purpose of focusing on the portrait figure of the deceased and situating him in the blissful afterlife, Sichtermann 1966, 82-87. H. Wrede more or less follows H. Sichtermann, but stresses the need for self-representation more and provides a model for the change: mythological imagery is no longer a way of explaining the world, but used to represent new religious and philosophical ideas, Wrede 1981, 171f. J. Engemann claims that the identity of the mythological protagonist and the associated narratives are never lost here; the aim of demythologization is to focus on the mythological protagonist, so that the deceased can be identified with the saved hero, Engemann 1973, 29f.; see also Fittschen 1969, 45. M. Koortbojian more or less follows J. Engemann, noting that the isolated mythological protagonist is a “highly sophisticated mode of mythological allusion,” Koortbojian 1995, 140f.

⁴¹⁸³ Borg 2013, 177.

⁴¹⁸⁴ For discussion, Borg 2013, 177f.

⁴¹⁸⁵ Borg 2013, 177; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 63-177; Zanker 2005, 243-246.

The lack of direct identifications between with the deceased (e.g. through portraits) allowed these themes to be used irrespectively of age and gender.⁴¹⁸⁶ In the 3rd century CE, mythological imagery with the power to evoke particular virtues was increasingly favoured, to serve as an encomium for the deceased (i.e. *exemplum virtutum*).⁴¹⁸⁷ This is confirmed by the greater tendency to furnish gods and heroes with the individualized features of the deceased.⁴¹⁸⁸ In the process, the dramatic, emotional and dubious elements of the narratives were typically suppressed, to the point that the imagery was emptied of mythological content in some cases, or else completely abandoned in others.⁴¹⁸⁹

The mythological portraits under consideration were practically always affected by the process of demythologization, but to varying degrees. At one end of the spectrum, the goddesses and heroines are merely singled out from their mythological backgrounds.⁴¹⁹⁰ Freestanding sculpture already exhibits traits that are characteristic of demythologization, especially its inherent tendency to reduce narratives to symbols: a few notable cases include “Alkamenes’ Prokne with her son, Itys, in which Prokne’s son unknowingly awaits his fate; Praxiteles’ Aphrodite, in which the goddess is shown emerging from her bath; Lysippos’s ‘Weary Herakles,’ in which the hero rests from his labors.”⁴¹⁹¹ The mythological protagonists are easily recognizable outside of their usual storylines: the shift from narrative to symbol merely pinpoints and amplifies particular aspects and qualities, but without necessarily eliminating all of their mythological baggage.⁴¹⁹² For many of the portrait types under consideration as well, there is nothing truly unique about the iconography: the goddesses and heroines are merely isolated to reduce the overall narrative and focus on their virtues. It is nevertheless clear that particular features were deliberately selected for the sake of maximizing the praise of the female deceased, which - in some cases at least - resulted in truly exceptional monuments.⁴¹⁹³ Moreover, it is

⁴¹⁸⁶ Borg 2013, 177.

⁴¹⁸⁷ Borg 2013, 177f.; Borg 2014, 248-151; for detailed discussion, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 179-245.

⁴¹⁸⁸ See footnote 4187.

⁴¹⁸⁹ Borg 2013, 177f.; Borg 2014, 248-251; Zanker 2005, 246-250; see also Zanker - Ewald 2004, 255-261.

⁴¹⁹⁰ e.g. OMP1 (but see OMP6); DIA1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10. 11. 12. 13.

⁴¹⁹¹ Koortbojian 1995, 140f.

⁴¹⁹² For examples of this opinion, Engemann 1973, 30; Fittschen 1969, 45; Koortbojian 1995, 140f.

⁴¹⁹³ An excellent example of this is the portrait of a woman as Omphale (OMP1). There is hardly anything unique about her iconography: indeed, practically all of these features are already attested in the corpus of mythological images. Her mythical identity as Omphale is not lost in the minds of the viewers, and the possibility of viewing the woman as “Venus-Hercules” - or as a beautiful, combative woman in general - should be excluded. It is nevertheless evident that particular features were deliberately selected for the sake of maximizing the praise of the female deceased. Her nude, Venus-like body is favoured here, in order to highlight her erotic beauty. She rarely shields her pudenda, but the motif is favoured here to reference her modesty. She is portrayed as a sweet and delicate woman, or as a confident woman, wielding the club and lion skin in a manner similar to Hercules. The latter theme is more pronounced here in order to reinforce her image as a women with disarming beauty, powerful in matters of love, which nevertheless displays her capacity for *virtus*. She is also alone here, to prevent casting her husband as potentially uxorious. In contrast, the portrait of a girl as Omphale (OMP6) is on the verge of slipping into demythologization. She is more similar to Hercules than ever, both in terms of her firm stance and her arms, which could cast her as his maidenly doublet.

possible to retain select features of the mythical narrative, but reduce them to the status of mere attributes, in order to reinforce the virtues of the women.⁴¹⁹⁴

Around the middle of the spectrum, the iconography is significantly adjusted in order to foreground or suppress, or even to invent or eliminate particular features of the mythical narrative.⁴¹⁹⁵ The transformation of adults into children in mythological imagery is occasionally carried out to suit the tender age of the deceased, without necessarily harming the integrity of the narrative.⁴¹⁹⁶ In several cases, however, the iconography is deliberately manipulated to “rewrite” the narrative, especially in order to introduce praiseworthy qualities,⁴¹⁹⁷ downplay excessive emotions, and guard the decorum of the deceased.⁴¹⁹⁸ It is even possible for these alterations to threaten the comprehensibility of their mythical identities, which therefore needed to be ensured in other ways.⁴¹⁹⁹ The difficulties in drawing on mythical narratives for self-representation and commemoration is evident: the portrait types were either exceedingly rare or eventually abandoned, presumably because the problematic aspects of the narratives were never entirely suppressed in the minds of the viewers.⁴²⁰⁰

In all of the aforementioned cases, the recognizability of the mythical protagonists is not compromised. Their surreal tales of love and loss seemingly resonated with the emotions of the patrons - the iconography is carefully selected and modified to glorify the deceased and preserve their dignity, but without necessarily eliminating all of the mythological baggage.

⁴¹⁹⁴ An excellent example of this is the (possible) portrait of a woman as Diana sweeping in to rescue Iphigenia from the sacrificial altar (DIA14). The focus is not so much on her identity as a “masculine” huntress, but as a cosmic saviouress. Moreover, it is notable that Iphigenia and the sacrificial animal are reduced to mere attributes, to shift the focus away from the mythical narrative and towards her personal qualities (e.g. strength, courage).

⁴¹⁹⁵ e.g. OMP4 (see also OMP5); PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9; DIA15; ATA1.

⁴¹⁹⁶ In most cases, the mythical model is still recognizable. In the case of ATA2, however, the mythical narrative is no longer recognizable, but due to other factors entirely.

⁴¹⁹⁷ For instance, the portrait group of a married couple (ATA1) is recognizable as Meleager and Atalante in particular due to their hunting dress, as well as their insertion into a scene of loving togetherness after the boar hunt. At the same time, they are transformed into spouses making an offering to the gods, which is completely foreign to their iconography. The isolation of the pair and the unique formulation of their iconography serve to accentuate virtues like *pietas*, *concordia* and *virtus*.

⁴¹⁹⁸ For instance, in the portrait groups of married couples and Achilles and Penthesilea (PEN1-9), the iconography was adjusted to downplay the gruesome death of the woman as well as the culpability and excessive sorrow of her husband. Penthesilea is portrayed in a relatively upright, cognizant state, without lesions, whereas Achilles is portrayed in a state of self-control, steadily supporting his beloved and primarily with defensive arms.

⁴¹⁹⁹ For instance, the portrait group of a married couple as Hercules and Omphale (OMP4) is barely recognizable as this particular mythical pair, due to the minimization of the exchange of gendered dress. It is nevertheless clear that the patrons wanted to identify the married couple with Hercules and Omphale in particular, due to the addition of labels. This strongly suggests that the mythical background remained significant for their commemoration, just not the more problematic aspects of it. The mythical narrative is simply rewritten here: Hercules performs the Twelve Labours (*negotium*) and is joined with Omphale at the end (*otium*).

⁴²⁰⁰ Patrons were attracted to these myths due to their power to convey extreme emotions (e.g. love, loss, etc.). In some cases, however, it was exceedingly difficult to suppress the problematic aspects of the narratives. For instance, the portraits of men and women as Hercules and Omphale are extremely rare, due to the sheer difficulties in formulating the iconography in a socially appropriate way. In other cases, it was possible to suppress the problematic aspects of the myths in the iconography, but never entirely in the minds of the viewers, who were aware of the full narrative. For instance, the portraits of men and women as Achilles and Penthesilea convey both emotions and virtues; as the desire to express emotion was progressively supplanted by the desire to express virtue over the course of the 3rd century CE, the mythical paradigm was no longer sought out because virtue could be conveyed in other more conventional ways, Borg 2013, 178.

At the other end of the spectrum, the mythological protagonists are no longer recognizable.⁴²⁰¹ This is achieved in a variety of ways: by adjusting the iconography of the mythical protagonists in a manner that serves to break down their mythical identities; by trading in their mythical outfits for contemporary ones; and by inserting them into contemporary narratives.⁴²⁰² In these cases, the mythological narratives are no longer of interest, but rather the capacity for the visual codes (e.g. dress, actions, interactions, etc.) to signify particular ideas and values.

The impact of demythologization varies considerably, but the motivation is practically always the same: the standardized mythological image types are simplified, adjusted or completely rejected, treated interchangeably, and even infused with “real life” elements in order to create a suitable memorial for the deceased and their kin that reflects their emotions and virtues.

The process of demythologization confirms that cross-dressing was perceived by the artists, patrons and viewers as a visual code in its own right, quite independently of any particular mythical narrative.

First of all, *demythologization was adopted as a strategy for restoring the proper balance between men and women, by reducing the exchange of gendered dress*. This is best demonstrated by the portrait of a married couple as Hercules and Omphale: here, the husband retains his club and lion skin, which denies his wife these masculine attributes.⁴²⁰³ The elimination of the cross-dressing was necessary to distance the commemorated individuals from the dubious features of the narrative (i.e. dominant woman vs. emasculated, uxorious man). It is notable that only the mutual exchange of gendered dress posed a problem, whereas the shared takeover of masculine dress was often embraced.

Secondly, *demythologization was adopted as a strategy for celebrating the virtue of women in “real life” contexts, without, however, fully bridging the gap between myth and reality*. This is clearly demonstrated by the portraits of women on sarcophagi with hunting themes. In some cases, the women are identified with mythical warrioresses and huntresses (e.g. Virtus, Diana, Atalante), making it

⁴²⁰¹ DIA16. 17. 18; ATA2.

⁴²⁰² For instance, the sarcophagi featuring the myth of Hippolytus (DIA15) were completely emptied of mythological content between 220-230 CE, giving rise to the first Roman Hunt Sarcophagi, VIR1. 3. 4 (but see VIR2); DIA16. 17. The trend towards demythologization impacted the portraits of both men (as Hippolytus) and women (as Diana or Virtus), but with notable differences. The portraits of men as Hippolytus were transformed to the point that their original mythical identities were no longer recognizable. In contrast, the portraits of women as Diana are certainly impacted by demythologization (e.g. innovative pose for the goddess, introduction of “realistic” dress elements, insertion into a contemporary setting), but the sarcophagi workshops more or less retained the mythical costume of the goddess in order to cast the women as huntresses in general, complementing the role of their husbands. The same phenomenon is also attested on a sarcophagus with hunting themes from Bellunum (DIA18): the man is shown as a contemporary boar hunter, whereas his wife is modeled after Diana subduing a deer not to provoke an identification with this goddess, but in order to fit her into the overall thematic. The portraits of women as Virtus (VIR1. 3. 4; see also VIR2), on the other hand, are completely immune to demythologization. Indeed, the goddess is simply transplanted into the world of men, offering support to her husband in the contemporary lion hunt. Moreover, the portrait group of a brother and sister (ATA2) are no longer identifiable as Meleager and Atalante in particular, not necessarily due to transforming them into children, but due to the adjustments to their dress and actions (to express certain feelings, virtues, as well as eliminate irrelevant narratives).

⁴²⁰³ OMP4; see also OMP5.

impossible to entirely separate their commemoration from their mythological backgrounds.⁴²⁰⁴ In other cases, however, the woman are portrayed in these “manly” roles in general.⁴²⁰⁵ The fact that this constitutes a shift not in form, but in content, indicates that the dress code takes on a life of its own: it has the power to signify *virtus* independently of its precise wearer or mythological context.⁴²⁰⁶ It follows that the cross-gendered dress is not merely tolerated as an attribute of particular goddesses and heroines, potentially evoking a wide array of feelings and qualities (e.g. love/loss, chastity/beauty), but is desirable in itself, as a marker of *virtus* in particular.

On the other hand, women are far more resistant to demythologization than men.⁴²⁰⁷ The men are transformed from mythical heroes (e.g. Hippolytus, Meleager) into Roman commanders and hunters, by dressing them in contemporary outfits; the women (e.g. Diana, Atalante, Virtus) are merely taken along for the ride, probably due to their exclusion from warfare and hunting in Roman society. The portrayal of men in contemporary masculine dress (= iconic sign), but women in unrealistic, gender-bending dress (= symbolic sign), impacts the perception of their *virtus*: it implies that men are permitted to exhibit their strength in courage in their traditional roles (i.e. warfare, hunting), whereas women should exhibit *virtus* in other contexts, suitable to their own sex (i.e. domestic and perhaps civic life).⁴²⁰⁸ As such, the process of demythologization not only reinforces the traditional division of roles between the sexes, but also maintains the proper asymmetry between husbands and wives.⁴²⁰⁹

7.8 Conclusions

The private portraits of women as goddesses and heroines in cross-gendered dress are truly exceptional.⁴²¹⁰ By considering the portrait types as a whole, it is possible to identify their shared and distinctive characteristics, with a view to situating them in their proper social context. Most significantly, the women are all honoured for *a particularly “female” virtus*, in connection with traditional feminine qualities.⁴²¹¹ Moreover, the monuments all evoke private feelings, especially love and loss.⁴²¹² The portrait types were certainly impacted by the process of demythologization, but to varying degrees, in order to enhance the praise of the deceased as well as to guard their decorum.⁴²¹³

⁴²⁰⁴ VIR1. 2. 3. 4; DIA15.

⁴²⁰⁵ DIA16. 17. 18; ATA2.

⁴²⁰⁶ In other words, the women are dressed like Diana or Atalante not to associate them with this particular goddess and her biography, but to associate them with huntresses in general and all of their associated qualities.

⁴²⁰⁷ It is, however, possible to give women more “realistic” features to put them more on par with their husbands. For instance, the women as Artemisian huntresses trade in their bows and arrows for spears, DIA16. 17. Otherwise, the costumes remain largely mythological.

⁴²⁰⁸ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.1.1.

⁴²⁰⁹ It has been argued that men tend to wear costumes that closely reflects lived experience in their portraiture, whereas women tend to wear costumes that look decidedly artificial in general; this helped to maintain female absence and thus lessen male unease (especially in public contexts), Fejfer 2008, 345.

⁴²¹⁰ For discussion, see chaps. 7.3; 7.4.

⁴²¹¹ For discussion, see chap. 7.5.

⁴²¹² For discussion, see chap. 7.6.

⁴²¹³ For discussion, see chap. 7.7.

8 Conclusions

This study focuses on the private portraits of girls and women as goddesses and heroines in cross-gendered dress - as well as their demythologized variants - which were largely produced for the funerary contexts of Rome and its environs, between the late 1st and early 4th centuries CE.⁴²¹⁴ The portrait types fall into three categories: 1) “herculean” women (i.e. Omphale), 2) warrioresses (i.e. Penthesilea, Virtus), 3) huntresses (i.e. Diana, Atalante, as well as generic huntresses). This is the first comprehensive analysis of these portrait types, connected on the basis of their cross-gendered dress.

The production of these portrait types for private women would initially seem surprising. Female-to-male cross-dressing was perceived as a transgressive act in Roman society, pointing to a disruption in the natural order, which needed to be either carefully managed or restored as soon as possible.⁴²¹⁵ Indeed, the female cross-dresser was considered an awe-inspiring aberration at best, but an overambitious or even “monstrous” woman at worst. Moreover, these portrait types formed a striking contrast to the normative and constantly replicated portrait types produced for women in this period, which emphasize femininity, modesty, passivity and an overall homogeneous identity.⁴²¹⁶ As such, the primary goal has been to determine how the portraits of women in cross-gendered dress became not only an acceptable, but even praiseworthy form of commemoration.

The costumes of the “herculean” women, warrioresses and huntresses find their origins in ancient Greece. It is clear that a system of sex-specific dress developed in their visual culture, which need not bear any relationship to reality.⁴²¹⁷ Indeed, certain types of body styling, garments and accessories are particularly associated with male figures,⁴²¹⁸ but conspicuously out of place on female figures - including “herculean” women, warrioresses and huntresses - to produce various effects.⁴²¹⁹ In some cases, their takeover of masculine dress is conceived of as an exceptional circumstance, which casts them outside the social order. The fierce women who dress up like men and take on their traditional roles fall into this category. In other cases, it is highly artificial and even reinforces a traditional division of roles and qualities along gendered lines. The beautiful women who bear the arms of powerful men like trophies fall into this category. It seems highly probable that the original gendered connotations of the dress were still readily comprehended in Roman visual culture.⁴²²⁰

Turning to the private portraits of girls and women as “herculean” women, warrioresses and huntresses, it is clear that their costumes were patterned after masculine dress and therefore understood as a form of cross-dressing.⁴²²¹ On the other hand, a number of strategies are employed to ensure that their

⁴²¹⁴ See chap. 1.1.

⁴²¹⁵ See chap. 2.1.2.2.

⁴²¹⁶ See chap. 2.1.3.

⁴²¹⁷ See chap. 3.1.

⁴²¹⁸ See chaps. 3.2.

⁴²¹⁹ See chap. 3.3; see also chap. 3.5.

⁴²²⁰ See chaps. 3.4.

⁴²²¹ See chaps. 4.1.1.1; 4.1.3; 5.1.1.1.1; 6.1.1.1.1.

“true” female nature is never entirely obscured.⁴²²² First of all, the body styling follows contemporary fashions for women. Secondly, their garments are essentially suitable for women, but worn like men and to some extent feminized. Thirdly, their arms often differ from those of men. Fourthly, the interaction between their bodies and dress draws attention back to their femaleness. These costumes are inspired by the dress of men, but continue to establish sexual difference: this has the effect of identifying their wearers as “masculine” women, existing in their own separate category.

The production of portraits of women in cross-gendered dress finds no clear parallel in the portraits of men.⁴²²³ Indeed, portraits of men in the guise of cross-dressed heroes are unattested, whereas “soft” heroes are uncommon and often masculinized; moreover, cases of female-to-male reuse are rare and virtually always accompanied by adjustments to the bodies and dress to suit their sex and gender. It seems that feminine dress was avoided because it excluded men from the ideal of hegemonic masculinity; moreover, there were basically no emotions or virtues relevant to men that could not be expressed through sex-specific models, with the possibility of using masculine dress anyway. There are, however, exceptions to the rule for preadolescent boys and occasionally youths, probably due to their unexpected deaths, immaturity and perhaps other factors as well. In contrast, women of all ages appear in cross-gendered dress in their portraits - both in the mythological portraits under consideration and in cases of male-to-female re-use - without the need for alterations.

This phenomenon is, however, practically limited to private women, primarily freedpersons, but also from the equestrian and perhaps even senatorial classes. Portraits of imperial women as military and hunting goddesses are hardly attested, due to their limited potential to fit into imperial propaganda and traditional female virtues.⁴²²⁴ Moreover, the divine identification is achieved in a different manner: the imperial women appear in feminine garments, with their masculine arms layered on top, but alternate outfits - where cross-gendered dress is absent - are often preferred. In contrast, private women typically appear in the most masculinized versions of these costumes possible.

The private portraits of girls and women as goddesses and heroines in cross-gendered dress are “sites of memory” not just for their families and closest friends, but also for their social groups. These monuments do not merely honour the dead as individuals, but re-fashion them into a certain “characters”, in order to ensure the comprehensibility of the monuments and with it the propagation of shared ideals and values. The female-to-male cross-dressing - as an apparent cultural “violation” - is merely a variant on the conventional visual codes for commemorating women in Roman society, with its own capacity to evoke feelings of love and loss, as well as praiseworthy qualities.

⁴²²² See chaps. 4.1.1.1; 4.1.3; 5.1.1.1.2; 6.1.1.1.2.

⁴²²³ See chap. 7.3; app. C.

⁴²²⁴ See chaps. 5.2.3.2; 6.2.3.2; 7.4.

The majority of these monuments share a striking commonality: the women are honoured for their *virtus*, which is broadly defined as “manliness, manhood, i.e. the sum of all the corporeal and mental excellences of man, *strength, vigor; bravery, courage; aptness, capacity; worth, excellence, virtue*, etc.”⁴²²⁵ Although the connection between *virtus* and the female deceased has already been recognized, a detailed consideration of the phenomenon - and for all of these portrait types - which systematically explores the interplay between the attributions of *virtus* to contemporary women in Roman society and the visual codes in their portraiture, has been lacking until this point.⁴²²⁶

The primary means of conferring *virtus* on women is through their cross-gendered dress, with its connections to heroism, warfare or the hunt.⁴²²⁷ Just as the term *virtus* is etymologically connected to men, so too is the sartorial expression of the quality heavily inflected by the masculine principle, regardless of the sex of the honoured individual. As such, the “paradox” of representing women in cross-gendered dress is probably attributable to the overriding desire to confer *virtus* on them. It is also essential to recognize the signifying power of their dress in its own right, irrespective of their precise actions. By placing their cross-gendered dress in conjunction with other visual signs (e.g. actions, settings, etc.), the *virtus* of these women is emphasized to varying degrees. In some cases, the evocation of *virtus* is prioritized; in other cases, the quality is relatively muted or pushed into the background. In rare cases, the evocation of *virtus* is even deliberately eliminated.⁴²²⁸

The portraits of women as “herculean” women, warrioresses and huntresses - as a signifier of *virtus* - were purely symbolic.⁴²²⁹ The image of the fierce and pugnacious woman stands for the fortitude of the female deceased, but in the sense that was endorsed for their sex: that is, mastering her fears and stoically enduring every blow of fate, for the sake of her honour, her loved ones and her household. It can even stand for her “virtue” in general. Furthermore, the iconography is carefully formulated to evoke a specifically “female” *virtus*, which corresponds well with the trends for ascribing this “manly” quality to contemporary women.⁴²³⁰ 1) First of all, the dress is sufficiently masculine to cast the women as “honorary men”, but - with the help of gender marking - still draws attention back to their female nature and with it their traditional social status and roles. In other words, the women are honoured for advancing to a higher state by transcending gender categories, but without entirely renouncing their “natural”, inferior position in the gender hierarchy; moreover, their potential to exhibit *virtus* is overtly bound up with their womanhood. 2) Secondly, there are hints in the iconography that their

⁴²²⁵ C.T. Lewis - C. Short 1879, 1997 (s.v. *virtus*). See chap. 7.5.1.1.

⁴²²⁶ See chap. 1.3. The role that the dress - but especially its gender-bending qualities - plays in conferring *virtus* on the women has received limited attention. Moreover, for several portrait types the virtue has not been considered in any detail, properly weighted, or even applied in a highly qualified manner. Finally, its social significance has been treated in a general manner (e.g. courage, “virtue”) and even in a potentially conflicting manner (e.g. children as “little” adults, sexually immature girls, fighting women).

⁴²²⁷ See chap. 7.5.1.2.1.

⁴²²⁸ In these cases, the cross-dressing is basically eliminated, or at least relegated elsewhere.

⁴²²⁹ See chap. 7.5.1.2.2.4.

⁴²³⁰ See chap. 7.5.1.3.

virtus is directed towards their traditional roles as chaste daughters, loyal wives and devoted mothers, which fits well into the social background in which this quality is promoted for women. For girls especially, it is common to pair signs of innocence with fortitude, probably because their *virtus* is ideally directed towards the preservation of their chastity. For women especially, it was desirable for their dress and actions to exhibit similarities with their husbands: it expresses symmetry in *virtus*, but without completely abolishing the proper asymmetry between the sexes. Indeed, the men are portrayed as the superior partners, with women in supportive roles. 3) Thirdly, it is possible to commemorate women for passive forms of *virtus* - such as exhibiting fortitude in the face of imminent death - which finds no clear parallel for men on their monuments. 4) Fourthly, their *virtus* is consistently balanced by traditional feminine qualities. The women are not just fearless and resilient individuals, but also exhibit qualities like beauty, modesty and good will towards their loved ones.

The women are consistently praised for not only their *virtus*, but also their *pulchritudo* - beauty - but these two qualities are weighted to varying degrees.⁴²³¹ At one end of the spectrum, the portraits of women as Omphale are primarily praised for their erotic beauty, by patterning them after Venus herself. Their *virtus* is directed towards this evocation as well: indeed, the main focus is the power of their beauty to disarm even the most powerful hero, which is merely intensified and underpinned by specifically masculine codes for evoking strength and capacity. It seems that these monuments were produced for a society witnessing the rise of companionate marriage, including a positive reevaluation of sexual love (*eros*) in this context. At the other end of the spectrum, the portraits of women as Penthesilea, Virtus, Diana and Atalante are primarily praised for their *virtus*, by imitating the dress and behaviour of warriors and hunters. At the same time, their *pulchritudo* is evoked not merely due to their beautiful faces and fashionable coiffures, but also by their dress, which reveals and even retraces their beautiful, soft bodies. Contemporary women were commonly praised for their *virtus* and their *pulchritudo* in the same breath - these virtues balance each other in their portraiture as well, to show that hyperfeminine women can in fact aspire to masculine ideals, or, conversely, to show that “honorary men” are never completely defeminized.

In contrast, the premier virtue of women - *pudicitia*, or modesty - is not of obvious interest.⁴²³² It is common for portraits of women as Omphale to exhibit signs of *pudicitia*, such as modestly shielding their pudenda or clothing their sensual bodies. Her overall virtues of beauty, strength and modesty intersect in meaningful ways. The portraits of women as warrioresses and huntresses, however, typically lack signs of modesty and restraint. It is possible that they were viewed as particularly chaste, but only in light of the mythological background. As such, contemporary women were commonly praised for both *virtus* and *pudicitia*, but there is little evidence for a corollary in their portraiture.

⁴²³¹ See chap. 7.5.2.1

⁴²³² See chap. 7.5.2.2.

In an isolated case, a woman is celebrated for her *pietas* - that is, the dutiful conduct towards the divine.⁴²³³ Her mutual act of devotion with her husband produces a sense of symmetry, but the visual code for *pietas* is highly gendered. It is also unclear whether women were celebrated for their *clementia*, but in an ethical sense, through private gestures of healing and mutual respect.⁴²³⁴

For the portrait groups of married couples, the husband and wives are consistently praised for their *concordia*, or conjugal harmony.⁴²³⁵ The creation of marital concord is based on the equality and cooperation between husband and wife, but tends to rest on the subordination of the wife to her husband, insofar as she serves his needs and benefit in a more or less unilateral manner. On the monuments, this virtue is evoked in two possible ways. First of all, the *dextrarum iunctio* is rejected in favour of an embrace, which shifts the focus to the affective side of married life. Secondly, the husbands and wives are celebrated for their mutual qualities. These options are frequently combined for the sake of visual reinforcement. Both the men and women are celebrated for their *concordia*, but it is clear that the virtue is particularly relevant to wives, who honour and cherish their husbands. In most cases, the visual codes for *concordia* produce a feeling of asymmetry: some women follow and assist their husbands in their heroic deeds, as a symbolic show of support; others embrace their husbands in a unilateral way and even remain at home, perhaps reflecting their roles as proper housewives. Less often, the men and women are locked in a mutual embrace, but other visual cues ensure that the husbands do not seem too uxorious or subservient.

The majority of the portraits of married couples under consideration are celebrated for both their *concordia* and *virtus*, which is extremely significant.⁴²³⁶ The popularity of mythical pairs on sarcophagi of the 3rd century CE - also as role models for the deceased - has been rightly attributed to the increased popularity of the concept of the couple in general, due to an overarching interest in *concordia*. The selection of monuments with battle or hunt scenes certainly allowed for men's wives to come into association with *virtus*. However, the primary motivation for actually extending this "manly" virtue to women was the predilection to create a sense of symmetry between the husbands and wives, especially in terms of their moral equality and resulting partnership behaviour.⁴²³⁷ At the same time, it is clear that their *concordia* is formulated in a manner that partially counterbalances the unconventional attribution of *virtus* to both men and women.⁴²³⁸ It has already been observed that the portrayal of untamed women embracing their male partners (= *concordia*) has the capacity to imbue them with matronly qualities. It should be added that the women perform acts of *virtus* in partnership with their male companions (= *concordia*), but in a clear hierarchy: the husbands assume a leadership role, whereas the women are cast in a supportive role. In extreme cases at least, the celebration of

⁴²³³ See chap. 7.5.2.3.

⁴²³⁴ See chap. 7.5.2.4.

⁴²³⁵ See chap. 7.5.2.5.

⁴²³⁶ See chap. 7.5.1.3.2.2

⁴²³⁷ See chap. 7.5.2.5.

⁴²³⁸ See chap. 7.5.2.5.

concordia provokes a reorientation of their virtues along gendered lines, with *virtus* ascribed exclusively to the husbands, but traditional feminine virtues to their wives.

The private portraits of girls and women as goddesses and heroines in cross-gendered dress also have the capacity to express the feelings of the deceased and their families in socially acceptable ways. Monuments commemorating girls are an expression of parental love and grief.⁴²³⁹ The mythical role models not only serve to express feelings of untimely loss and thwarted potential, but also - and presumably in compensation for this - to elevate these little girls to a higher level. On monuments for men and women, the possibility of identifying with mythical lovers was readily latched onto, to express feelings of love and affection.⁴²⁴⁰ Even the selection of platonic companions presented no significant hindrance: it is possible to transform them into lovers by simply adjusting their iconography. There were, however, clear limits to the expression of private emotions. In the mythical narratives, the men are typically consumed by passion for women and even surrender their symbols of “manly” honour because of them. On these monuments, however, the passionate feelings are primarily shifted to their wives, and the men always retain their weapons, hunting trophies and so on.

The majority of the mythological portraits under consideration were affected by the process of demythologization, which refers to the process of reinterpreting a subject so that it is partially or completely divested of mythical elements.⁴²⁴¹ In some cases, the propensity to turn away from myth is hardly detectable; in other cases, the mythological protagonists are no longer recognizable. It has been convincingly argued that demythologization was not a sign of degeneration, but rather a highly sophisticated means of adjusting or suppressing mythological narratives for the purposes of self-representation or commemoration. A closer look at these monuments supports this notion as well: the standardized mythological image types are simplified, adjusted or completely rejected, treated interchangeably, and even infused with “real life” elements in order to create a suitable memorial for the deceased and their kin that reflects their emotions and virtues.

The process of demythologization also confirms that cross-dressing was perceived as a visual code in its own right, quite independently of any particular mythical narrative.⁴²⁴² It was adopted as a strategy for restoring the proper balance between men and women, by reducing the exchange of gendered dress. It was also adopted as a strategy for celebrating the *virtus* of women in “real life” contexts, without, however, fully bridging the gap between myth and reality. The dress code takes on a life of its own: it has the power to signify *virtus* independently of its precise wearer or mythological context. On the other hand, women are far more resistant to demythologization than men. The portrayal of men in contemporary masculine dress (= iconic sign), but women in unrealistic, gender-bending dress (=

⁴²³⁹ See chap. 7.6.1.

⁴²⁴⁰ See chap. 7.6.2.

⁴²⁴¹ See chap. 7.7.

⁴²⁴² See chap. 7.7.

symbolic sign), impacts the perception of their *virtus*: it implies that men are permitted to exhibit their strength in courage in their traditional roles (i.e. warfare, hunting), whereas women should exhibit *virtus* in other contexts, suitable to their own sex (i.e. domestic and perhaps civic life).

Overall, the private portraits of girls and women in cross-gendered dress present fascinating dichotomies, which initially seem difficult to reconcile with societal values. Women are typically honoured for their femininity, modesty and passivity. Here, however, the women appear in dress patterned after members of the opposite sex, whether as powerful and sexually emancipated women, or else fiercely independent and virginal women. There is no point in trying to explain away their gender-bending costumes, since it actually confers honour on them. The sartorial code expresses *a particularly “female” virtus* not only in its own right, but also in conjunction with other signs, which complements their more traditional qualities in meaningful ways. This apparent “violation” of the natural order is certainly striking and exceptional, but the messages it conveys hardly challenge traditional gender roles, relations and hierarchies - these actually tend to reinforce them.

Epilogue

The Königsplatz in Munich (pl. 275b) was first laid out in 1808 as part of the building program of the Maxvorstadt, a new quarter allowing for the growth and expansion of the city.⁴²⁴³ It was envisioned as a monumental public square for the newly established Kingdom of Bavaria, rivaling the forums of antiquity.⁴²⁴⁴ The project was largely shaped by Ludwig I from the House of Wittelsbach, the Crown Prince and then King of Bavaria.⁴²⁴⁵ As a well-known philhellene - that is, a lover of Greek art and culture, as well as a supporter of Greek independence from the Ottoman Empire - he wished to transform Munich, and with it the Königsplatz, into a “new Athens” on the Isar River.⁴²⁴⁶

On one side of the square is the Propyläen (pl. 276a), a “city gate” designed in the Doric Order by Leo von Klenze and built between 1854-1862.⁴²⁴⁷ It is vaguely modeled after the monumental gateway leading to the Akropolis in Athens.⁴²⁴⁸ It memorialized not only the Greek War of Independence (1821-1832), but also the brief rule of the House of Wittelsbach in Greece (1832-1862), with Ludwig I’s son Prince Otto as the first king of the modern Greek state.⁴²⁴⁹ Its imagery - designed by Ludwig Michael Schwanthaler - celebrates the liberation and the renewed intellectual culture of Greece, but in a manner that foregrounds, or rather exaggerates, the role of the Prince Otto.⁴²⁵⁰ In fact, it promoted an ideology of “Bavarokratia” in Greece that was virtually shattered by the time of its inauguration in 1862.⁴²⁵¹ The Greeks are seen to fight for their independence and therefore as dignified agents of their

⁴²⁴³ Habel 1979, 175; Vierendeel - Herzog 1988, 13f.

⁴²⁴⁴ Hagen 2009, 462.

⁴²⁴⁵ Habel 1979, 175; Vierendeel - Herzog 1988, 13.

⁴²⁴⁶ For the general development of the Königsplatz between 1812-1933 (especially under the House of Wittelsbacher), Vierendeel - Herzog 1988, 12-41. The addition of neoclassical buildings by Ludwig I aimed to show off his royal power and patronage, Hagen 2009, 466. It also fit into his ideological agenda (which clearly fit into the philhellenic spirit sweeping across the elite classes of Europe in the 19th century, in the search for an underlying “western” culture), Habel 1979, 175; Hagen 2009, 466. The Königsplatz is intersected by a boulevard leading from the Münchener Residenz to Schloss Nymphenburg, the residences of the House of Wittelsbach, Hagen 2009, 462. It was also bordered by neoclassical buildings. At the north end was the Glyptothek, designed in the Ionic Order by Leo von Klenze and built between 1815-1830 to display the king’s collection of antiquities; for an overview of the planning and building history of the Glyptothek, Hildebrand 2000, 238-249 cat. 34. At the south end was the Kunstaustellungsgebäude, designed in the Corinthian Order by Georg Friedrich Ziebland and built between 1838-1845 for artistic and industrial exhibitions; for an overview of the planning history of the Kunstaustellungsgebäude (now the Staatliche Antikensammlung), Hildebrand 2000, 419f. cat. 136.

⁴²⁴⁷ For an overview of the planning and building history of the Propyläen, Hildebrand 2000, 297-303. cat. 48.

⁴²⁴⁸ Altenbuchner 2001, 27-29; Habel 1979, 183f.; Hildebrand 2000, 297f. The architect had hoped to transform Munich into an enclosed, walled city, with this structure providing a secure entry point for collecting tolls; long before it was actually completed though, the city limits had expanded beyond the Königsplatz, Altenbuchner 2001, 25; Hildebrand 2000, 297f. 300; Vierendeel 1988, 13. 24f.

⁴²⁴⁹ Altenbuchner 2001, 25f.; Hildebrand 2000, 297f. 300f.; Altenbuchner 2001, 25f. The Propyläen must be viewed against its historical background. During the Greek War of Independence against the Ottoman Empire (1821-1832), Ioannis Kapodistrias was elected as the Governor of the First Hellenic Republic in 1827, Beaton 2019, 104-109. The full independence and sovereignty of Greece was not, however, formally recognized by the Great Powers (i.e. United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Kingdom of France, Russian Empire) until the signing of the London Protocol in 1830, which stipulated the implementation of a monarchy in Greece, Dimitrakis 2009, 3. In 1832, Ludwig I’s son Prince Otto was selected as the first King of Greece at the Conference of London and the decision was ratified by the Greek National Assembly, Brewer 2001, 14.

⁴²⁵⁰ Altenbuchner 2001, 26; Habel 1979, 185.

⁴²⁵¹ Altenbuchner 2001, 31; Habel 1979, 187f.

own destiny,⁴²⁵² but with clear limits to their success due to internal conflicts.⁴²⁵³ Prince Otto is then seen to usher in a period of stability and prosperity: he sits on a throne, accompanied by figures symbolizing the rebuilding and flourishing of the modern state (e.g. pope, philosopher, farmer, archaeologist) (pl. 276b).⁴²⁵⁴ His rule was ultimately problematic⁴²⁵⁵ and the rising feelings of discontent forced him to abdicate in 1862.⁴²⁵⁶ He returned to Munich shortly after the monument's inauguration.⁴²⁵⁷ Rather ironically, "instead of proclaiming fame and success, the Propyläen became a memorial for the failed political policy of the House of Wittelsbach in Greece."⁴²⁵⁸

The West Pediment represents their victory over the Ottomans through a series of personifications and symbolic episodes (pl. 277a). The original sculpture - now located in the underground station - is not very well preserved,⁴²⁵⁹ but is it possible to assess the imagery in greater detail from the original plans in the Münchner Stadtmuseum.⁴²⁶⁰ This consists of two sketches: the first one shows his initial draft, while the second one shows the draft that was transformed into miniature models just before his death in 1848, and then executed by his students until 1862.⁴²⁶¹ At the middle of the pediment is Hellas herself, standing triumphantly before her throne with a sword in her hand. She is flanked by two victories, carrying trophies from the battles raging behind them (pl. 277b).⁴²⁶² To the left is the land battle, including a warrior avenging a slain priest (pl. 278a), a mother defending her child (pls. 278b; 279), and Gaia observing their heroic deeds (pl. 280a). To the right is a young warrior avenging his murdered wife (pl. 280b), and then the sea battle, with the Greeks capturing a fleeing captain and

⁴²⁵² This is expressed by the sculpture in the West Pediment and on the majority of the pylons. For the sculptural program of the West Pediment, Habel 1979, 185. For the reliefs from the pylons, Habel 1979, 186f.

⁴²⁵³ Habel 1979, 187. The scene is featured on the relief on the east side of the North Pylon. Prince Otto's intervention is symbolized by the Personification of Peace gesturing to his lion throne, crown and staff.

⁴²⁵⁴ For the sculptural program of the East Pediment, Habel 1979, 185f.

⁴²⁵⁵ Prince Otto's rule was not without benefits. It temporarily put an end to civil strife, Brewer 2001, 15. Moreover, he was the driving force for organizing a new urban plan for Athens (the newly designated capital of the Greece), rebuilding the city in a neoclassical style and restoring the ancient monuments on the Akropolis; this served an obvious nationalistic purpose, connecting the modest, modern settlement of Athens back to the Golden Era of Perikles, Darling 2016, 1; Ferrante 2016, 13-15; Hall 1997, 114-125. On the other hand, the work on the Akropolis aimed to remove all post-classical level monuments, which irrevocably destroyed a wealth of information about later occupation. An especially notable institute founded by the monarchy directly was the Othonian University (where the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens is now located), Krimbas 2003, 183. The institution of this foreign monarch was highly problematic though. Prince Otto was a staunch Catholic and therefore considered a heretic among the Orthodox Greeks; the Greek state accepted loans from foreign investors that resulted in heavy taxation; moreover, the Greeks were resentful of the autocratic rule, as well as the unending foreign influence on their politics, Dimitrakis 2009, 3; Brewer 2001, 19.

⁴²⁵⁶ Dimitrakis 2009, 4f.

⁴²⁵⁷ Habel 1979, 188.

⁴²⁵⁸ Altenbuchner 2001, 31 (translated by the author).

⁴²⁵⁹ This is partially due to the complete reorganization of the Königsplatz during the Period of National Socialism (1933-1945) into a site for propaganda and administration, which made it a target for air raids; for an overview of changes to the Königsplatz during this period, Vierneisel - Herzog 1988, 42-65. The marble is also severely weathered, Hildebrand 2000, 302. In 1985, the Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege replaced the sculpture in the pediments with copies; roughly half of the original pieces have been moved to a display case in the underground station at the Königsplatz, putting them at eye level for passersby, Hildebrand 2000, 302.

⁴²⁶⁰ For more on the original plans for the West Pediment as well as the aftermath, Otten 1970, 111f.

⁴²⁶¹ Otten 1970, 111f.

⁴²⁶² For the iconography, Habel 1979, 185.

Poseidon setting fire to the enemy fleet (pl. 281a). Overall, Ludwig Michael Schwanthaler envisions the Greeks as a strong and courageous people, fighting for a righteous cause - they risk their lives to drive out barbaric forces, bent on destroying their families, their communities and their faith.

Of particular interest here is the image of the mother defending her child (pls. 278b; 279). In the multitude of single-combat scenes between the Greeks and Ottomans, she is the only woman to assume an active role. She is shown in a desperate, yet strangely dominant position: the Ottoman seizes her child - still clinging to her - and holds up a dagger, but she retaliates by towering above his aggressor and threatening to slay him. She is not dressed in the long, concealing robes typical of Greek women in visual culture, both in antiquity and in subsequent periods of classical reception. Instead, she is practically nude, with a lion skin over her head and a mantle around her waist. Moreover, she is armed like a man. In the first draft, she bears an oversized arrow in the right and a shield in the left. In the second, final draft, she holds a spear in the air, ready to strike her foe.

The overall dress of the fighting woman reveals an eclectic mixture of influences. She is partially modeled after the most ultramasculine of Greek heroes, Herakles himself.⁴²⁶³ The lion skin draped over her head and falling over her nude body, in a powerful and dynamic pose, is an undeniable reference to his heroic costume. The only attribute of Herakles obviously lacking here is the club, which seems to have been traded in for basically any weapon - the most important point was to show her armed for combat. Despite the masculinizing dress, it is immediately clear that we are dealing with a woman here. The herculean attributes do not conceal her female body, but put it on display. We are not confronted with the firm musculature of Hercules, but a softer, more feminine form. Moreover, her pudenda is modestly draped in a manner similar to Aphrodite.⁴²⁶⁴

By freely drawing on these iconographic features, Ludwig Michael Schwanthaler was able to make a powerful statement: this is not Herakles, but a sort of “herculean” woman. She dresses like Herakles to fulfill a role that is defining for the ultramasculine hero, but truly exceptional for women, namely, using sheer force to rid the land of criminals and beasts. There is, however, a clear context for her heroic deeds: she is fighting for the sake of her family, due to her son in front of her, as well as for her community, due to her city walls behind her. She has stepped out of her traditional womanly role at a time of crisis, which is met with praise rather than disapproval. This is a phenomenon stretching back to antiquity, which apparently still resonated with a 19th century viewership.⁴²⁶⁵

Who is this “herculean” woman? It seems that the Greeks in the West Pediment do not stand for particular individuals, but as ideal models for virtuous behaviour during the Greek War of Independence. These are men fighting for their families, their communities and their faith. The

⁴²⁶³ For the images of Herakles, Boardman et al. 1988; Boardman et al. 1990.

⁴²⁶⁴ For the images of the standing, semi-nude Aphrodite (many of which are draped around the waist), Delivorrias et al. 1984, 63-87 nos. 526-786a.

⁴²⁶⁵ For discussion on the connection between women and *virtus* in antiquity, see chap. 7.5.1.1.

“herculean” woman probably stands for every Greek woman who somehow contributed to their cause. It is true that women actually fought in the Greek War of Independence:⁴²⁶⁶ a notable example is the naval captain Laskarina Bouboulina, whose name was included among the thirty-two Greek freedom fighters and outstanding philhellenes on the Propyläen.⁴²⁶⁷ Moreover, there are many reported cases of young girls who participated in the fight dressed like men, or who followed their lovers in battle.⁴²⁶⁸ The majority of women, however, contributed in non-combative ways, such as rallying support, building fortifications, transporting goods, caring for the wounded or by generally safeguarding the existence of their families and communities.⁴²⁶⁹ As such, the “herculean” woman might very well stand for the strength and righteousness of Greek women in general, whether actively fighting or not. She is presented as a positive model for female identification in a historically-defined context, which at the same time looks backwards, to classical models and ideals, and perhaps also forwards, to the passersby in a subway station and their ongoing reception of this battling, “manlike” woman.

Ludwig Michael Schwanthaler’s visualization of a “herculean” woman was not entirely without precedent. A woman in the dress of Hercules - namely, Queen Omphale of Lydia - had already appeared by the Hellenistic Period. At first, she daintily handled the club and lion skin as tokens of the hero’s love (pl. 94); over the course of time, she learned to imitate the dress behaviour and even the attitude of the hero in order to imbue her with qualities like strength and capacity, which culminated in her transformation into his female doublet (pl. 130). The Greek woman fighting in the War of Independence about two millenia later is but a distant echo of this. The development outlined here is extremely revealing. It testifies to the capacity of dress to signify in powerful ways, whether dealing with impressions of delicacy or strength, with themes of love or war, or with monuments of private or political interest. At the same time, it is just as important to consider the interplay between dress and other visual cues: it is not just about what one wears, but also about how one wears their dress and in which contexts. There is not simply one “herculean” woman, but a wide variety of them, all with the potential to serve as positive models for female identification.

⁴²⁶⁶ For further discussion, Verveniotti 2006, 255f.

⁴²⁶⁷ For more on Laskarina Bouboulina, Blackmore 2014, 300; Verveniotti 2006, 255. For more on the list of Greek freedom fighters and outstanding philhellenes on the Propyläen, Habel 1979, 187f.

⁴²⁶⁸ Verveniotti 2006, 256.

⁴²⁶⁹ For further discussion, Verveniotti 2006, 255f.

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Appendix B - Catalogue

Portraits of Girls and Women as Omphale

OMP1: Portrait of a Woman as Omphale (pl. 1)

Location: Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano (Vatican City State), inv. 4385

Object Type: Statue (Marble)

State of Preservation: *Reattachments*: left forearm/hand with start of club. *Restorations*: nose, both nipples, both index fingers, upper part of club, right calf/heel, part over left ankle, toes of left foot (except pinky toe), piece of lion skin at left side of neck.

Dimensions: *Height*: 1.74 m (without base), 1.82 m (with base).

Date: Beginning of the 3rd century CE

Provenience: Unknown (first attested in the Caetani collection)

Description: The portrait head of a woman is combined with Praxiteles' Knidian Aphrodite, but wearing a lion skin over her head, knotted above the breasts, as well as drawn in front of the pudenda with the right hand, and holding a club in the crook of the left arm.

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Boardman 1994, 51 no. 63 (noted); Kampen 1996b; Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1937, 295-296 cat. 727; Meischner 1964, 134 no. 26; Zanker 1999; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/21380>> (01.02.2021).

OMP2: Omphale (pl. 2a)

Location: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen (Rouen, France), inv. S.1980.14.1

Object Type: Statue (Marble)

State of Preservation: *Reattachments*: lower legs (found in several pieces), club. *Restorations*: back of left knee. *Missing*: head, right arm, left hand (probably with attribute).

Dimensions: *Height*: 1.295 m (current state, without base), 1.50 m (estimated original state).

Date: 2nd century CE

Provenience: Luni (Luna), Italy

Description: Adult, female figure. Similar to the Aphrodite of Kyrene, but wearing a lion skin across the chest and knotted on the right shoulder, and resting the right hand on a club. (The left hand probably holds up an attribute as well).

Secure Portrait Identification: No

Select Bibliography: Boardman 1994, 51 no. 63; Lechat 1912; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/33668>> (01.02.2021).

OMP3: Omphale (fig. pl. 2b)

Location: State Hermitage Museum (Saint Petersburg, Russia), inv. A 394; K 147; W. 52

Object Type: Statue (Marble)

State of Preservation: *Restorations*: head/bust/arms (including lion skin, club and spindle), one lion paw on back, both feet, right corner of base.

Dimensions: *Height*: 1.43 m (current state, with base), 1.85 m (estimated original state).

Date: 1st or 2nd century CE

Provenience: Ostia

Description: Adult, female figure, turning her left leg to the side and thrusting out her right hip. She is dressed in a mantle, drawn together at the front. There is a lion skin hanging down her back.

Secure Portrait Identification: No

Select Bibliography: Boardman 1994, 51 no. 65; Waldhauer 1936, 50-52 cat. 295; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/18549>> (01.02.2021).

OMP4: Portrait Group of a Man and Woman as Hercules and Omphale (pl. 3)

Location: Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (Naples, Italy), inv. 6683

Object Type: Relief (Marble)

State of Preservation: The surface is worn in areas.

Dimensions: *Height*: 0.73 m; *Length*: 0.63 m.

Date: ca. 140 CE

Provenience: Vineyards of the Villa Casali, Mons Caelius, Rome (Italy)

Inscription: Omphale / Hercules / Cassia / Mani filia / Priscilla / fecit (CIL 06, *3473)

Description: At the center is a portrait group of a man (similar to the Chiaramonti Herakles) and a woman (similar to the Capuan Aphrodite) standing and looking at each other, with the woman putting her left hand on the right shoulder of the man. Beneath the woman is the label "Omphale", a bow and a quiver. Beneath the man is the label "Hercules", a wool basket and a spindle. Between these attributes is the dedicatory inscription. In the frame is the Twelve Labours of Hercules.

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Boardman 1994, 47 no. 10; Cancik-Lindmaier 1985; Monaco - Rolfe 1883, 61 cat. 6683; Santolini Giordani 1989, 122 cat. 67; Wrede 1981, 244 cat. 131; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/23336>> (01.02.2021).

OMP5: Portrait of a Woman as an Unidentified Female (Omphale?) with Hercules (pl. 4)

Location: Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Venezia (Venice, Italy), inv. 123

Object Type: Relief (Marble)

State of Preservation: The left, lower and right sides of the relief are broken off. The surface has been extensively reworked in modern times.

Dimensions: *Height*: 0.56 m; *Length*: 0.57 m.

Date: Trajanic Period

Provenience: Unknown (acquired from the art market in Milan)

Description: The portrait head of a woman is combined with Praxitele's Knidian Aphrodite (but clothed in a *chiton* slipping off the shoulder). She and Hercules interlock their arms. Between them is a cupid, looking at and touching the woman in particular.

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes. It is possible that Hercules has been furnished with a portrait head of a man, but that the individualized features are no longer recognizable.

Select Bibliography: Anti 1930, 137 no. 5; Boardman 1994, 48 no. 13; Sperti 1988, 126-128 cat. 39; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/22345>> (01.02.2021).

OMP6: Child Omphale (pl. 5)

Location: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Copenhagen, Denmark), inv. 2600

Object Type: Statue (Marble)

State of Preservation: The surface is weathered. *Reattachments*: head. *Restorations*: nose, lips, chin, piece of drapery over right foot, piece of drapery on back. *Missing*: both arms.

Dimensions: *Height*: 1.09 m (with base).

Date: Middle of the 1st century CE (or shortly thereafter)

Provenience: Unknown (acquired from the art market at Rome)

Description: The young, female figure turns her head sharply to the left and advances her left foot. She is dressed in a high-girt *peplos* slipping off the right shoulder. She wears a lion skin over her head and knotted at her chest. She probably holds a club on the ground with her right hand. (The position of the left arm is uncertain.)

Secure Portrait Identification: No

Select Bibliography: Boardman 1994, 48 no. 25; Poulsen 1951. 197f cat. 265a; Moltesen 2005, 214f cat. 101; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/8918>> (01.02.2021).

Portraits of Women as Penthesilea

PEN1: Portrait Group of a Man and Woman as Achilles and Penthesilea (pl. 6a)

Location: Palazzo Borghese, Courtyard (Rome, Italy)

Object Type: Sarcophagus (Marble)

State of Preservation: The front side of the sarcophagus is in the wall. The surface is worn. *Missing*: for Achilles, upper part of spear; for Penthesilea, most of axe, half of *pelta*.

Dimensions: *Length*: 2.18 m; *Height*: 0.80 m.

Date: Early 3rd century CE

Workshop: Roman

Provenience: Unknown (presumably discovered at Rome or its environs)

Description: Amazonomachy (i.e. battle between the Greeks and Amazons), framed by two Amazons. The central focus is on a portrait group of a man as Achilles supporting a woman as Penthesilea, modeled after the Pasquino Group. The portrait head of the man (unfinished) is placed on the Greek warrior (nude, Corinthian helmet, *chlamys*, spear). The portrait head of the woman (unfinished) is placed on the dying Amazon (short *chiton* slipping off the left shoulder, axe, *pelta*).

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Birk 2013, 298 cat. 548; Grassinger 1999b, 247 cat. 119; Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 167 no. 769; Robert 1890, 108f. cat. 88; Russenberger 2015, 471 cat. 23.

PEN2: Portrait Group of a Man and Woman as Achilles and Penthesilea (pl. 6b)

Location: Musei Vaticani, Cortile del Belvedere (Vatican City State), inv. 900

Object Type: Sarcophagus (Marble)

State of Preservation: The front side of the sarcophagus is in the wall. *Restorations*: for Achilles, outermost helmet plume, nose, part of right thigh; for Penthesilea, head, left shoulder, left forearm (including *pelta*), right hand.

Dimensions: *Length*: 2.27 m; *Height*: 0.88 m.

Date: 220-230 CE

Workshop: Roman

Provenience: Unknown (presumably discovered at Rome or its environs)

Description: Similar to PEN1. The portrait head of the man is placed on Achilles (nude, Corinthian helmet, *chlamys*, round shield). The portrait head of the woman is placed on Penthesilea (short *chiton* exposing left breast, *chlamys*, perhaps an axe and/or *pelta*).

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Amelung 1908, 138-142 cat. 54; Birk 2013, 298 cat. 546; Grassinger 1999b, 250 cat. 125; Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 167 no. 768; Robert 1890, 115f. cat. 94; Robert 1919, 553 cat. 94; Russenberger 2015, 472 cat. 27; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/176553>> (01.02.2021).

PEN3: Portrait Group of a Man and Woman as Achilles and Penthesilea (pls. 7.8)

Location: Musei Vaticani, Cortile del Belvedere (Vatican City State), inv. 933

Object Type: Sarcophagus (Marble)

State of Preservation: The casket is preserved. The lid does not belong. *Restorations*: for Achilles, parts of the helmet, nose, part of right leg next to genitals, back of right knee; for Penthesilea, nose with part of left cheek, lower right arm, left hand, part of *pelta*, some folds in drapery, right knee, part of left calf, part of right boot. *Missing*: for Penthesilea, all fingers, bottom left corner of *pelta*.

Dimensions: *Length*: 2.52 m; *Height*: 1.19 m; *Depth*: 1.02 m.

Date: 230-240 CE

Workshop: Roman

Provenience: Unknown (first attested in the Villa Giulia, Rome)

Description: *Front Side*: Similar to PEN1. The portrait head of the man is placed on Achilles (nude, Corinthian helmet, *chlamys*, round shield). The portrait head of the woman is placed on Penthesilea (short *chiton* exposing left breast, *chlamys*, fur boots, *pelta*). *Left Side*: An Amazon stands and puts her right leg forward. She places her right hand on the head of an unidentified figure kneeling in front of her, who touches her right leg with the left hand. To the left is another Amazon behind a wall. *Right Side*: An Amazon grasp the reins of a rearing horse.

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Amelung 1908, 120-126 cat. 49; Birk 2013 298 cat. 547; Grassinger 1999b 250f. cat. 127; Helbig 1963, 189 no. 244; Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 167 no. 767; Robert 1890, 113-115 cat. 92; Robert 1919, 553 cat. 92; Russenberger 2015, 472 cat. 28; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/19499>> (01.02.2021).

PEN4: Portrait Group of a Man and Woman as Achilles and Penthesilea (pl. 9a)

Location: Palazzo Rospigliosi, Casino Pallavicini (Rome, Italy)

Object Type: Sarcophagus (Marble)

State of Preservation: The front side of the sarcophagus is in the façade. *Restorations*: for Achilles, head with helmet (carved out from a boss), right leg, parts of right arm; for Penthesilea, head (carved out from a boss), right hand, right calf, left knee.

Dimensions: *Length*: 2.35 m; *Height*: 1.33 m.

Date: 240-250 CE

Workshop: Roman

Provenience: Unknown (presumably discovered at Rome or its environs)

Description: Similar to PEN1. The portrait head of the man (unfinished) is placed on Achilles (nude, perhaps a helmet, *chlamys*, baldric, round shield). The portrait head of the woman (unfinished) is placed on Penthesilea (short *chiton* exposing left breast, *chlamys*, fur boots).

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Grassinger 1999b, 251f. cat. 130; Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 167 no. 770; Robert 1890, 118f. cat. 96; Russenberger 2015, 473 cat. 29.

PEN5: Portrait Group of a Man and Woman as Achilles and Penthesilea (pl. 9b)

Location: Antiquarium Comunale (Rome, Italy), inv. 34095

Object Type: Sarcophagus (Marble)

State of Preservation: The upper-right section of the front side of the casket is preserved. The surface is worn. *Missing*: for Achilles, right leg, left foot, end of *chlamys*, left arm with upper part of spear; for Penthesilea, right hand, left forearm, both feet.

Dimensions: *Length*: 1.27 m; *Height*: 0.88 m.

Date: 250-260 CE

Workshop: Roman

Provenience: Unknown (first attested in the wall of a residence at Via Arco de' Banchi 8, Rome)

Description: Similar to PEN1. The portrait head of the man is placed on Achilles (nude, *chlamys*, spear, round shield). The portrait head of the woman is placed on Penthesilea (short *chiton*, *chlamys*, perhaps fur boots, perhaps an axe and/or *pelta*).

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Lo Monaco 2008; Birk 2013, 298 cat. 545; Grassinger 1999b, 252 cat. 131; Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 168 cat. 773; Robert 1890, 122 cat. 99; Russenberger 2015, 473 cat. 30.

PEN6: Portrait Group of a Man and Woman as Achilles and Penthesilea (pl. 10a)

Location: Museo del Sannio (Benevento, Italy), inv. 610

Object Type: Sarcophagus (Marble)

State of Preservation: The front side of the casket is preserved. The surface is worn. *Missing*: for Achilles, left hand with upper part of spear; for Penthesilea, right calf, left forearm.

Dimensions: *Length*: 2.45 m; *Height*: 1.50 m.

Date: 230-240 CE

Workshop: Campanian

Provenience: Unknown (first attested in the surrounding wall of Santa Sofia abbey, Benevento)

Description: Similar to PEN1. The portrait head of the man is placed on Achilles (nude, Corinthian helmet, *chlamys*, spear, round shield). The portrait head of the woman is placed on Penthesilea (short *chiton*, *chlamys*, fur boots, perhaps an axe and/or *pelta*).

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Grassinger 1999, 254f. cat. 137; Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 167 cat. 758; Robert 1890, 117f. cat. 95; Russenberger 2015, 474 cat. 37; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/617960>> (01.02.2021).

PEN7: Portrait Group of a Man and Woman as Achilles and Penthesilea (pl. 10b)

Location: Convento di Montevergine (Avellino, Italy)

Object Type: Sarcophagus (Marble)

State of Preservation: Part of the upper-right section of the front side of the casket is preserved. The surface is worn. *Missing*: for Achilles, right shoulder, lower body, upper tip of spear; for Penthesilea: lower legs, lower left arm, *pelta*.

Dimensions: *Length*: 1.00 m; *Height*: 0.94 m.

Date: 230-240 CE

Workshop: Campanian

Provenience: Unknown (presumably discovered in the area)

Description: Similar to PEN1. The portrait head of the man is placed on Achilles (nude, Corinthian helmet, *chlamys*, baldric, spear, round shield). The portrait head of the woman is placed on Penthesilea (short *chiton* exposing right breast, *chlamys*, perhaps fur boots, *pelta*, perhaps axe).

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Grassinger 1999b, 255 cat. 138; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/1398>> (01.02.2021).

PEN8: Portrait Group of a Man and Woman as Achilles and Penthesilea (pl. 11a)

Location: Curia Archivescovile (Sorrento, Italy)

Object Type: Sarcophagus (Marble)

State of Preservation: Part of the upper-middle section of the front side of the casket is preserved. The surface is worn. *Missing*: for Achilles, front of helmet, lower right arm, feet; for Penthesilea, lower part of feet.

Dimensions: *Length*: 1.56 m; *Height*: 1.18 m.

Date: Middle of the 3rd century CE

Workshop: Campanian

Provenience: Unknown (presumably discovered in the area)

Description: Similar to PEN1, but with a notable deviation: Achilles holds his right arm to the side and bent downwards, rather than using it to support Penthesilea. The portrait head of the man (unfinished) is placed on Achilles (nude, Corinthian helmet, *chlamys*, boots, baldric). The portrait head of the woman (unfinished) is placed on Penthesilea (short *chiton* exposing right breast, *chlamys*, fur boots, *pelta*).

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Grassinger 1999b, 255 cat. 140; <<https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1089717>> (01.02.2021)

PEN9: Portrait Group of a Man and Woman as Achilles and Penthesilea (pl. 11b)

Location: Curia Archivescovile (Sorrento, Italy)

Object Type: Sarcophagus (Marble)

State of Preservation: The middle section of the front side of the casket is preserved. The surface is worn. *Missing*: for Achilles: front of helmet.

Dimensions: *Length*: 1.55 m; *Height*: 1.08 m.

Date: Middle of the 3rd century CE

Workshop: Campanian

Provenience: Unknown (presumably discovered in the area)

Description: Similar to PEN1. The portrait head of the man (unfinished) is placed on Achilles (Corinthian helmet with winged sphinx as crest ornament, anatomical cuirass over a short *tunica*, *paludamentum*, boots, spear, round shield). The portrait head of the woman (unfinished) is placed on Penthesilea (short *chiton* exposing right breast, *chlamys*, fur boots, axe, *pelta*).

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Grassinger 1999b, 255f. cat. 141; <<https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1089718>> (01.02.2021)

Portraits of Women as Virtus

VIR1: Portrait Group of a Man and Woman as a Military General/Lion Hunter and Virtus (pl.12)

Location: Musée St. Remi (Reims, France), inv. 932, 14

Object Type: Sarcophagus (Marble)

State of Preservation: The casket is preserved. *Missing*: for the military general, fingers of right hand, left hand (probably holding sword), large right toe; for Virtus, front section of helmet plume, upper half of spear, index and middle finger of left hand; for the lion hunter, pinky finger and ring finger of right hand, large parts of the spear, right foot.

Dimensions: *Length*: 2.83 m; *Height*: 1.43 m; *Depth*: 1.30 m.

Date: The sarcophagus dates to the mid. 60s of the 3rd century CE. The portrait heads of the military general and lion hunter date to ca. 320 CE. The date of the portrait head of Virtus is uncertain.

Workshop: Roman

Provenience: Unknown (first attested in Saint-Nicaise de Reims, Reims)

Description: *Front Side*: The relief is divided into two scenes. To the far left is a portrait of a man as a military general in a *profectio* scene, wearing contemporary military dress (scale cuirass with *pteryges* over a short *tunica*, *paludamentum*, knee-length *braccae*, fur boots). He probably holds a sword at his side with both hands. He is accompanied by male attendants, one of which presents him with a Neo-Attic helmet. Moreover, a cupid-like figure presents him with a Corinthian helmet. The remainder of the relief features the lion hunt. At the centre of the casket is a portrait of the same man as a lion hunter on horseback, holding up a spear in his right hand. He wears contemporary hunting dress (long-sleeved short *tunica*, *paludamentum*, knee-length *braccae*, presumably boots). Standing behind him is a portrait of a woman as Virtus, observing the lion hunter. She wears an Attic helmet, a short *chiton* (exposing right breast), a *chlamys*, knee-length *braccae* and fur boots. She is armed with a spear, a sword and a round shield. Male assistants participate in the hunt as well. *Left Side*: A male attendant offers a neo-Attic helmet to man as a military general on the front side of the sarcophagus. *Right Side*: Two more hunting companions.

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Andreae 1980, 157-158 cat. 75; Birk 2013, 288 cat. 494; Milhous 1992, 209-211; Rodenwaldt 1944; Vaccaro Melucco 1963-1964, 17-19 cat. 7; Wrede 1981, 324 cat. 341; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/25767>> (01.02.2021)

VIR2: Portrait of a Woman as Virtus (and One or Two Men as Lion Hunters) (pl. 13)

Location: Catacombe di Pretestato, Museo (Rome, Italy)

Object Type: Sarcophagus (Marble)

State of Preservation: The casket was discovered in fragments. It is not certain whether the lid belongs.

Missing: for Virtus, tip of the nose, left arm, right elbow, tip of thumb as well as middle finger and pinky finger on right hand, left leg, large parts of double-spear; for the standing lion hunter, head, left hand (with attribute), genitals, right ankle; for the mounted lion hunter, everything except left hand and right calf.

Dimensions: *Length*: 2.61 m; *Height*: 1.28 m; *Depth*: 1.12 m. (The lid would be 2.67 m long.)

Date: late Gallienic or Aurelian Period

Workshop: Roman

Provenience: Near the Scala Maggiore of the Catacombe di Pretestato (Rome, Italy), but in all likelihood fallen from an above-ground necropolis

Description: *Front Side*: Lion hunt, framed by the Dioscuri. At the centre of the relief is a lion hunter (possibly a portrait of a man) on horseback, holding up a spear in his right hand (perhaps wearing contemporary hunting dress). Directly behind him is another hunter (possibly a portrait of a man), striding forward and hurling a stone with his right hand. He is shown in heroic costume (nude, *chlamys*, baldric, perhaps a sword). Standing behind him is a portrait of a woman as Virtus. She touches the right hip of the hunter on foot with her right hand, but faces in the opposite direction. She wears an Attic helmet, a short *chiton* (exposing right breast), a *chlamys*, a baldric, and fur boots. She holds a double-spear in her left hand. Male assistants participate in the hunt as well. *Left Side*: Two more hunting assistants. *Right Side*: Two more hunting assistants.

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes. Whether the central hunter on horseback was furnished with a portrait head of a man (as is usually the case) is not certain. It seems highly probable that the hunter on foot was furnished with a portrait head of a man, due to the presence of Virtus behind him.

Select Bibliography: Andreae 1980, 160 cat. 86; Birk 2013, 288f. cat. 496; Gütschow 1938, 66-77; Vaccaro Melucco 1963-1964, 15f. cat. 4; Wrede 1981, 323 cat. 340; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/28850>> (01.02.2021).

VIR3: Portrait Group of a Man and Woman as a Lion Hunter and Virtus (pl. 14a)

Location: Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo (Rome, Italy), inv. 221

Object Type: Sarcophagus (Marble)

State of Preservation: The front side of the casket is preserved. The surface is worn. *Missing*: for Virtus, right arm, left forearm; for the mounted lion hunter, right arm (with spear).

Dimensions: *Length*: 1.92 m; *Height*: 1.08 m.

Date: Middle of the 3rd century CE

Workshop: Roman

Provenience: Near the vineyards of the Moroni, Via Appia (Rome, Italy)

Description: Lion hunt, framed by two lion's heads. At the centre is a portrait of a man as a lion hunter on horseback, holding up a spear. He is depicted in contemporary military dress (scale cuirass with *pteryges* over a short *tunica*, "surcoat", *paludamentum*, fur boots, sword on a baldric). Standing behind him is a portrait of a woman as Virtus (unfinished), observing the hunt. She is dressed in an Attic helmet, a short *chiton* (exposing right breast), a *chlamys*, fur boots and sword (on a baldric). Male assistants participate in the hunt as well.

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Andreae 1980, 162f. cat. no. 104; Birk 2013, 289 cat. 499; Helbig 1966, 79f. cat. 1225; Vaccaro Melucco 1963-1964, 21 cat. 10; Wrede 1981, 323 cat. 339; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/26179>> (01.02.2021).

VIR4: Portrait Group of a Man and Woman as a Lion Hunter and Virtus (pl. 14b)

Location: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung (Vienna, Austria), inv. 1113

Object Type: Sarcophagus (Marble)

State of Preservation: The casket is preserved. *Missing*: for Virtus, pinky finger on right hand; for the lion hunter, large parts of spear.

Dimensions: *Length*: 2.12 m; *Height*: 0.74 m; *Depth*: 0.74m.

Date: 4th quarter of the 3rd century CE

Workshop: Roman

Provenience: Unknown (first attested in the Este-Catajo collection)

Description: *Front Side*: Lion hunt, framed by a lion attacking boar (to the left) and a lion attacking a steinbock (to the right). At the centre is a portrait of a man as a lion hunter (unfinished) on horseback, holding up a spear. He wears contemporary hunting dress (long-sleeved short *tunica*, *paludamentum*, knee-high *braccae*, boots). Standing behind him is a portrait of a woman as Virtus (unfinished), throwing her right hand in the air. She wears an Attic helmet, a short *chiton* (exposing right breast), a *chlamys*, fur boots, and a sword. Male assistants participate in the hunt as well.

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Andreae 1980, 184f. cat. 247; Birk 2013, 292 cat. 523; Vaccaro Melucco 1963-1964, 24 cat. 15; Wrede 1981, 325 cat. 344; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/22976>> (01.02.2021).

Portraits of Girls and Women as Diana (or as Artemisian Huntresses)

DIA1: Portrait of a Girl (Aelia Procula) as Diana (pl. 15a)

Location: Musée du Louvre (Paris, France), inv. MA1633

Object Type: Funerary Altar (Marble)

State of Preservation: The main part of the altar is preserved (but not the crowning ornament).

Dimensions: *Height*: 0.99 m (with lid); 0.83 m (without lid); *Width*: 0.72 m; *Depth*: 0.40 m.

Date: ca. 140 CE

Provenience: Near S. Sebastiano, Via Appia (Rome, Italy)

Inscription: D(is) M(anibus) / sacrum / D<i=E>anae et / memoriae / Aeliae / Proculae / P(ublius) Aelius Asclepiacus / Aug(usti) lib(ertus) / et Ulpia Priscilla filiae / dulcissimae fecerunt (CIL VI 10958)

Description: The front side features a portrait of a girl as Diana in an *aedicula* (in the upper-middle section). The portrait head of the girl is combined with the Versailles-Leptis Magna Artemis (but facing the viewer and with the right breast exposed). The dedicatory inscription fills the rest of the surface.

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Backe-Dahmen 2006, 161f. cat. A 33; Froehner 1878, 132f. cat. 106; Mander 2013, 185 cat. 113; Sestieri 1941, 117 cat. D1; Simon - Bauchhenss 1984, 818f. no. 137; Wrede 1981, 226 cat. 91; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/15166>> (01.02.2021)

DIA2: Portrait of a Girl (Aelia Tyche) as Diana (pl. 15b)

Location: Museo delle Navi Romane (Nemi, Italy)

Object Type: Funerary Altar (Marble)

State of Preservation: The main part of the altar is preserved (but not the crowning ornament).

Dimensions: *Height*: 1.38 m; *Width*: 0.85 m; *Depth*: 0.82 m.

Date: 140-150 CE

Provenience: Columbarium of the Freedmen of the Gens Allidia, Via Latina (Rome, Italy)

Inscription: Dis Manibus / Aeliae Tyche P(ublius) Aelius Helix et Aelia Tyche / parentes filiae piissimae et Aelia Marciana / sorori optimae fecerunt et sibi posterisque suis (CIL VI 6826)

Description: The front side displays a portrait of a girl (Aelia Tyche) as Diana. The portrait head of the girl is combined with the Versailles-Leptis Magna Artemis (but facing the viewer and with the right breast exposed). The dedicatory inscription is on the base.

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Granino Cecere 2001; Mander 2013, 186 cat. 117; Matz 1968a, 183f. cat. 3899; Wrede 1981, 226f. cat. 92.

DIA3: Portrait Group of a Woman (Cornelia Tyche) with the Attributes of Fortuna and a Girl (Iulia Secunda) with the Attributes of Diana (pl. 16)

Location: Musée du Louvre (Paris, France), inv. MA1331

Object Type: Funerary Altar (Marble)

State of Preservation: The front side of the altar is preserved. *Missing*: for the portrait bust of the girl, nose, chin; for the portrait bust of the woman, nose, chin.

Dimensions: *Height*: 1.164 m; *Width*: 0.929 m; *Depth*: 0.16-0.185 m (right), 0.22-0.23 m (left).

Date: 160-170 CE

Provenience: Campus Martius (Rome, Italy)

Inscription: iam datus est finis vitae iam / paussa malorum / vobis quas habet hoc gnatam / matrem(ue) sepulcrum / litore Phocaico pelagi vi / exanimatas / illic unde Tagus et nobile / flumen Hiberus / vorsum ortus vorsum occa/sus fluit alter et alter / stagna sub oceani Tagus et / Tyrrhenica Hiberus / sic etenim duxere olim / primordia Parcae / et neque super vobis vitalia fila / cum primum Lucina daret / lucem(ue) animamque / ut vitae diversa dies foret u/naque leti / nobis porro alia est trino / de nemine fati / dicta dies leti quam pro/pagare suo pte / visum ollis tacito arbitrio / cum lege perenni / sisti quae cunctos iubet ad / vadimonia mortis // Iulius Secundus // D(is) M(anibus) / Iuliae Secundae filiae Corneliae Tyches uxoris / et forma singulari et / moribus piissimis doctri/nae(ue) super legitimam / sexus sui aetatem prae/stantissimae quae vixit / annis XI mens(ibus) VIII d(iebus) XX / et incomparabilis erga / maritum adfectus sancti/tatisque et eximiae erga / liberos pietatis quae / vixit annis XXXVIII mens(ibus) III d(iebus) VII ex is mecum ann(os) XI (CIL VI 20674)

Description: The front side of the altar is crowned by a curved pediment with rosettes at each end, filled with attributes: in the middle is the text "DM" with a *bisellium* (double-throne); to the left is a quiver and a bow; to the right is a cornucopia, a torch, a rudder on a globe and a wheel. In the architrave is an inscription, indicating that the altar is dedicated to the daughter Iulia Secunda (on the left) and to the wife Cornelia Tyche (on the right). Beneath the entablature is an *aedicula* flanked by Corinthian columns, which contains the portrait busts of the girl (to the left) and the woman (to the right), both executed in high-relief and terminating in an acanthus calyx. Both wear a tunic and a mantle. Beneath each portrait bust is an inscription extolling the virtues of the deceased. The right side features an epigram about their tragic death at sea, as well as an image of a deer.

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Altmann 1905, 216 cat. 279; Backe-Dahmen 2006, 162f. cat. A 35; Jucker 1961, 26f. cat. G 15; De Kersauson 1996, 302-305 cat. 137; Mander 2013, 186 cat. 117; Wrede 1981, 227 cat. 93; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/130021>> (01.02.2021).

DIA4: Portrait of a Girl as Diana (pl. 17a.b)

Location: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme (Rome, Italy), inv. 108518

Object Type: Statue (Marble)

State of Preservation: *Reattachments*: head, right arm, left forearm, parts of the *chiton*. *Restorations*: front and rear of the neck. *Missing*: tip of nose, some curls in bun, right hand (perhaps with attribute), left hand, part of forearm, both ends of quiver, both feet, most of dog.

Dimensions: *Height*: 1.49 m.

Date: Flavian Period

Provenience: Ostia Antica, in an ancient limekiln in the Terme di Cisiari (Ostia, Italy)

Description: The portrait head of a girl is combined with to a statue of Diana, which seems to copy a late Classical or early Hellenistic original.

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Backe-Dahmen 2006, 176 cat. F 33; Feletti Maj 1953, 70f. cat. 119; Giornetti 1979; Helbig 1969, 116f. cat. 2195; Simon - Bauchhenss 1984, 802 no. 18; Wrede 1981, 223 cat. 83; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/16960>> (01.02.2021).

DIA5: Portrait of a Girl as Diana (pl. 17c.d)

Location: Museo Nazionale Romano, Museo delle Terme (Rome, Italy), inv. 749

Object Type: Statue (Marble)

State of Preservation: The statue is worn. *Missing*: the upper part of the head, nose, right arm, lower part of the quiver, left hand, bow, lower legs.

Dimensions: *Height*: 0.69 m (current state); 1.00 m (estimated original state)

Date: late 1st century CE

Provenience: Unknown (presumably discovered at Rome or its environs)

Description: The portrait head of a girl is combined with the Louvre-Ephesos Artemis (with *nebris*).

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Paribeni 1981; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/16873>> (01.02.2021).

DIA6: Portrait of a Girl as Diana (pl. 18a)

Location: Comune di Fondi, Storage (Fondi, Italy)

Object Type: Statue (Marble)

State of Preservation: *Missing*: head (which is nevertheless documented), right arm, left forearm, right leg, bow, upper part of the quiver, head and forelegs of dog.

Dimensions: *Height*: 1.015 (with head, without base), 1.06 m (with head and base).

Date: Trajanic Period

Provenience: Via del Cardinale (Fondi, Italy)

Description: The portrait head of the girl is combined with the Versailles-Leptis Magna Artemis (but facing forward).

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Gercke 1968, 68-70 cat. FM 28; Mustilli 1937, 69-72 cat. 8; Simon - Bauchhenss 1984, 805 no. 27k; Wrede 1981, 223 cat. 84; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/40481>> (01.02.2021).

DIA7: Portrait of a Girl as Diana (pl.18b)

Location: Collezione Torlonia (Rome, Italy), inv. 103

Object Type: Bust (Marble)

State of Preservation: *Restorations*: tip of nose.

Dimensions: *Height*: 0.40 m.

Date: 130-140 CE

Provenience: Zona urbanistica di Centocelle (Rome, Italy)

Description: The portrait of a girl as Diana wears a tunic with a mantle as well as a quiver (on a baldric). The bust terminates in an acanthus calyx.

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Gercke 1968, 77-78 cat. FM 38; Visconti 1883, 53f. cat. 103; Wrede 1981, 224 cat. 86; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/27193>> (01.02.2021).

DIA8: Portrait of a Woman as Diana (pl. 19a)

Location: Musée du Louvre (Paris, France), inv. MA 2195

Object Type: Altar (Marble)

State of Preservation: The altar is fully preserved.

Dimensions: *Height*: 1.05 m; *Width*: 0.64m; *Depth*: 0.41 m.

Date: 80-100 CE

Provenience: Unknown (first attested in the Campana collection, Rome)

Description: The front side features a portrait of a woman as Diana. The portrait head is placed on Diana (which does not quote any particular statuary type). She stands and faces forward. She wears a short *chiton*, a quiver (on a baldric) and fur boots. She reaches for the quiver on her right shoulder and holds up the bow in the left. She is flanked by a dog (left) and a deer (right), which is characteristic of Artemis as *Potnia Theron* (Mistress of the Animals). The right side features a sacrificial jug. The left side features a rosette-shaped offering bowl.

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Bibliography: Froehner 1878, 132 cat. 105; Wrede 1981, 225f. cat. 90.

DIA9: Woman (Fulvia Trophima Benedicta) Commemorated with the Attributes of Diana (pl. 19b)

Location: Lost. Documented in the Codex Pighianus (Berlin, SBB-PK), fol. 070 v. (1550-1555 CE)

Object Type: Altar

State of Preservation: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Provenience: In the vineyards of Giovanni Battista Leni, Via Appia (Rome, Italy)

Inscription: "D.M. / FVLVIAE TROPHIMAE / BENEDICTAE / M. SERGIUS PHOEBVS CO/IVGI SANCTAE CVM QVA / VIXIT ANN. XL IN QVIB. / ANNIS NIHIL VMQVAM / DE EA QVESTVS EST." (CIL VI *1929)

Description: The front of the altar features clearly related to Diana. In the middle is a dog springs toward a stag between two trees; to the right is a bow and altar; and to the left a quiver.

Secure Association: Yes

Select Bibliography: Jahn 1868, 206 cat. 120; Wrede 1981, 230 cat. 103.

DIA10: Portrait of a Woman as Diana (pl. 20a)

Location: Collezione Torlonia (Rome, Italy), inv. 6

Object Type: Statue (Marble)

State of Preservation: *Reattachments*: head, several parts of the body. *Missing*: right arm, left forearm, lower legs.

Dimensions: *Height*: 1.08 m (current state, without base); 1.60 m (estimated original state).

Date: 130-150 CE

Provenience: Villa dei Quintili (Rome, Italy)

Description: The portrait head of the women is placed on Diana (the exact statuary type is not clear). She stands and wears a short *chiton* and a quiver (on a baldric).

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Gasparri 1980, 156 cat. 6; Visconti 1883, 3f. cat. 6; Wrede 1981, 224 cat. 85; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/26853>> (01.02.2021).

DIA11: Portrait of a Woman as Diana (pl. 20b)

Location: Münchener Residenzmuseum, Antiquarium (Munich, Germany), inv. Res. Mün. P. I 36

Object Type: Statue (Marble)

State of Preservation: The statue has been reworked into a bust in modern times. *Restorations*: Right part of the Venus-bow, nose, left button on *chiton*, parts of the bloused drapery at the front, left tip of the breast, left shoulder, hem in front of the left arm. *Missing*: the entire lower body, the right arm, the left arm, most of the quiver.

Dimensions: *Height*: 0.49 m (current state, without base); 1.65 m (estimated original state).

Date: Middle of the 2nd century CE (or shortly thereafter)

Provenience: Unknown

Description: The portrait head of the women is placed on Diana (the statuary type is not clear, but she reached for her quiver with her right hand). She wears a short *chiton* and a quiver (on a baldric).

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Weski - Frosien-Leinz 1987, 164f. cat. 42; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/33566>> (01.02.2021).

DIA12: Portrait of a Woman as Diana (pl. 21a)

Location: Musée du Louvre (Paris, France), inv. MA247

Object Type: Statue (Marble)

State of Preservation: *Reattachments*: head, right arm. *Restorations*: nose, two fingers on right hand, left hand, bow, left lower leg, sections of base.

Dimensions: *Height*: 1.85 m.

Date: 150-170 CE

Provenience: Cumae

Description: The portrait head of the woman is combined with the Seville-Palatine ("Laphria") Artemis (Vatican-Paris Subgroup).

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Backe-Dahmen 2006, 187f. cat. F 65; Kersauson 1996, 300f. cat. 136; Simon - Bauchhenss 1984, 804f. cat. 26b; Wrede 1981, 225 cat. 88; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/52792>> (01.02.2021).

DIA13: Portrait of a Woman as Diana (pl. 21b)

Location: National Archaeological Museum of Athens, Athens (Greece), inv. 4019

Object Type: Statue (Marble)

State of Preservation: *Reattachments*: head. *Missing*: lower right arm, lower left arm, bow, legs.

Dimensions: *Height*: 0.52 m (current state); 1.00 m (estimated original state).

Date: Third quarter of the 2nd century CE

Provenience: Pentalophos, Aetolia (Greece)

Description: The portrait head of the women is combined with the Colonna Artemis.

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Fittschen 1982, 53f. footnote 34; Kahil - Icard 1984, 639 no. 168; Kaltsas 2002, 250 cat. 519; Papaspyridi-Karousou 1953/1954; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/34666>> (01.02.2021).

DIA14: Diana and Iphigenia (pl. 22)

Location: Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini (Rome, Italy), inv. 9778

Object Type: Statue Group (Marble)

State of Preservation: *Missing*: fingers on right hand (except pinky finger), horns of cervid.

Dimensions: *Height*: 1.88 m.

Date: Middle of the 2nd century CE

Provenience: Sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine (Rome, Italy)

Description: The statue group portrays Diana (possibly a portrait of a woman) swooping in and saving Iphigenia from being sacrificed, by exchanging her with a cervid. She wears a short *peplos*, a billowing *himation* and fur boots. She holds the cervid by the horns with the right hand and a torch in the left hand. Iphigenia cowers at the goddess's feet in an attitude of supplication.

Secure Portrait Identification: No

Select Bibliography: Collini 1935, 150 cat. 1; Helbig 1966, 38f. cat. 1190d; Hörig - Schwertheim 1987, 227-229 cat. 361; Sorrenti 1996, 375-377 cat. 6; Simon - Bauchhenss 1984, 838 no. 338; Wrede 1981, 224 cat. 86; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/15936>> (01.02.2021).

DIA15: Portrait Group of a Man and Woman as Hippolytus and Diana (pl. 23a)

Location: Lost (last located in the Museo nazionale delle Terme, Rome, Italy, inv. 1044)

Object Type: Sarcophagus (Marble)

State of Preservation: The left section of the front side of the casket is preserved. The surface is worn. *Missing*: for Diana, quiver; for Hippolytus, right forearm, left forearm (with spear), left foot.

Dimensions: *Height*: 0.82 m; *Length*: 0.50 m; *Depth*: 0.10 m.

Date: first few decades of the 3rd century CE

Workshop: Roman

Provenience: Tiber River

Description: Portrait group of a man and woman standing and looking at each other (perhaps in front of a curtain), with the woman putting her left hand on his right shoulder. The man is dressed like Hippolytus (nude, *chlamys*, spear). The woman is dressed like Diana (short *chiton*, rolled-up *himation*, fur boots, bow, quiver on a baldric). In the background are the preparations for the hunt.

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Robert 1904, 218f. cat. 179¹; Wrede 1981, 228f. cat. 97.

DIA16: Portrait Group of a Man as a Boar Hunter and a Woman as an Artemisian Huntress (pls. 23b-25a)

Location: Palazzo Lepri-Gallo, Courtyard (Via delle Croce 78 A, Rome, Italy)

Object Type: Sarcophagus (Marble)

State of Preservation: The casket is preserved. The surface is worn. *Missing:* for hunter (left), lower half of face, left forearm, upper half of spear; for the hunter (right), right arm, most of spear, right knee, right foot. It is not certain whether the lid belongs. *Missing:* for the reclining woman, right forearm, left hand; for the reclining man: the head. *Restorations:* for the reclining woman, head.

Dimensions: *Length:* 2.27 m; *Height:* 0.75 m; *Depth:* 0.69 m.

Date: 220-230 CE

Workshop: Roman

Provenience: Unknown (presumably discovered at Rome or its environs)

Description: Casket: *Front Side:* The relief is divided into two scenes. To the left is a portrait group of a man and woman standing and facing each other, with the woman putting her left hand on the right shoulder of the man. The man is dressed as a *venator* (matador) in the Roman arena. The woman is dressed as a huntress (short *chiton*, rolled-up *himation*, fur boots, quiver, spear). On the ground is a dead boar. To the right is the boar hunt. At the centre of the relief is a portrait of the same man pursuing the boar on horseback with a raised spear, accompanied by Virtus. He is depicted in heroic costume (nude, *chlamys*, spear). Male assistants participate in the hunt. *Left Side:* A bull charges towards a straw hut. *Right Side:* A stag flees from a dog. Lid: Portrait group of a man and woman reclining on a *kline*. The man is nude but for the mantle. The woman wears a *tunica calasis* slipping off the left shoulder, as well as a mantle.

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Andreae 1980, 171 cat. 164; Birk 2013, 305 cat. 593; Robert 1904, 218 cat. 179; Matz 1968a, 269f. cat. 2915; Wrede 1981, 228 cat. 95; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/29036>> (01.02.2021).

DIA17: Portrait Group of a Man as a Lion Hunter and a Woman as an Artemisian Huntress (pl. 25b)

Location: Museo de Arqueología de Cataluña (Barcelona, Spain), inv. 870

Object Type: Sarcophagus (Marble)

State of Preservation: The casket is preserved. The surface is worn. *Missing:* For the huntress, right forearm, left forearm, upper half of spear, lower right leg; for the hunter (left), right forearm, both ends of spear; for the hunter (right), right forearm (with spear), right foot.

Dimensions: *Length:* 2.40 m; *Height:* 0.76 m; *Depth:* 0.81 m.

Date: ca. 230 CE

Workshop: Roman

Provenience: Unknown (first attested in Barcelona)

Description: *Front Side:* The relief is divided into two scenes. To the left is a portrait group of a man and woman standing and facing each other (in front of a curtain), with the woman putting her left hand on the right shoulder of the man. The man wears contemporary hunting dress (long-sleeved *tunica*, *sagum*, fur boots, spear). The woman is dressed as a huntress (short *chiton*, rolled-up *himation*, fur boots, a spear). Behind her is a cupid, which perhaps holds her bow and quiver. To the right is the lion hunt. At the centre of the relief is a portrait of the same man pursuing a lion on horseback with a raised spear, accompanied by Virtus. He is depicted in the same contemporary hunting dress, but with knee-length *braccae* and a sword (on a baldric) as well. Male assistants participate in the hunt. *Left Side:* A hunter adores a statue of Diana on a column. *Right Side:* The return from the hunt, with two assistants organizing the transport of a deer on a donkey.

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Andreae 1980, 144f. cat. 8; Birk 2013, 305 cat. 479; Vaccaro Melucco 1963-1964, 27f. cat. 21; Wrede 1981, 228 cat. 96; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/1624>> (01.02.2021).

DIA18: Portraits of a Man (C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus) as a Boar Hunter and of a Woman (Domitia Severa) as an Artemisian Huntress (pls. 26, 27)

Location: Musei Civici di Belluno, Museo Archeologico (Belluno, Italy), inv. MBCL16445

Object Type: Sarcophagus (Limestone)

State of Preservation: The casket is preserved. The surface is weathered.

Dimensions: *Height*: 1.30 m; *Length*: 2.65 m; *Depth*: 1.35 m.

Date: ca. 230 CE

Workshop: Northern Italian Workshop

Provenience: The foundations of the choir of San Stefano (Belluno, Italy)

Inscriptions: C(aius) Fl(avius) Hostilius / Pap(iria) Sertorianus / Laur(ens) Lav(inas) p(ontifex) e(ques) R(omanus) m(emoriam) / sibi et Domitiae / T(iti) filiae Severae / co(n)iugi incompara/bili v(ivus) f(ecit) // ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙ ΧΑΙΡΕ ΟΡΕΖΙ ΑΕΙ // ΜΝΗΜΩΝ (CIL V 2044)

Description: *Front Side*: At the centre is the dedicatory inscription in an octagonal frame, flanked by *aediculae* with portraits of C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus (*togatus*) and Domitia Severa (*palliat*). *Right Side*: A hunter (probably a portrait of the same man) pursuing a boar on horseback with a raised spear. He wears contemporary hunting dress (short *tunica*, *sagum*, spear). *Back Side*: The return from the boar hunt, with the main hunter at the centre (probably a portrait of the same man) on horseback. He wears the same contemporary hunting dress. *Right Side*: The portrait head of Domitia Severa is placed on a statuary type of Artemis subduing a deer (but she is not armed and attacks the deer with her bare hands).

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Rodenwaldt 1937; Simon - Bauchhenss 1984, 819 no. 144; Wrede 1981, 227f. cat. 94; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/1770>> (01.02.2021).

Portraits of Girls and Women as Atalante (or as Atlantian Huntresses)

ATA1: Portrait Group of a Man and Woman as Meleager and Atalante (pl. 28)

Location: Wilton House, Inner Courtyard (Wiltshire, England), inv. 1963,25

Object Type: Sarcophagus (Marble)

State of Preservation: The casket is preserved. *Missing*: for Meleager, top of spear.

Dimensions: *Length*: 2.08 m; *Height*: 0.64 m; *Depth*: 0.58 m.

Date: Middle of the 3rd century CE

Workshop: Roman

Provenience: Columbarium of the Freedmen of Livia, Via Appia (Rome, Italy)

Description: *Front Side*: The relief is divided into five sections. The middle section features a sacrifice scene. In the foreground is a portrait of a man as Meleager (unfinished), standing and making an offering with a *patera* over a small, circular altar. He is nude but for the *chlamys* and spear. Standing behind him is a portrait of a woman as Atalante (unfinished), resting her right hand on his right upper arm, and her left hand on his left shoulder. She is dressed in a short *chiton* and a quiver (on a baldric). On the ground is the dead boar. To their left is a hunting companion. The middle section is flanked by sections with strigillated designs. The sections at each end feature Castor and Pollux respectively, standing and holding swords and spears. *Left and Right Sides*: Two overlapping six-sided shields with volute-like ornaments diagonally crossed at the centre. Behind the shields are two crossed spears as well as a vertical double-axe.

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Birk 2013, 307 cat. 604; Koch 1975, 131f. cat. 147; Woodford - Krauskopf 1992, 424 no. 103; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/23094>> (01.02.2021).

ATA2: Portrait Group of a Boy as a Boar Hunter and a Girl as an Atlantian Huntress (pl. 29a)

Location: Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig (Basel, Switzerland), inv. Lu 257

Object Type: Sarcophagus (Marble)

State of Preservation: The casket is preserved. *Missing*: for the hunter, right forearm with spear.

Dimensions: *Length*: 1.48 m (top edge), 1.29 m (lower edge); *Height*: 0.55 m; *Depth*: 0.59 m.

Date: Final quarter of the 3rd century CE

Workshop: Roman

Provenience: Unknown (acquired from the art market at Rome)

Description: *Front Side*: A boar hunt performed by children. Left of centre is a portrait of a boy as a boar hunter on horseback, holding up a spear in his right hand. He wears contemporary hunting dress (long-sleeved short tunic, *paludamentum*, knee-high *braccae*, boots). Right of centre is a portrait of a girl as a huntress (unfinished) on foot, looking back at the hunter on horseback and pointing toward the boar. She wears a short *chiton* (exposing left breast), fur boots and holds a club. She also has butterfly wings. Other children participate in the hunt. *Left Side*: Another child strides towards the hunt, holding a club and dog on a leash. *Right Side*: A bearded hunter stands in front of a stag pursued by a dog as well as a fleeing hare.

Secure Portrait Identification: Yes

Select Bibliography: Backe-Dahmen 2006, 215f. cat. S 17; Dimas, 295 cat. 357; Birk 2013, 179 cat. 605; Huskinson 1996, 28 cat. 2.14; Koch 1974; Koch 1975, 106 cat. 72; Simon 1970; Woodford - Krauskopf 1992, 424 no. 103; Wrede 1981, 300 cat. 278; 324 cat. 342; <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/41130>> (01.02.2021)

Appendix C - Sensitivity to Gendered Dress: Broader Material Examination

It has been necessary to conduct a broader examination of both mythological portraits with cross-gendered dress, as well as the reuse of non-mythological portraits for the opposite sex, in order to determine if the patrons were sensitive to the gendered connotations of this dress for the purposes of self-representation and commemoration. This section offers an overview of the material, as well as the overarching trends. For the significance of these trends, see Chap. 7.3. Sensitivity to Gendered Dress.

Cross-gendered dress is generally avoided for men in mythological portraiture. There are no portraits of men as cross-dressed heroes (e.g. Hercules, Achilles (pl. 257b; cf. pl. 257a)).⁴²⁷⁰ As a rule, men are only directly identified with “soft” heroes (e.g. Endymion, Bacchus, Apollo) if the dress is masculinized (e.g. Endymion in hunting dress (pls. 196b. 250a; cf. pl. 258a); Bacchus in heroic costume (pl. 258b; cf. pl. 111b)).⁴²⁷¹ The striking exceptions confirm the rule. Boys and youths, on the other hand, are more

⁴²⁷⁰ A) *Hercules*: As seen, portraits of men as Hercules at the Lydian court are portrayed in agonal nudity, with the club and lion skin, see chaps. 4.2.2.3; 4.2.2.4. B) *Achilles*: Achilles, the son of Peleus and Thetis, cross-dressed at the Court of Lykomedes on Skyros before heading off to the Trojan War, see Kossatz-Deißmann 1981, 55f. The discovery of Achilles by the Greeks is a popular theme on Roman sarcophagi, see Grassinger 1999b, 196-204 cat. 4-26. The hero is typically portrayed as the central figure, in feminine attire, but hastening in one direction with a shield and spear in hand. Deidamia often kneels before Achilles or else stands next to him, grasping at the hero and attempting to prevent him from revealing himself. The image of Achilles breaking out of the woman’s quarters and taking up arms refers to the male deceased’s *virtus*; at the same time, the image of Achilles revealing his agonal body and being grabbed by Deidamia and her sisters - much like in abduction scenes - evokes the physical attractiveness of Achilles, the consuming passion of Deidamia, and ultimately the pain of separation through death, Ewald 2005, 62; Grassinger 1999b, 43; Kossatz-Deißmann 1981, 68; Russenberger 2015, 416; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 280-282. The cross-dressing was essential to the overall theme: that is, the hero’s transition from the world of women to that of men, as well as his inevitable attainment of *virtus*. There are clear indications that his transition will be successful (e.g. drawing attention to his powerful body, shedding his garments). Nevertheless, the direct identification of men with the cross-dressed hero was obviously avoided, Russenberger 2015, 416; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 282. This is clearly demonstrated by a sarcophagus dated to 220/230 CE (pl. 257) (see Grassinger 1999b, 201 cat. 21): here, the (unfinished) portrait busts of a husband and wife are placed at the middle of the lid, in conjunction with Achilles and Deidamia. The man wears contemporary military dress (i.e. *tunica*, *paludamentum*), which evokes *virtus* in a straightforward and conventional manner, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 282. Moreover, the woman is reserved, not even coming into contact with her husband, to tone down the display of emotion.

⁴²⁷¹ A) *Endymion*: Selene, the goddess of the moon, fell in love with the shepherd Endymion because of his extraordinary beauty, see Gabelmann 1986, 726-728. Selene’s visit to Endymion while he is asleep is a popular theme on Roman sarcophagi (pl. 258a), see Sichtermann 1992, 103-163 cat. 27-137. Here, Endymion is depicted sleeping at one end of the relief, in an idyllic atmosphere, with Selene stepping out of her chariot at the centre of the relief to meet him. Endymion is typically nude but for the *himation*, draped around his body to accentuate his sensual form; he rests one arm behind his head and allows the other to fall at his side. The prominence of Endymion and Selene on Roman sarcophagi increased over time: indeed, the mythical couple was not only pushed into a central position and notably enlarged, but at times furnished with the individualized features of the deceased and their kin, Borg 2013, 167f.; Gabelmann 1986, 741. The image of Selene approaching her sleeping lover offers a mythical paradigm for eternal love and expresses the comforting notion that death is merely a blissful sleep, or even the hope to meet again in one’s dreams; at the same time, it evokes the praiseworthy qualities of the spouses, such as their legendary beauty and their loyalty to each other, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 102-109. 204-207. 244. Selene and Endymion break with traditional male and female roles: indeed, Selene is shown as an active, “dominant” woman here, whereas Endymion - with his nude, sensual body and passive pose - is shown as a “softer”, pleasure-oriented hero, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 205-207. 215f. 234-236. This gender-bending image of Selene and Endymion was generally not problematic for commemorating the deceased and their kin; nevertheless, if Endymion receives the portrait head of a man (or even a youth), then his potentially feminizing characteristics are generally downplayed. Endymion is most often transformed into a hunter here, not only reduce the overt sensuality, but also imbue him with *virtus* (pl. 250a), Borg 2013, 167f.; Russenberger 2015, 412f.; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 52. 108. 319f. This is achieved by providing him with the appropriate garments and accessories (e.g. short *chiton*, *exomis*, *chlamys*, spear, *lagobolon*, sword). Moreover, the pose of Endymion is occasionally altered, so that he no longer raises one arm behind his head. The exceptions to the norm prove the rule. For instance, a Roman sarcophagus dating from

readily identified with “soft” heroes, without the need to alter the dress (pl. 259a).⁴²⁷² This is, however, more common for preadolescent boys than youths. Moreover, it is possible to reduce the feminine appearance of their dress, especially for youths (e.g. eliminating the high-girdling of Apollo Kitharoidos (pl. 259b); wearing the panther skin of Bacchus like a *chlamys*).

Boys are occasionally portrayed in the guise of goddesses (e.g. Muses, nymphs (pl. 136a)) without further alterations.⁴²⁷³ The sexual incongruity was probably the unintentional result of reuse after a

the second half of the 3rd century CE features an isolated portrait of a youth as “Endymion”, nude but for a *himation* and in a highly sensual pose (pl. 261a) (see Robert 1897, 110f. cat. 92). The choice was, however, pre-determined by the available model: an image of “Ariadne” (pl. 260b), Gabelmann 1986, 736 no. 98; Huskinson 2002, 26; Sichtermann 1992, 47f. The monument was probably selected out of necessity, following the unexpected death of the young man, Prusac 2011, 199f.; Walker 1990, 38 cat. 43. The patrons attempted to recut the female body into a male one (i.e. scaling down the breasts, adding a phallus), Birk 2013, 303 cat. no. 576. Sichtermann 1992, 47; Walker 1990, 38 cat. 43. These alterations clearly indicates that the patrons were not indifferent to the gender-bending features here. The potential for further alternations was simply limited. B) *Bacchus*: Bacchus - the god of wine, fertility and ecstasy - is typically shown as a “soft”, even androgynous figure, although the degree of feminization depends on his dress and other features, see Gasparri - Veneri 1986; Gasparri 1986. The motivations for the identification varied. It could be used to highlight the lighthearted, fun-loving side of the male deceased, or else his love for his wife, due to the romance with Ariadne, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 160-167. It could also pay homage to the deity himself, Wrede 1981, 260f. cat. 173. Men are rarely portrayed in the guise of Bacchus. In some cases, the dress is manipulated in order to downplay the potentially feminizing aspects (e.g. portrayed in agonal nudity (pl. 258b), dressed in a short *chiton*, draped in a *chlamys*); for examples, Wrede 1981, 260f. cat. 173; 262 cat. 176. In other cases, his “soft”, almost feminine form is emphasized, probably because the capacity of the mythical imagery to evoke these men’s enjoyment of life’s pleasures outweighed all other considerations; for examples, Wrede 1981, 210 cat. 48; 263 cat. 181. These portraits of men as Bacchus are nevertheless striking exceptions to the rule. Bacchus - portrayed as soft and languid figure, completely inebriated and controlled by his passions on Roman sarcophagi - was generally not an appropriate role model for men, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 160-162.

⁴²⁷² A) *Bacchus*: There are more portraits of boys and youths as Bacchus than men (pl. 259a), see Wrede 1981, 259-263 cat. 171. 172. 174. 175. 179. 180. They are always represented in the nude, with Dionysian attributes (e.g. drinking vessels, ivy crowns, animal skins). It seems that Bacchus - as a soft and relaxed hero, able to enjoy life’s pleasures - was a perfectly suitable form of commemoration for boys and youths, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 160-162. In one case, a youth appears to wear his panther skin in a similar manner to a *paludamentum*, which is foreign to the iconography of Bacchus, see Wrede 1981, 260 cat. 172. This idiosyncratic dress behaviour was presumably sought out to fit into the norms for male commemoration. B) *Apollo*: Apollo - the youthful god of archery, music, prophecy and healing - varies in appearance: he oscillates between being portrayed as a firm, virile god and a “softer”, effeminate one, depending on the manipulation of the dress and other features, see Lambrinudakis 1984; Simon - Bauchhenss 1984a. There are a few portraits of boys and youths in the guise of Apollo. Two boys are portrayed as nude archers, in order to confer *virtus* on them, see Wrede 1981, 207 cat. 38. 39. A youth is portrayed in the guise of Apollo Kitharoidos on a Roman sarcophagus dated to about 240 CE (pl. 259b), see Wrede 1981, 208 cat. 40. He wears a long, diaphanous gown and holds a lyre, which is more suited for the commemoration of women. There were probably several factors that influenced this decision. First of all, the patrons of the sarcophagus were evidently intent on praising the musical abilities of the youth, but there were few male models for this particular aspect of learnedness on sarcophagi. Secondly, the patrons needed to ensure the comprehensibility of the image. It is possible to depict Apollo Kitharoidos either nude or in a full-length, high-girdled gown. It seems that the latter model was chosen due to the increasing aversion to nudity for commemorating the men in this period. Nevertheless, the effeminate features were reduced as much as possible: the high-girdling characteristic of women was eschewed, and the outfit was supplemented with the masculine *chlamys*.

⁴²⁷³ A) *The Muses*: The Muses were the inspirational goddesses of the arts, born from Zeus and Mnemosyne (“Memory”), see Queyrel 1992, 657f. The Muses were a popular subject on Roman sarcophagi, see Wegner 1966. It was possible to portray women in the guise of Muses (e.g. Kalliope, Polyhymnia, Euterpe), in order to cast them as learned women, see Wrede 1981, 284-293 cat. 237-258. There is only one possible example of a man portrayed in the guise of a Muse. This is a sarcophagus (now lost) with the male deceased in the position of the ninth Muse, see Wrede 1981, 292 cat. 257. His appearance most closely approximates Kalliope (i.e. standing, dressed in a *chiton* and *himation*, and holding a scroll), but the tunic is shortened to transform him into a learned man. It is possible to portray boys in the guise of Muses with no alterations to the dress, see Ewald 1999, 207f. cat. no. H 2; Wrede 1981, 286 cat. 241. In other cases, however, boys merely usurp the position and defining attributes of the ninth Muse, but

premature death, which was nevertheless considered a socially acceptable means of commemorating a boy. Quite often, however, the female role model is substituted with a male one, in masculine dress (e.g. male Kalliope (pl. 260a), male Thaleia). For youths in the guise of goddesses, it was always necessary to carry out this change in sex and - where possible - gender (e.g. “Ariadne” is transformed into “Endymion” (pl. 261a; cf. pl. 260b); Diana is replaced with a generic boar hunter (pl. 261b).

The opposite trends are attested among the female sex. It is possible to portray women of all ages as Omphale, Penthesilea, Virtus, Diana and Atalante.⁴²⁷⁴ Their dress is taken over without further alteration in the majority of instances. It is true that the portrait of a woman as Omphale in the presence of her husband as Hercules is no longer cross-dressed, but presumably to avoid a reciprocal exchange of gendered dress.⁴²⁷⁵ The portrait of Domitia Severa as an Artemisian huntress is disarmed, perhaps because the image of a woman armed to kill was considered too “threatening” by her husband.⁴²⁷⁶ Otherwise, the masculine dress was not merely tolerated, but perhaps even favoured in these instances. This is suggested by the fact that the portraits of girls and woman as Omphale, shown alone, closely imitates the dress behaviour of Hercules.⁴²⁷⁷ Moreover, the majority of the portraits of girls and women as Penthesilea, Diana and Atalante are portrayed in warrior or huntress costume, despite the availability of more feminine or even erotic models.⁴²⁷⁸ Finally, the portraits of women in the guise of Virtus are immortalized as the embodiment of “manliness” herself.⁴²⁷⁹

Cross-gendered dress is generally avoided for men in non-mythological portraiture as well. This is best illustrated by cases of female-to-male reuse. It is true that portrait types intended for women (e.g.

otherwise, the identification is not carried out (see Wrede 1981, 292 cat. 255. 256.): indeed, the female bodies and dress are entirely rejected, in order to cast them as pseudo-Muses (pl. 269a), Sande 2009, 57-58. In a unique case, a boy is portrayed not in the position of the ninth Muse, but as a philosopher among the Muses, who have been transformed into male figures as well, see Wegner 1966, 58 cat. no. 139. It is clear that the patrons wished to represent their son not as a Muse, but in their midst - as the recipient of their divine inspiration - in proper male dress; at the same time, it was preferable to situate the boy in an entirely male environment, presumably to match his own sex. B) *Diana*: Diana was a popular role model for girls and women, see chap. 6.2. It has been argued that portraits of boys and youths as Diana were produced as well, Varner 2008, 195f. First of all, there are two portrait busts of children with short hair, a high-girdled *chiton* and a strap across the chest, dating to the 3rd century CE. Their identification as Diana is, however, not certain; moreover, the haircut is unisex in this period, Fittschen 1992, 302-304. Secondly, the Attic funerary stele of Artemidoros, dated to the Antonine Period, portrays the young man hunting a boar (as a visual pun on his name) (pl. 261b). However, the body is not clearly feminine, the outfit is perfectly acceptable for a hunter, and his role model typically does not pursue a boar with a spear. The youth’s connection with Diana as a huntress was evidently desirable, but evoked through entirely masculine dress codes and actions. C) *Nymphs*: The theme of Hylas’ abduction by the nymphs is uniquely attested on a sarcophagus dated to the middle of the 3rd century CE; Hylas, the nymphs and the search party are furnished with individualized features, to create a “family portrait” (pl. 136a), see Guerrini 1982, 206-208 cat. 55. One of the nymphs receives the portrait features of a child, but there is no consensus as to whether this represents a boy or a girl, Birk 2011, 236f. 255; Fittschen 1992, 303f. footnote 19; Zanker - Ewald 2004, 97. If this is a boy, then this was a easy way to integrate him into the “family portrait”, to express feelings of love and loss, Zanker - Ewald 2004, 96-98.

⁴²⁷⁴ There are, however, seemingly no examples of girls or women being identified with gods or heroes in mythological portraiture.

⁴²⁷⁵ OMP4; see also OMP5.

⁴²⁷⁶ DIA18.

⁴²⁷⁷ OMP1. 6.

⁴²⁷⁸ PEN1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9; DIA1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10. 11. 12. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18; ATA1, 2. See however DIA13.

⁴²⁷⁹ VIR1. 2. 3. 4.

draped female statue, learned woman, *orans*) could be furnished with the individualized features of men; nevertheless, the phenomenon is uncommon⁴²⁸⁰ and typically accompanied by alterations to their bodies and dress (e.g. pls. 262-264).⁴²⁸¹ Sometimes the modifications are drastic (e.g. flattening the breasts, shortening the tunic, adding *calcei senatorii*), other times relatively minor or seemingly incomplete (e.g. chiseling off the *palla*, worn like a veil, but not shortening the tunic). In any case, the fact that the patrons even tried to minimize the feminine sartorial features - and in virtually every example - clearly indicates their sensitivity to the gendered connotations. For boys and youths, however, the issue of reuse was not as problematic, considering that no alterations were necessary

⁴²⁸⁰ Cases of both male-to-female and female-to-male reuse are extremely rare in freestanding portraiture, Prusac 2011, 112. Cases of both male-to-female and female-to-male reuse are more common for portraiture on sarcophagi, probably due to unexpected deaths, Prusac 2011, 118; Studer-Karlen 2012, 23.

⁴²⁸¹ S. Sande rightly recognizes that the portrait heads of men cannot easily be placed on male bodies without further alterations, Sande 2009, 55. 83f. Sande 2009, 55. 83f. A) *Draped Female Statues*: A portrait head of Tiberius was set onto the draped body of a woman around the middle of the 4th century CE and then displayed in a public building; however, the dress was significantly altered to suit the man (the breasts were flattened, the *chiton* was shortened to about mid-calf, and *braccae* and *calcei senatorii* were added) (pl. 262), Blanck 1969, 37-41 cat. A 13; Galinsky 2008, 9. A portrait head of Marcus Aurelius was placed onto the same female statuary type in Late Antiquity, also for a public setting, with similar alterations to the dress, Blanck 1969, 41 cat. A 14; Galinsky 2008, 9. E. Varner claims that this is a case of “divine transvestitism”, to exhibit imperial power, Varner 2008, 202. The gender-bending appearance of the commemorative portraits merely resulted from reuse. Moreover, the fact that the dress was reworked to reduce the feminine traits clearly indicates that cross-dressing was not valued for self-representation. A portrait of a woman from the Trajanic Period was reused for a priest during the reign of Gallien, but with modifications to the coiffure: indeed, the diadem on the forehead was carved off, and the bun of coiled braids was treated like a priestly wreath, Blanck 1969, 53 cat. A30; Prusac 2011, 113 cat. 251. As such, this case of female-to-male reuse was borne out of convenience. B) *Learned Women*: It is possible to reuse a portrait of a learned woman for men. In one case, the tunic was shortened to about mid-calf and some sandals were added to the feet (pl. 263a), Birk 2011, 231. 233; Huskinson 2002, 25f. In another case, the *palla* (worn over the head like a veil) was chiseled off, Studer-Karlen 2012, 23. For a possible exception to the rule, with no alterations to the dress, see Wegner 1966, 20 cat. 36. C) *Orans (Praying Woman)*: Men are occasionally portrayed in the guise of the *orans* (praying woman) (pl. 263b) on early Christian sarcophagi. The dress is invariably re-carved here. In one case, the breasts and the *palla* (worn over the head like a veil) were chiseled off (the lower section of the relief is a later addition, and so the exact length of the tunic is not clear) (pl. 264b), Studer-Karlen 2011, 25. In another case, the *dalmatica* (appropriate for women) was extensively re-carved into a long-sleeved tunic and *paenula* (appropriate for men) (pl. 264a), Studer-Karlen 2011, 25. 29f. The final case exhibits minor alterations: the *palla* (worn over the head like a veil) has been chiseled off, but the tunic has not been modified or shortened, Studer-Karlen 2011, 23. In any case, the elimination of the veil demonstrates that the patrons of the sarcophagus were in fact sensitive to the gendered aspects of the dress, regardless of their seemingly imprecise methods for dealing with it. D) *Banqueting Women*: The sarcophagus for P. Caecilius Vallianus, a 64-year old veteran, dated to ca. 270 CE, allegedly portrays him reclining on a *kline* in the guise of a woman, Amedick, 168 cat. 286; Birk 2011, 245; Huskinson 2002, 26; Sande 2009, 73-76. There are, however, several issues with this assessment. The “breasts” appears to be an idiosyncratic carving style. The outfit, consisting of a tunic of indeterminate length, with the mantle thrown around the legs, is appropriate for men in this context. Finally, the *kline* banquet on sarcophagi is reserved either for men, or men with their wives, but not for women alone, Sande 2009, 76. The imagery shows off the wealth of P. Caecilius Vallianus, as a *dominus* able to afford servants, entertainment, and a wide variety of delicacies and luxuries, Amedick 1991, 22. His “softer” qualities were carefully balanced by the addition of a lion hunt scene on the back of the casket. There are, however, other portraits of men with “soft” or feminine traits (e.g. sensual pose, slipping drapery) participating in *kline* or *sigma* banquets; for examples, Amedick 1991, 24; 164 cat. 262. E) *Supportive Wives*: In general, the portraits of spouses in the *clipei* of Roman sarcophagi depict the man in the foreground, often raising his right hand in a gesture of speech or holding a scroll in the left hand; the woman, on the other hand, embraces her husband from behind and exhibits signs of beauty, such as the tunic slipping off the shoulder or the *palla* billowing around the head, Birk 2013, 153; Sande 2009, 80-83. In one case, this was reused for two men, but with notable alterations: the men have been transformed into equally learned figures, by allowing the man on the right to retain a scroll, but transferring the gesture of speech to the man on the left as well as eliminating the embrace, Sande 2009, 80-83. The folds tracing the right breast are still visible, Studer-Karlen 2011, 23; nevertheless, the garments were probably considered gender neutral enough.

(e.g. pl. 265a).⁴²⁸² This is, however, more common for boys than for youths. Moreover, it seems that exceptionally feminine models are avoided for youths (e.g. the learned woman holding a scroll was preferred to the one with a lyre and slipping drapery). In any case, their dress is masculinized in several instances, suggesting that boys and youths could be held to the same standards as their older counterparts (pls. 265b. 266a).

In contrast, portrait types intended for men (e.g. togate man, learned man, lion hunter) were easily reused for girls and women alike without further alterations to the dress (e.g. pls. 29b. 30a. 266b. 267a).⁴²⁸³ Male bodies and masculine outfits offered perfectly suitable modes for expressing positive qualities in the female sex, ranging from civic involvement, to learnedness, to “manliness” itself.

⁴²⁸² Birk 2011, 252-255; Huskinson 1996, 114f.; Sande 2009, 57f. 61. A) *Learned Women*: Boys and youths are occasionally depicted in the guise of the learned woman with no further modification (pl. 265a); for examples, Birk 2011, 238 footnote 24; 246 footnote 51; Ewald 1999, 140-142 cat. A 13; Huskinson 1996, 70 cat. 10.10. It seems that the more feminized version of the learned woman (i.e. holding the lyre and with slipping drapery) is only selected for boys, not youths. There is, however, evidence of alterations to learned women as well. For instance, a youth is portrayed in the guise of a learned man and learned woman on a strigillated sarcophagus dated to the second quarter of the 3rd century CE, but the tunic of the latter was drastically shortened to suit his sex and a scroll was placed in his hand (pl. 256b; 257a), see Ewald 1999, 192, cat. no. F 18. B) *Women on their Deathbed*: The portrait heads of boys are occasionally added to female bodies reclining on their death beds, with the drapery gracefully slipping off the shoulder; for examples, Birk 2011, 245 footnote 47. C) *Women in Bust Format*: The portrait heads of boys and youths are merely added to female busts, with signs of breasts or slipping drapery; for examples, Birk 2011, 254 footnote 81. 83. 84; Tusa 1957, 144-146 cat. no. 67. In one case, the portrait head of an equestrian youth named M. Aurelius Romanus - who died at the age of 17 - was set on a female bust (surrounded by philosophers, as an indirect reference to learnedness), see Ewald 1999, 211 cat. I 1. However, some of the folds of the *palla* on the shoulders were chiseled off, presumably to reduce the feminine appearance, Ewald 1999, 211 cat. no. I 1. D) *Orans (Praying Woman)*: Boys and youths are occasionally depicted in the guise of the *orans* (praying woman). In some cases, no further alterations to the dress are necessary; for an example, Studer-Karlen 2011, 23 footnote 55. In other cases, however, the dress is altered. For a portrait of a youth, the *palla* (worn like a veil) is carved away, Studer-Karlen 2011, 23 footnotes 52-54. For a portrait of a boy, the *orans* is entirely recarved into a learned man, Studer-Karlen 2011, 23-25 footnotes 59. 60.

⁴²⁸³ S. Sande rightly recognizes that the portrait heads of women can more easily be placed on male bodies than vice versa, Sande 2009, 55. 83f. 1) *Togate Men*: Portraits of men wearing a *toga* are occasionally reused for women (pl. 266b); for examples, Birk 2011, 249 footnote 64; Kranz 1984, 201 cat. 60; Sande 2009, 71f.; Varner 2008, 194f. These are also reused for girls; for examples, Studer-Karlen 2011, 25-28; Zanker - Fittschen 1983, 103f. cat. 152 footnote 7. 2) *Learned Men*: The creation of portraits of learned women with scrolls in the 3rd century CE was probably a means of commemorating them as “honorary men”, Huskinson 2015, 141f. Some women even usurp the position of male role models for learnedness, perhaps due to being invested with even greater prestige and authority. First of all, women are occasionally portrayed in the guise of philosophers; for examples, Ewald 1999, 156f. cat. C 10; 165 cat. C 36; 166f. cat. D1. For instance, the central field of a strigillated sarcophagus dating to the late Severan to early Tetrarchic Period shows a mature woman as a philosopher, reading to a generic woman in the guise of Polyhymnia; the gender-specific portrait figure was therefore rejected in favour of a more active and authoritative model for learnedness (pl. 267a), Birk 2013, 80-84. 138; Sande 2009, 63-67. Besides this, women occasionally take on the role of other learned men, with no notable alterations to the dress; for examples, Ewald 1999, 148f. cat. B 3; Birk 2011, 249 footnote 63. Most notably, a portrait group intended for a married couple was used to commemorate a woman alone: here, the female deceased usurps the position of the male portrait figure holding a scroll, while the female portrait figure - with drapery slipping from the shoulder - is merely left blank, Birk 2011, 231; Huskinson 2015, 142f.; Sande 2009, 71. The expression of intellectuality was obviously favoured over physical beauty, while the recourse to masculine dress to evoke this praiseworthy quality was by no means hindered by her sex, Birk 2013, 154. 3) *Lion Hunters*: Women are occasionally portrayed as lion hunters on horseback - wearing a short tunic, a *sagum* and wielding a spear - on Roman Hunt Sarcophagi (pls. 29b; 30a), Birk 2011, 248f.; Huskinson 2002, 26-28; Prusac 2011, 119; Sande 2009, 61-63; see also chap. 7.5.1.3.2.2.

The sarcophagus of the Octavia Paulina - a six-year-old girl - as an athlete is a bit different: here, she is presented in the role of a man, but undergoes a sex change in the process (pl. 238b).⁴²⁸⁴ She appears as a nude maiden with a melon coiffure,⁴²⁸⁵ in three scenes from the *palaestra*: getting rubbed with oil, fighting in a boxing contest, and then as a victorious athlete.⁴²⁸⁶ The athletes on other *palaestra* sarcophagi are exclusively male.⁴²⁸⁷ As such, the sarcophagus was either specially commissioned, or - more likely - reworked from a monument available on-stock.⁴²⁸⁸ Indeed, the male athlete could have been easily transformed into a female one, by simply adding a melon coiffure and removing the genitals.⁴²⁸⁹ Overall, Octavia Paulina is inserted into a male environment: she is portrayed as a victorious athlete - celebrated for her strength and extraordinary performance - in order to highlight her *virtus* in particular.⁴²⁹⁰ At the same time, the imagery is partially adjusted to align with her sex: the male athlete is changed into a female as a “customerized” feature.⁴²⁹¹ Perhaps she was once draped in a painted *perizoma*, which is a common article of dress for female athletes.⁴²⁹²

⁴²⁸⁴ For the sarcophagus and further discussion, Amedick 1991, 132f. cat. 67; Backe-Dahmen, 118. 207f. cat. S 5; Dimas 1998, 156-158 cat. 84; Huskinson 1996, 21 cat. 1.14; Schade 2014; Sande 2009, 58-61.

⁴²⁸⁵ It has been proposed that the female athlete has the individualized features of Octavia Paulina, Backe-Dahmen, 207 cat. S5; Dimas 1998, 156f. cat. 84; Sande 2009, 58. Whatever the case, it is clear that this special adaption of the athlete was intended as a stand-in for the female deceased.

⁴²⁸⁶ It is, however, not entirely clear if the same girl is represented three times, or if these are just other girls; indeed, another girl with a melon coiffure acts as the referee here, which cannot possibly be Octavia Paulina.

⁴²⁸⁷ See Amedick 1991, 82-96.

⁴²⁸⁸ J. Huskinson notes that specially commissioned sarcophagi for children were rare; the addition of “customerized” details (e.g. change of sex) is therefore more feasible here, Huskinson 1996, 80 cat. 1.14.

⁴²⁸⁹ Sande 2009, 61.

⁴²⁹⁰ Backe-Dahmen 2006, 207 cat. S 5; Dimas 1998, 158.

⁴²⁹¹ Huskinson 1996, 80 cat. 1.14.

⁴²⁹² Sande 2009, 61.

Appendix D - The Attribution of *Virtus* to Women: The Literary and Epigraphic Sources

The following appendix outlines the attribution of *virtus* to women in the literary and epigraphic sources of the Roman Republican and Imperial Periods. It appears that Cicero was the first to attribute to *virtus* to women, including Caecilia Metella, his wife Terentia, and his daughter Tullia. The details are discussed above (see: 7.5.1.1.2.1 The Attribution of *Virtus* to Contemporary Women).

A similar route is followed by Ovid.⁴²⁹³ He attributes *virtus* to Livia in a purely ethical sense, connected to her chastity (*pudicitia*) in particular,⁴²⁹⁴ but to his wife for tirelessly “fighting” to have him recalled to Rome, as well as for fearlessly protecting his property during his exile in Tomis.⁴²⁹⁵

Seneca the Younger encourages Helvia and Marcia to bear the exile and death of their sons with fortitude (*virtus*), just like other mothers before them (e.g. Cornelia, Rutilia).⁴²⁹⁶ He holds up his own aunt as a model for courage (*virtus*): she lost her husband during a shipwreck, but risked her life to recover his body for a proper burial.⁴²⁹⁷ At the same time, he refers to the *virtutes* of women in a generic manner. He commends Helvia for a plethora of old-fashioned qualities (*virtutes*) that women often fail to possess, especially *pudicitia*, in terms of chastity, purity and modesty.⁴²⁹⁸ As he reasons, since she “has always lacked all the weaknesses of a woman [*muliebria vitia*]”,⁴²⁹⁹ then the fortitude (*virtus*) needed to bear the absence of her son is within her reach as well.⁴³⁰⁰

Pliny the Younger treats the *virtutes* of women in a similar manner.⁴³⁰¹ He praises Fannia for an array of qualities (*virtutes*), including chastity (*castitas*), purity (*sanctitas*), dignity (*gravitas*), and even firmness (*constantia*) and bravery (*fortitudo*): indeed, she acts courageously by following her husband into exile twice, as well as by risking her personal safety to ensure that his biography was written; at the end of her life, she also bears her terminal illness with mental fortitude.⁴³⁰² The *virtutes* of the wife of Macrinus do not extend to fortitude in particular; the focus is on her peaceful nature (*sine iurgio*, *sine offensa*) and her respect for her husband (*reverentia*).⁴³⁰³

⁴²⁹³ For discussion on Ovid attributing *virtus* to women, Eisenhut 1973, 108f. 185f.

⁴²⁹⁴ Ov. Pont. 3, 1, 115; Eisenhut 1973, 108f. 185f.

⁴²⁹⁵ Ov. trist. 1, 6, 15; Ov. Pont. 3, 1, 94; Eisenhut 1973, 108.

⁴²⁹⁶ Sen. Ad. Marc. 6, 1, 1; 6, 16, 1; Sen. Ad Helv. 11, 15, 4; 11, 16, 5. For discussion on Seneca the Younger attributing *virtus* to women, Edwards 2007, 188-191; McAuley 2016, 194-198.

⁴²⁹⁷ Sen. Ad Helv. 11, 19, 5; 11, 19, 7.

⁴²⁹⁸ Sen. Ad Helv. 11, 16, 2-5.

⁴²⁹⁹ Sen. Ad Helv. 11, 16, 2 (translation in Basore 1932, 471).

⁴³⁰⁰ Sen. Ad Helv. 11, 16, 5.

⁴³⁰¹ For discussion on Pliny the Younger attributing *virtus* to women, Eisenhut 1973, 185-186; Langlands 2004. Pliny the Younger does not explicitly ascribe *virtus* to Arria, but she also bravely bears the death of her son and commits suicide before her husband to show him that it is bearable, Plin. epist. 3, 16.

⁴³⁰² Plin. epist. 7, 19, 3-8; Chrystal 2015, 48; Eisenhut 1973, 185.

⁴³⁰³ Plin. epist. 8, 5, 1. W. Eisenhut, on the other hand, argues that the *virtutes* refer just to *castitas* and *sanctitas* here, not *constantia* and *fortitudo* as well, Eisenhut 1973, 185.

The sense of “virtue” predominates elsewhere as well: Statius encourages his friend Julius Menecrates to show his young daughter the path to “virtue” (*virtus*).⁴³⁰⁴ Apuleius claims that he married Pudentilla not due to her wealth, but to her praiseworthy qualities in general (*virtutes*).⁴³⁰⁵

It is even possible to ascribe *virtus* to the female sex as a whole in the literary sources. The most radical proponents of *virtus* in women are philosophers ascribing to Stoic principles, especially Musonius Rufus and Plutarch.⁴³⁰⁶ Both claim that women’s virtues (*aretai*) are equal to men; it follows that women are capable of exhibiting qualities like reason (*phronesis*), self-control (*sophrosyne*), justice (*dikaiosyne*) and even courage (*andreia*).⁴³⁰⁷ As Musonius Rufus states: “perhaps someone may say that courage [*andreia*] is a virtue appropriate to men only. That is not so. For a woman too... must have courage and be wholly free of cowardice, so that she will neither be swayed by hardships nor by fear.”⁴³⁰⁸ In the Stoic view, then, *virtus* is essentially a human virtue.⁴³⁰⁹

Perhaps there are further cases of women being attributed *virtus* in the literary sources, dating to beyond this period, but our examination will end here.

Contemporary women are also praised for their *virtus* (or *virtutes*) in epigraphic sources with a funerary significance. Three eulogies (*laudationes funebres*) for women are preserved in inscriptions.⁴³¹⁰ In the so-called *Laudatio Turiae*, dated to the late 1st century BCE, a husband honours his wife “Turia” in surprisingly “manly” terms.⁴³¹¹ She is praised for her *virtus* on several occasions.⁴³¹² She ensured that the murderers of her parents were brought to justice.⁴³¹³ During the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, she provided for her fleeing husband by sending him her own gold and jewellery, as well as other necessities.⁴³¹⁴ Meanwhile, she exhibited undaunted courage (*virtus*) by successfully begging for his life⁴³¹⁵ and defending their household from a group of brigands.⁴³¹⁶ During the proscriptions under

⁴³⁰⁴ Stat. silv. 4, 8, 57-58.

⁴³⁰⁵ Apul. apol. 66. W. Eisenhut argues that these are inner feminine qualities, Eisenhut 1973, 192.

⁴³⁰⁶ Plato already treats courage as a common to men and women, noting that some women are courageous, but others are not, Plat. rep. 455e. For discussion on Musonius Rufus, Caldwell 2015, 19-23; Nussbaum 2002. For discussion on Plutarch, Chapman 2011, 93-132; McInerney 2003. Seneca the Younger argues that the virtue of the sexes is equal (see Sen. Ad. Marc. 16, 16, 1), but undermines this proposition elsewhere, Edwards 2007, 189-191.

⁴³⁰⁷ Stob. 2, 31, 126 = Musonius Rufus lecture 3 (Lutz 1947) and Stob. 2, 31, 123 = Musonius Rufus lecture 4 (Lutz 1947); Plut. mor. 242F. 243D. There was a longstanding debate about whether the virtues of men and women are equal (e.g. Plato argues that the virtues of men and women are identical, whereas Aristotle argues that their virtues are different in kind, not just in degree), see Deslauriers 2012, 351.

⁴³⁰⁸ Stob. 2, 31, 123 = Musonius Rufus lecture 4, 3 (translation in Lutz 1947, 45).

⁴³⁰⁹ Tuomela 2014.

⁴³¹⁰ Hemelrijk 2004, 187.

⁴³¹¹ CIL 6, 41062. For the text, translation and commentary, Flach 1991. For discussion on the significance of the *Laudatio Turiae* (especially in terms of gender), Eisenhut 1973, 210f.; Hemelrijk 2004; McDonnell 2006, 164f.; Von Hesberg-Tonn 1983, 218-237; Riess 2012, 496f.

⁴³¹² CIL 6 41062 col. 2 lin. 6. 20. 41. It has been argued that *virtus* refers to feminine “virtue” here, Eisenhut 1973, 210f. However, it is clear that *virtus* refers to courage here, Hemelrijk 2004, 189; McDonnell 2006, 164f.

⁴³¹³ CIL 6, 41062 col. 1 lin. 3-9. She is not explicitly ascribed *virtus* in conjunction with this deed, but it seems to fit into the praise of her courage in general that follows this.

⁴³¹⁴ CIL 6, 41062 col. 2 lin. 1-4.

⁴³¹⁵ CIL 6, 41062 col. 2 lin. 5-7.

⁴³¹⁶ CIL 6, 41062 col. 2 lin. 8-10.

the Second Triumvirate, she ensured that her husband had a safe haven.⁴³¹⁷ He was finally granted clemency by Augustus, but Lepidus was reluctant to honour this decision. His wife intervened on his behalf and proved her courage (*virtus*) by suffering brutal treatment and insults: “Although your body was full of bruises, you reminded him with persistent courage that Caesar had granted me mercy and was pleased to restore my rights...”⁴³¹⁸ She is finally praised for her *virtutes*, which seems to refer to her fortitude especially, but potentially to an array of qualities.⁴³¹⁹ In the *Laudatio Muriae*, probably dated to Augustan Period, a son likewise honours his mother for her *virtus*.⁴³²⁰ This probably refers to her bravery in particular, since she allegedly surpassed other women in exhibiting this quality when confronted with danger. In contrast, Hadrian enumerates the *virtutes* of his mother-in-law Matidia in the *Laudatio Matidiae*, but this seems to refer to her “virtue” in general.⁴³²¹

In the plethora of inscriptions commemorating women on their funerary monuments, attributions of *virtus* are uncommon.⁴³²² It has been argued that the term primarily refers to ethical qualities in this context⁴³²³ – that is, to the overall excellence of the female deceased, but also in terms of being a good wife and fulfilling her domestic duties.⁴³²⁴ A woman from the Republican Period speaks from beyond the grave: “I lived in a well-matched union, with “virtue” (*virtus*), with the greatest work ethic, and I bore good fortune as long as I lived.”⁴³²⁵ In the 3rd century CE, the husband of Fabia Fuscilla praises his wife for her “virtue” in the broadest sense (*omnes virtutes*), as well as her outstanding beauty and fecundity.⁴³²⁶ It is true that the *virtus* of these women is not overtly connected back to “manly” qualities (e.g. strength, courage, capacity),⁴³²⁷ but there is no reason to exclude them either.

For the significance of these trends, see Chap. 7.5.1.1.2: Contemporary Women.

⁴³¹⁷ CIL 6, 41062 col. 2 lin. 11-21.

⁴³¹⁸ CIL 6, 41062 col. 2 lin. 22-32 (translation based on Flach 1991, 69).

⁴³¹⁹ CIL 6, 41062 col. 2 lin. 41; McDonnell 2006, 165.

⁴³²⁰ CIL 6, 10230 lin. 29-30. For discussion on the *Laudatio Murdiae*, Lindsay 2004.

⁴³²¹ CIL 6, 3579 lin. 14. For discussion on the *Laudatio Matidiae*, Jones 2004. It is, however, possible that the lack of explicit praise of *virtus* is due to the fragmentary state of the inscription.

⁴³²² For examples from Rome, CIL 6, 29758; CIL 6, 30105; CIL 6, 31711. For discussion, Eisenhut 1973, 186. 210f.; Langford-Johnson 2007, 63; Laconi 1998, 20f.; McDonnell 2006, 165. It is also possible to praise the female deceased for similar qualities: for instance, Allia Potestas is described as *fortis* (strong, steadfast, courageous), CIL 6, 37965.

⁴³²³ McDonnell 2006, 165.

⁴³²⁴ Eisenhut 1973, 210.

⁴³²⁵ CIL 6, 30105 (translation by the author).

⁴³²⁶ CIL 6, 31711.

⁴³²⁷ Eisenhut 1973, 186. 210.

Plates

a) Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano (Vatican City State), inv. 4385. Portrait statue of a woman as Omphale (front view) (cat. OMP1), beginning of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/705600>> (11.11.2020). Photographer: Raoul Laev. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

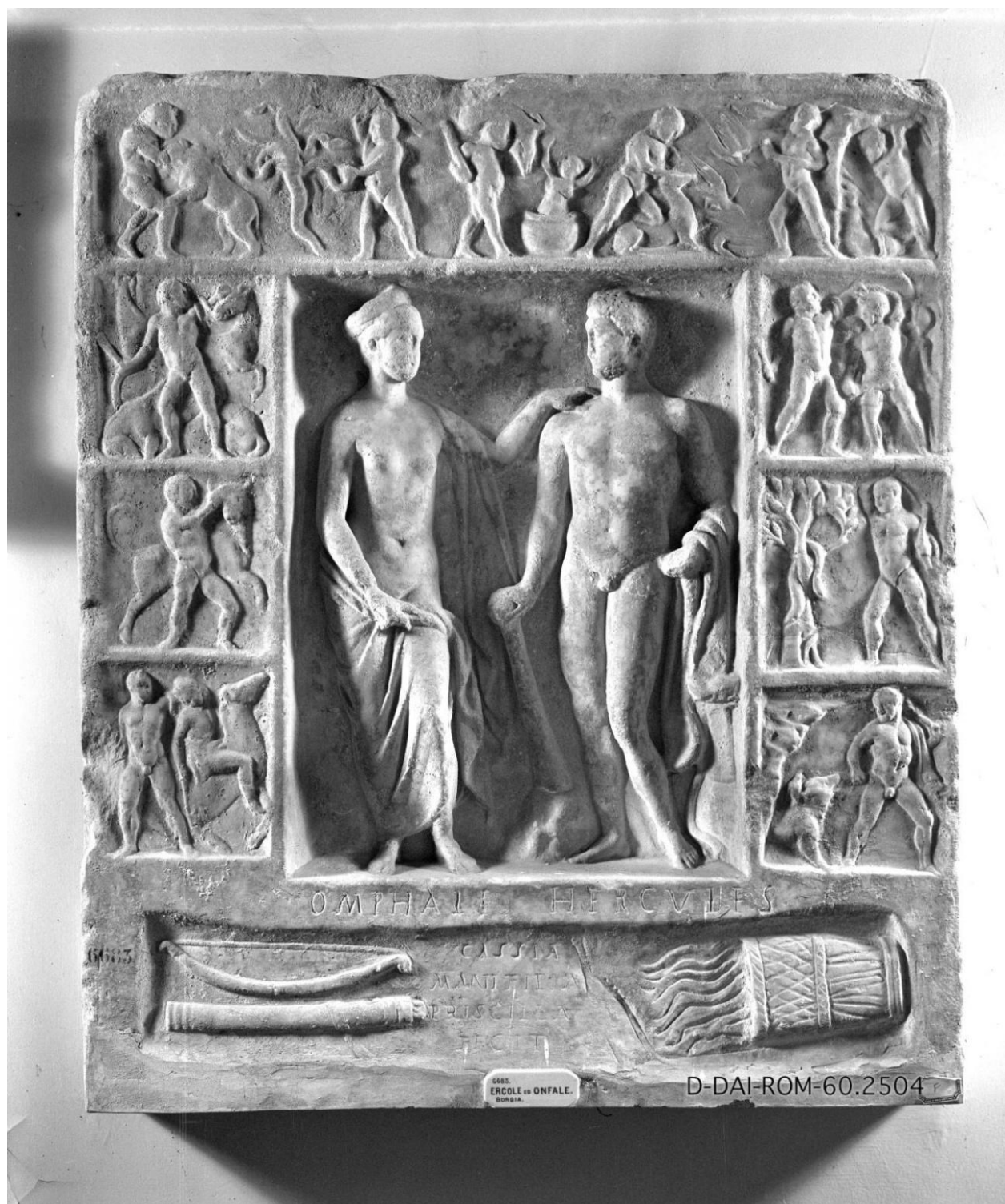
b) Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano (Vatican City State), inv. 4385. Portrait statue of a woman as Omphale (side view) (cat. OMP1), beginning of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/705595>> (11.11.2020). Photographer: Raoul Laev. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen (France), inv. S.1980.14.1. Statue of Omphale (cat. OMP2), 2nd century CE. Digital image courtesy of the Musée des Beaux-Arts. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



b) The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (Russia), inv. GR-4187. Statue of Omphale (cat. OMP3), 1st/2nd century CE. © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Vladimir Terebenin, Alexander Koksharov. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



a) Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. 6683. Relief with a portrait group of a man and woman as Hercules and Omphale, surrounded by the Twelve Labours of Hercules (cat. OMP4), ca. 140 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4228063>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Venezia, Venice (Italy), inv. 123. Relief with Hercules and a portrait of a woman (as Omphale?) (cat. OMP5), Trajanic Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/8049432>> (17.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen (Denmark), inv. 2600. Statue of a child Omphale (front view) (cat. OMP6), middle of the 1st century CE or shortly thereafter. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6680835>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

b) Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen (Denmark), inv. 2600. Statue of a child Omphale (side view) (cat. OMP6), middle of the 1st century CE or shortly thereafter. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6680838>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

c) Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen (Denmark), inv. 2600. Statue of a child Omphale (back view) (cat. OMP6), middle of the 1st century CE or shortly thereafter. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6680837>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Palazzo Borghese, Rome (Italy), inv. 900. Roman sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy, with an (unfinished) portrait group of a man and woman as Achilles and Penthesilea (cat. PEN1), early 3rd century CE. © S. Hollaender.



b) Musei Vaticani, Cortile del Belvedere (Vatican City State), inv. 900. Roman sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy, with a portrait group of a man and woman as Achilles and Penthesilea (cat. PEN2), 220-230 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/5110848>> (11.22.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Musei Vaticani, Cortile del Belvedere (Vatican City State), inv. 933. Roman sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy, with a portrait group of a man and woman as Achilles and Penthesilea (cat. PEN3), 230-240 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6651771>> (11.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Musei Vaticani, Cortile del Belvedere (Vatican City State), inv. 933. Roman sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy, with a portrait group of a man and woman as Achilles and Penthesilea (left side) (cat. PEN3), 230-240 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6651781>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Musei Vaticani, Cortile del Belvedere (Vatican City State), inv. 933. Roman sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy, with a portrait group of a man and woman as Achilles and Penthesilea (right side) (cat. PEN3), 230-240 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6651782>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Casino dell'Aurora Pallavicini, Palazzo Pallavicini, Rome (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy, with an (unfinished) portrait group of a man and women as Achilles and Penthesilea (cat. PEN4), 240-250 CE. © Holding Immobiliare Pallavicini S.p.A. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



b) Antiquarium Comunale, Rome (Italy), inv. 34095. Fragment of a Roman sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy, with a portrait group of a man and woman as Achilles and Penthesilea (cat. PEN5), 250-260 CE. © Roma Capitale, Antiquarium Comunale. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



a) Museo del Sannio, Benevento (Italy), inv. 610. Campanian sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy, with a portrait group of a man and woman as Achilles and Penthesilea (cat. PEN6), 230-240 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/8588937>> (22.11.2020). Photographer: Eric Laufer. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Convento di Montevergine, Avellino (Italy). Fragment of a Campanian sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy, with a portrait group of a man and woman as Achilles and Penthesilea (cat. PEN7), 230-240 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/5110363>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



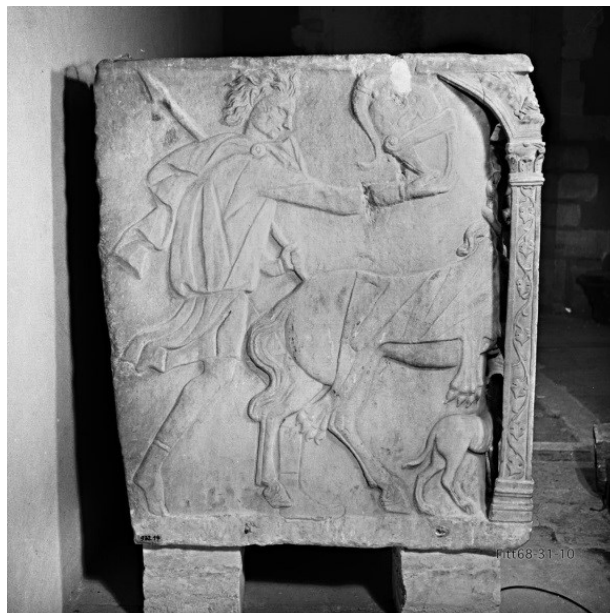
a) Archbishop's Curia, Sorrento (Italy). Fragment of a Campanian sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy, with a portrait group of a man and woman as Achilles and Penthesilea (cat. PEN8), middle of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/5110331>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



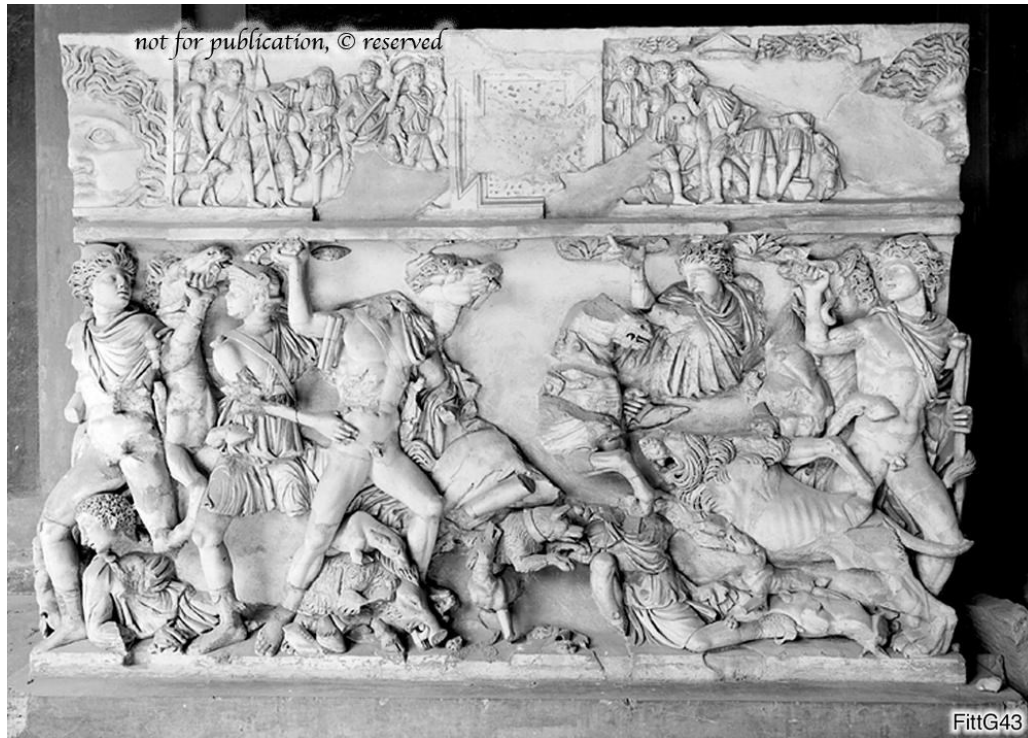
b) Curia Archivescovile, Sorrento (Italy). Fragment of a Campanian sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy, with a portrait group of a man and woman as Achilles and Penthesilea (cat. PEN9), middle of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4699642>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Musée Historique Saint-Remi, Reims (France), inv. 932. Roman Hunt Sarcophagus, with a portrait group of a man and woman as a military commander/lion hunter and Virtus (cat. VIR1), mid. 60s of the 3rd century CE (but the portrait heads are later). Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/5191383>> (11.11.2020). Photographer: Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Musée Historique Saint-Remi, Reims (France), inv. 932. Roman Hunt Sarcophagus, with a portrait group of a man and woman as a military commander/lion hunter and Virtus (left side) (cat. VIR1), mid. 60s of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/5191388>> (23.11.2020). Photographer: Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Catacombe di Pretestato, Rome (Italy). Roman Hunt Sarcophagus, with a portrait of a woman as Virtus (and one or two men as lion hunters) (cat. VIR2), late Gallienic or Aurelian Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/730747>> (23.11.2020). Photographer: Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Catacombe di Pretestato, Rome (Italy). Roman Hunt Sarcophagus, with a portrait of a woman as Virtus (and one or two men as lion hunters) (detail: portrait head, frontal view) (cat. VIR2), late Gallienic or Aurelian Period. G. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/730753>> (23.11.2020). Photographer: Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

c) Catacombe di Pretestato, Rome (Italy). Roman Hunt Sarcophagus, with a portrait of a woman as Virtus (and one or two men as lion hunters) (detail: portrait head, profile view) (cat. VIR2), late Gallienic or Aurelian Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/730753>> (23.11.2020). Photographer: Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (Italy), inv. 221. Roman Hunt Sarcophagus, with a (partially unfinished) portrait group of a man and woman as a lion hunter and Virtus (cat. VIR3), middle of the 3rd century CE. Photo: S. Hollaender. Roma, Musei Capitolini. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



b) Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung und Ephesosmuseum, Vienna (Austria), inv. I 1133. Roman Hunt Sarcophagus, with an (unfinished) portrait group of a man and woman as a lion hunter and Virtus (cat. VIR4), final quarter of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4779051>> (23.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MA 1633. Altar with a portrait of a girl (Aelia Procula) as Diana (cat. DIA1), ca. 140 CE. © Musée du Louvre / Maurice et Pierre Chuzeville. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

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For the monument, see Wrede 1981, 226f. cat. 92.

b) Museo delle Navi Romane (Nemi, Italy). Altar with a portrait of a girl (Aelia Tyche) as Diana (cat. DIA2), 140-150 CE.



a) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MA1331. Funerary altar with a portrait group of a mother (Cornelia Tyche) and her daughter (Iulia Secunda) (cat. DIA3), 160-170 CE. © 2014 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Stéphane Maréchalle. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 2005,0927.10. Drawing of the funerary altar of a portrait group of a mother (Cornelia Tyche) and her daughter (Iulia Secunda) (cat. DIA3). © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0). (The image has been cropped).



a) Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Rome (Italy), inv. 108518. Portrait statue of a girl as Diana, Flavian Period (front view) (cat. DIA4). © S. Hollaender. Su concessione del Ministero della cultura - Museo Nazionale Romano.

b) Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Rome (Italy), inv. 108518. Portrait statue of a girl as Diana, Flavian Period (side view) (cat. DIA4). © S. Hollaender. Su concessione del Ministero della cultura - Museo Nazionale Romano.



c) Museo Nazionale Romano, Museo delle Terme, Rome (Italy), inv. 749. Portrait statue of a girl as Diana (cat. DIA5), late 1st century CE. © S. Hollaender. Su concessione del Ministero della cultura - Museo Nazionale Romano.

d) Museo Nazionale Romano, Museo delle Terme, Rome (Italy), inv. 749. Portrait statue of a girl as Diana (cat. DIA5), late 1st century CE. © S. Hollaender. Su concessione del Ministero della cultura - Museo Nazionale Romano.

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For the monument, see Wrede 1981, 223 cat. 84.

a) Commune di Fondi, Storage (Fondi, Italy). Portrait statue of a girl as Diana (cat. DIA6), Trajanic Period.



b) Collezione Torlonia (Rome, Italy), inv. no. 103. Portrait bust of a girl as Diana (cat. DIA7), 130-140 CE. I monumenti del Museo Torlonia riprodotti con la fototipia / descritti da Carlo Lodovico Visconti, Roma : Tipografia Tiberina di F. Setth 1884-1885, pl. 26, 103. Copyright Fondazione Torlonia.



a) Musée du Louvre (Paris), inv. Ma 2195. Altar with a portrait of a woman as Diana (cat. DIA8), 80-100 CE. © 2009 Musée du Louvre/Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



b) Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin), Ms. lat. fol. 61 (Codex Pighianus), folio 070 v. Drawing of an altar of a woman (Fulvia Trophima Benedicta) with the attributes of Diana (cat. DIA9). © Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz . Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the library.



a) Collezione Torlonia, Rome (Italy), inv. 6. Portrait statue of a woman as Diana (cat. DIA10), 130-150 CE. I monumenti del Museo Torlonia riprodotti con la fototipia / descritti da Carlo Lodovico Visconti, Roma : Tipografia Tiberina di F. Setth 1884-1885, pl. 2, 6. Copyright Fondazione Torlonia.

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For the monument, see Weski - Frosien-Leinz 1987, 164f. cat. 42.

b) Münchener Residenzmuseum, Antiquarium (Munich, Germany), inv. no. Res. Mün. P. I 36. Portrait bust of a woman as Diana (cat. DIA11), middle of the 2nd century CE (or shortly thereafter).



a) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MA 247. Portrait statue of a woman as Diana (cat. DIA12), 150-170 CE. © 2015 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Stéphane Maréchal. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



b) National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Greece), inv. 4019. Portrait statue of a woman as Diana (cat. DIA13), 150-170 CE. Digital image courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Photographer: Michalis Zorgias. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development (H.O.C.RE.D.).



a) Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, Rome (Italy), inv. 9778. Statue group of Diana and Iphigenia (cat. DIA14), middle of the 2nd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/689302>> (28.11.2020). Photographer: Barbara Malter. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Lost. Roman sarcophagus featuring the life of Hippolytus, with a portrait group of a man and woman as Hippolytus and Diana (cat. DIA15), first few decades of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <arachne.dainst.org/entity/5549084> (07.04.2021). Photographer: Singer. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Palazzo Lepri-Gallo, Rome (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring a boar hunt, with a portrait group of a man and women as a *venator* and Artemisian huntress (cat. DIA16), 220-230 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3290471>> (28.11.2020). Photographer: Singer. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Palazzo Lepri-Gallo, Rome (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring a boar hunt, with a portrait group of a man and women as a *venator* and Artemisian huntress (detail: hunt scene) (cat. DIA16), 220-230 CE. © S. Hollaender.



b) Palazzo Lepri-Gallo, Rome (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring a boar hunt, with a portrait group of a man and women as a *venator* and Artemisian huntress (detail: "departure" scene) (cat. DIA16), 220-230 CE. © S. Hollaender.



a) Palazzo Lepri-Gallo, Rome (Italy). Kline lid with a portrait group of a man and woman reclining (cat. DIA16), 220-230 CE. © S. Hollaender.



b) Museo de Arqueología de Cataluña, Barcelona (Spain), inv. 870. Roman sarcophagus featuring a lion hunt, with a portrait group a man and woman as a lion hunter and Artemisian huntress (cat. DIA17), ca. 230 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4627384>> (29.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Musei Civici di Belluno, Museo Archeologico, Belluno (Italy), inv. MBCL16445. Northern Italian sarcophagus of C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus and Domitia Severa (front side: portrait of the man as a togate figure and of the woman as a palliata figure) (cat. DIA18), ca. 230 CE. Museo Civico di Belluno, Archivio fotografico. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



b) Musei Civici di Belluno, Museo Archeologico, Belluno (Italy), inv. MBCL16445. Northern Italian sarcophagus of C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus and Domitia Severa (right side: portrait of the man as a hunter on horseback pursuing a boar) (cat. DIA18), ca. 230 CE. Museo Civico di Belluno, Archivio fotografico. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



a) Musei Civici di Belluno, Museo Archeologico, Belluno (Italy), inv. MBCL16445. Northern Italian sarcophagus of C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus and Domitia Severa (back side: portrait of the man as a hunter on horseback returning from a bear hunt) (cat. DIA18), ca. 230 CE. Museo Civico di Belluno, Archivio fotografico. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



b) Musei Civici di Belluno, Museo Archeologico, Belluno (Italy), inv. MBCL16445. Northern Italian sarcophagus of C. Flavius Hostilius Sertorianus and Domitia Severa (left side: portrait of the woman as an Artemisian huntress subduing a deer) (cat. DIA18), ca. 230 CE. Museo Civico di Belluno, Archivio fotografico. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



a) Wilton House, Wiltshire (England), inv. 1963,25. Roman sarcophagus with an (unfinished) portrait group of a man and woman as Atalante and Meleager (cat. ATA1), middle of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/394142>> (11.11.2020). Photographer: Gisela Geng. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Wilton House, Wiltshire (England), inv. 1963,25. Roman sarcophagus with an (unfinished) portrait group of a man and woman as Atalante and Meleager (detail: portrait group) (cat. ATA1), middle of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3381571>> (11.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, Basel (Switzerland), inv. Lu 257. Roman sarcophagus featuring a (partially unfinished) portrait group of a boy as a boar hunter and a girl as an Atalantian huntress (cat. ATA2), final quarter of 3rd century CE. © Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



b) San Sebastiano fuori le mura, Museo, Rome (Italy). Roman hunt sarcophagus with a portrait of a women (Bera) as a lion hunter, 280-300 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4199529>> (16.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Nieborów Palace, Nieborów (Poland). Roman sarcophagus with a portrait of a woman as a lion hunter (detail: portrait figure), 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2025143>> (03.06.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



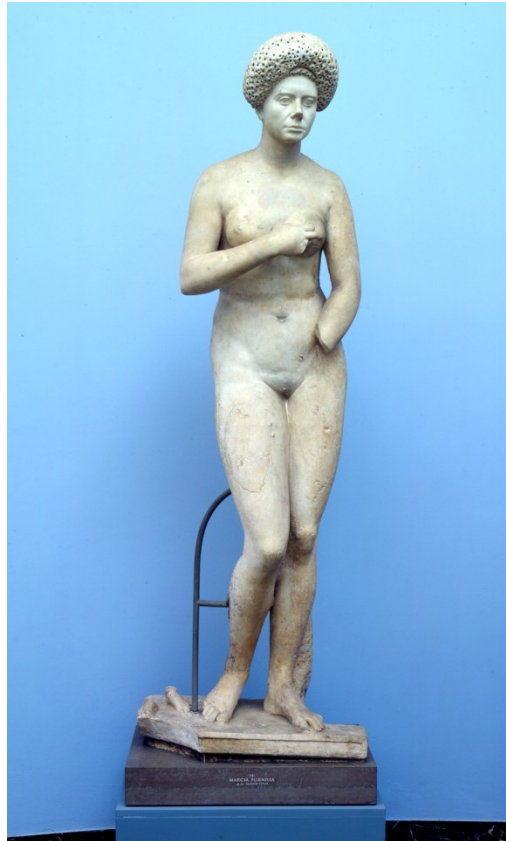
b) British Museum (London, England), inv. 1847,0424.19. Marble relief commemorating two female gladiators, Amazon and Akhillia, 1st-2nd century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 70.AA.113. Portrait statue of Faustina Maior (Large Herculaneum Woman type), 140-160 CE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.



b) The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (USA), inv. 23.88. Portrait statue of a woman (Pudicitia type), 1st century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Walters Art Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen (Denmark), inv. 711. Portrait statue of a woman as Venus (Capitoline type), Trajanic Period. © Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



b) J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 83.AA.275.1. Roman sarcophagus featuring Bacchus' discovery of Ariadne, with an (unfinished) portrait of a woman as Ariadne, 210-220 CE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.



a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 56.171.11. Attic black-figure amphora featuring Herakles (tanned skin) fighting the Nemean Lion, with Athena (pale skin) observing, ca. 540 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 10.210.8. Attic neck-amphora featuring men in chariots (nude) and women mourning (long robes), final quarter of the 8th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 14.130.12. Attic black-figure amphora featuring running athletes (nude) (detail), ca. 530 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 41.162.84. Attic red-figure lekythos featuring a Greek hoplite (nude but armed), second quarter of 5th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (USA), inv. 48.2115. Attic red-figure kylix featuring a Greek boar hunter (nude), ca. 480 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Walters Art Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 86.AE.230. Attic red-figure kalpis featuring Herakles (nude) wrestling the Nemean Lion, ca. 470 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.



a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 08.258.41. Attic marble stele with portrait of Sostratos as an athlete (nude), ca. 375-350 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 80.AE.31. Attic red-figure kylix featuring a hetaira (nude) pleasuring a male client, ca. 510 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.



a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 1972.118.148a, b. Attic red-figure pyxis featuring a women (nude) taking her nuptial bath, ca. 420-400 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 56.171.41. Attic red-figure neck-amphora featuring Ajax assaulting Cassandra (nude), ca. 450 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1862,0530.1. Attic red-figure pelike featuring Peleus abducting Thetis (nude), 360-350 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 06.1021.176. Attic red-figure stamnos featuring a warrior (short *chiton*, also with a short overfold) departing for battle, ca. 450 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 08.258.27. Attic red-figure alabastron featuring a woman (long *chiton*, *himation*), ca. 440 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1816,0610.77. Marble block featuring men (short *chiton*) in a calvacade from the south frieze of the Parthenon, 438-432 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1886,1008.1. Attic funerary stele featuring warriors (short *chiton*) (detail), ca. 400 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 07.286.70. Attic red-figure loutrophoros featuring two warriors (one in a cuirass and short *chiton*, the other just in a short *chiton*), ca. 460 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 76.12.7. Attic red-figure skyphos featuring Theseus (short *chiton*) pursuing the Minotaur (side a), ca. 460 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 76.12.7. Attic red-figure skyphos featuring Theseus (short *chiton*) pursuing the Minotaur (side b), ca. 460 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Greece), inv. 3273. Funerary lethykos of Antiphon as a hunter (short *chiton*). Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/149241>> (12.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. G 637. Attic red-figure cup featuring a hunter (short *chiton*) pursuing a boar, second quarter of the 5th century BCE. © 1992 Musée du Louvre / Patrick Lebaube. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 2011.604.3.2599a, b. Fragments of an Attic black-figure kylix featuring hunters (short *chiton*) in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1856,1213.1. Attic kalyx-krater featuring women (one wearing an *ependytes* over a long *chiton*) dancing (upper register), 460-450 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



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Penelope-Maler, Attischer Skyphos, Ident. Nr.: F 2588
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a) Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), F 2588. Attic skyphos featuring Odysseus (*exomis*) shooting the suitors of Penelope, ca. 440 BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Jürgen Liepe. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).



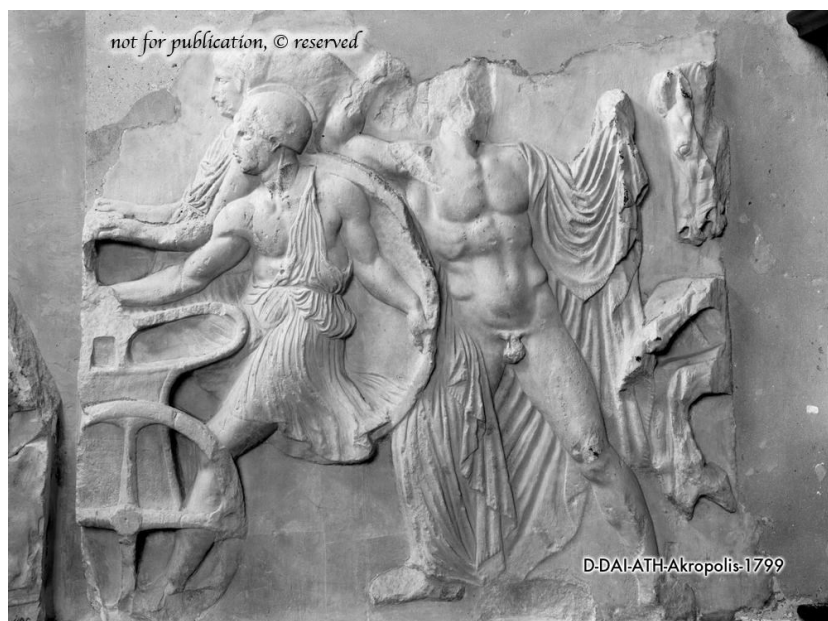
b) Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (England), inv. AN1896-1908.G.287. Attic red-figure bell-krater featuring a potter (*exomis*), ca. 430-425 BCE. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 21.88.17. Attic white-ground lekythos featuring Charon (*exomis*), ca. 450 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1849,0620.13. Apulian red-figure bell-krater featuring actors (*exomis*) performing a scene from comedy (parody of the myth of Cheiron cured by Apollo), ca. 380-370 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



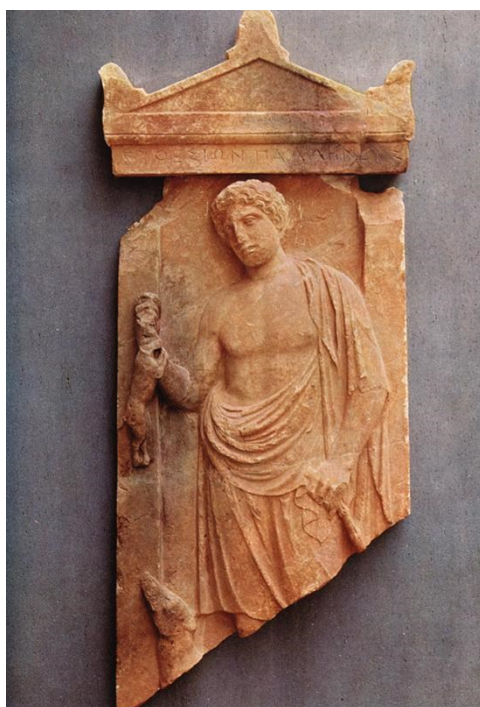
a) Akropolis Museum, Athens (Greece), inv. 859. Marble block featuring a charioteer (*exomis*) in a calvacade from the north frieze of the Parthenon, 438-432 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/391480>> (12.11.2020). Photographer: Hermann Wagner. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 40.11.23. Attic funerary stele featuring a man as a warrior (*exomis*), ca. 390 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Ferrara, Ferrara (Italy), inv. 3066 T. 512. Attic bell-krater featuring Theseus (*exomis*) fighting Sinis, ca. 430 BCE. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura - Archivio Fotografico Direzione regionale Musei dell'Emilia-Romagna. Any further reproduction or duplication of this image is prohibited.



b) Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, Basel (Switzerland), inv. BS 233. Attic funerary stele of a youth (*himation* draped like an *exomis*) as a hunter, beginning of the 4th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/397749>> (12.11.2020). Photographer: Hermann Wagner. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 25.78.2. Attic red-figure lekythos featuring Hermes (*chlamys* pinned on right shoulder) running, ca. 480-470 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

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For the monument, see De Ridder 1901-1902, 312-314 cat. 422.

b) Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques, Paris (France), inv. De Ridder.422. Lucanian bell-krater featuring Odysseus, between Eurylochos and Perimedes (*chlamys* bunched on the left shoulder), consulting the spirit of Tiresias, ca. 390 BCE.



a) Akropolis Museum, Athens (Greece). Marble block featuring a charioteer (*chlamys*) in a calvacade from the west frieze of the Parthenon, 438-432 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4389566>> (12.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Dipylon Cemetery, Athens (Greece). Attic funerary relief with a cavalryman (*chlamys*), early 4th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3779640>> (13.11.2020). Photographer: Walter Hege. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 84.AE.974. Attic red-figure volute krater featuring Athena and Herakles (using his lion skin as a *chlamys*) preparing to attack Alkyoneos, 480-470 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.



Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz Grabrelief für einen heroisierten Verstorbenen, Ident. Nr.: SK 809 © Foto: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Fotografin: Ingrid Geske

b) Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), SK 809. Funerary relief with a heroized deceased (*chlamys*), middle of the 2nd century BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Ingrid Geske. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).



a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 96.18.68. Attic red-figure kylix featuring a man (*himation* leaving the right shoulder and arm free), middle of the 5th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 53.149. Attic white-ground lekythos featuring a trainer (*himation*), first quarter of the 5th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1849,0518.3. Attic red-figure amphora featuring Herakles (club, lion skin, bow) accompanied by Nike and Zeus. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 86.AE.298. Attic red-figure cup featuring a nude athlete pouring oil from an *aryballos* (with a discus and two javelins in the background), ca. 510 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.



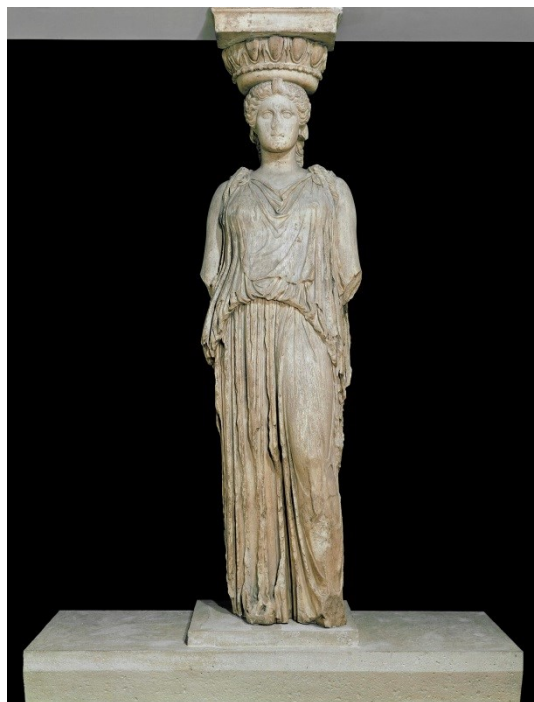
a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 2011.604.1.7732. Attic red-figure kylix featuring an athlete using a *strigil*, second quarter of the 5th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1836,0224.122. Attic black-figure amphora featuring the Judgement of Paris, including Hermes (*endromides*), ca. 520 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



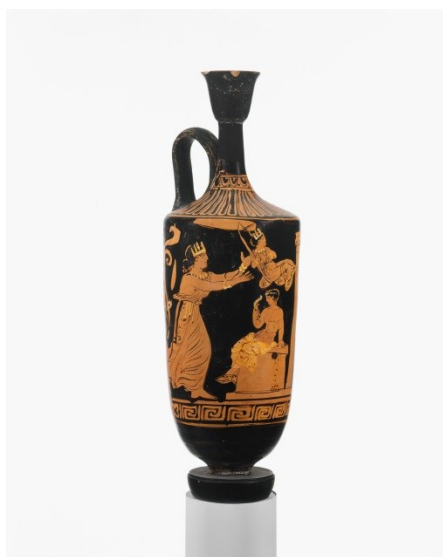
a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1816,0610.70. Marble block featuring men (*embades*) in a calvacade from the south frieze of the Parthenon, 438-432 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1816,0610.128. Marble caryatid (*peplos*) from the Erechtheion, 421-406 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1910,0711.1. Attic red-figure loutrophoros featuring a groom and bride (*himation* drawn over her head), ca. 425 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 13.232.3. Apulian red-figure lekythos featuring a woman (long *chiton*) pushing a girl (long *chiton*) on a swing (perhaps during a festival), ca. 375-350 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1856,0512.12. Apulian oinochoe featuring a girl (?) (short tunic) playing with a tortoise, 360-350 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1873,0820.354. Attic red-figure hydria featuring girls (short *chiton*, *ependytes*) taking dance lessons, 430 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

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For the monument, see Reeder 1996, 322-325 cat. 98.

a) Herbert Cahn Collection, Basel (Switzerland), inv. HC 501. Krateriskos featuring girls (short *chiton*) running, as part of the ritual for the (side a), 430-420 BCE.

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For the monument, see Reeder 1996, 322-325 cat. 98.

b) Herbert Cahn Collection, Basel (Switzerland), inv. HC 501. Krateriskos featuring girls (short *chiton*) running, as part of the ritual for the Arkteia (side b), 430-420 BCE.

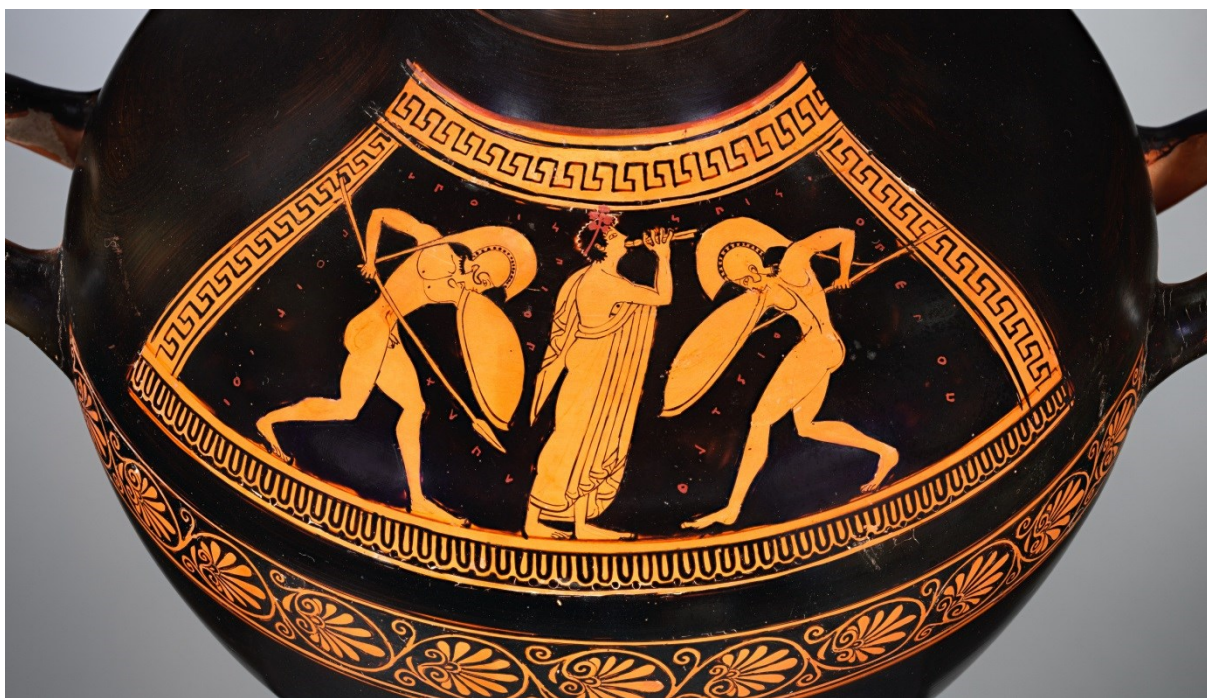
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For the monument, see Reeder 1996, 326 cat. 99.

a) Herbert Cahn Collection, Basel (Switzerland), inv. HC 502. Krateriskos featuring girls (nude) running, as part of the ritual for the Arkteia, 430-420 BCE.



a) Archaeological Museum, Brauron (Greece), inv. 5, 1151. Votive relief of Aristonike, by 356 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2100115>> (13.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 21.88.2. Attic red-figure hydria featuring men dancing the Pyrrhiche, ca. 500 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) Thiva Archaeological Museum, Thebes (Greece), inv. Th.P. 699. Boeotian red-figure lekythos featuring a girl dancing the Pyrrhiche, 440-430 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2092939>> (14.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

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For the monument, see Poursat 1968, 599 cat. 51.

b) Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. H 3010. Attic red-figure pyxis featuring prenuptial rituals, including a girl dancing the Pyrrhiche in front of a statue of Artemis, ca. 440 BCE.

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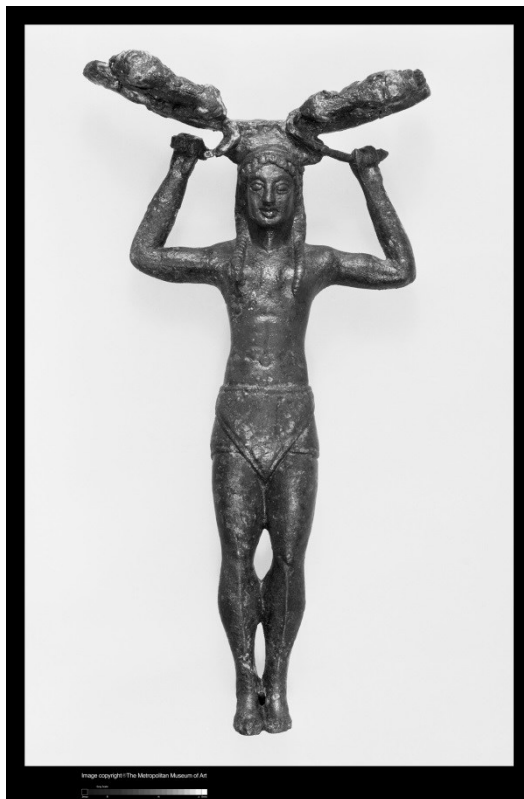
a) Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. Stg 281. Attic red-figure bell-krater featuring a girl dancing the Pyrrhiche at the symposium, 450-430 BCE.



b) National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Greece), inv. 24. Laconian bronze statuette featuring a girl wearing a short *chiton* and running (female athlete at Sparta?), 550-540 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/1506874>> (15.11.2020). Photographer: Gösta Hellner. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 38.11.3. Laconian bronze mirror with a support in the form of a nude girl (female athlete at Sparta?), second half of the 6th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 41.11.5a. Bronze mirror with a support in the form of a girl wearing a *perizoma* (female athlete at Sparta?), final quarter of the 6th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 86.AE.297. Attic red-figure cup featuring a female charioteer, ca. 430-420 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.



b) Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels (Belgium), inv. A 11. Attic red-figure skyphos featuring a male courtship scene (side a), 480-470 BCE. © RMAH, Brussels. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



a) Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels (Belgium), inv. A 11. Attic red-figure skyphos featuring a female courtship scene (Side B), 480-470 BCE. © RMAH, Brussels. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 06.1021.167. Attic red-figure kylix featuring a woman bringing a reluctant girl to school, ca. 460-450 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1876,0510.1. Laconian bronze statuette featuring a girl wearing an *exomis* and running (in the Heraia?), ca. 560 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) Musei Vaticani, Galleria dei Candelabri (Vatican City State), inv. 2784. Marble statue of a girl wearing an *exomis* and preparing to run (in the Heraia?), Roman copy of a bronze original of about 460 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/5085631>> (14.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1863,0728.440. Attic red-figure lekythos featuring a woman arming a man, 440-430 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

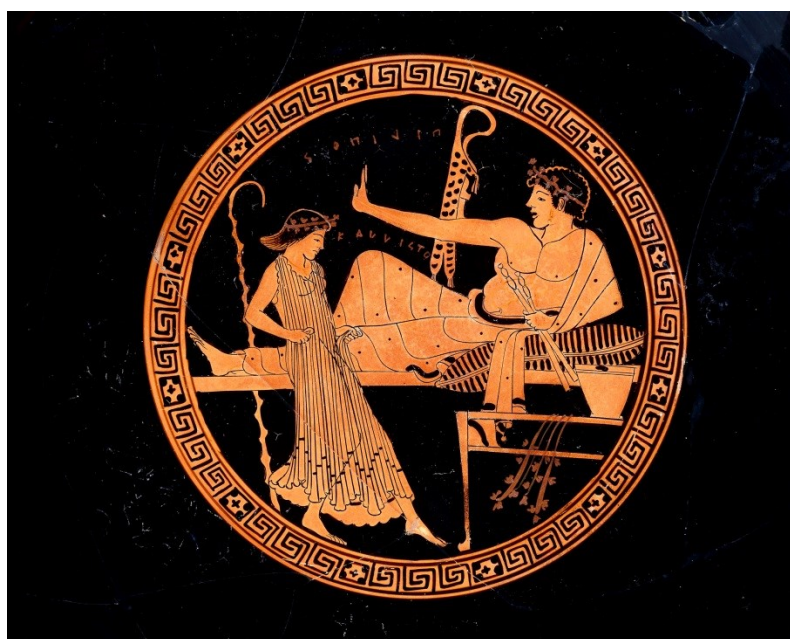
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For the monument, see Vout 2012, 244. 247.

b) Museo Archeologico Provinciale di Santa Scolastica, Bari (Italy), inv. 4979. Attic red-figure krater featuring women using athletic accessories to wash themselves (e.g. aryballos, strigil), ca. 490 BCE.



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1848,0619.7. Attic red-figure cup featuring men reclining at the symposium, accompanied by a *hetaira*, a female musician, and a youth with a dipper and a strainer, 490-480 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1848,0619.7. Attic red-figure cup featuring a man reclining at a symposium, entertained by a dancing girl, 490-480 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



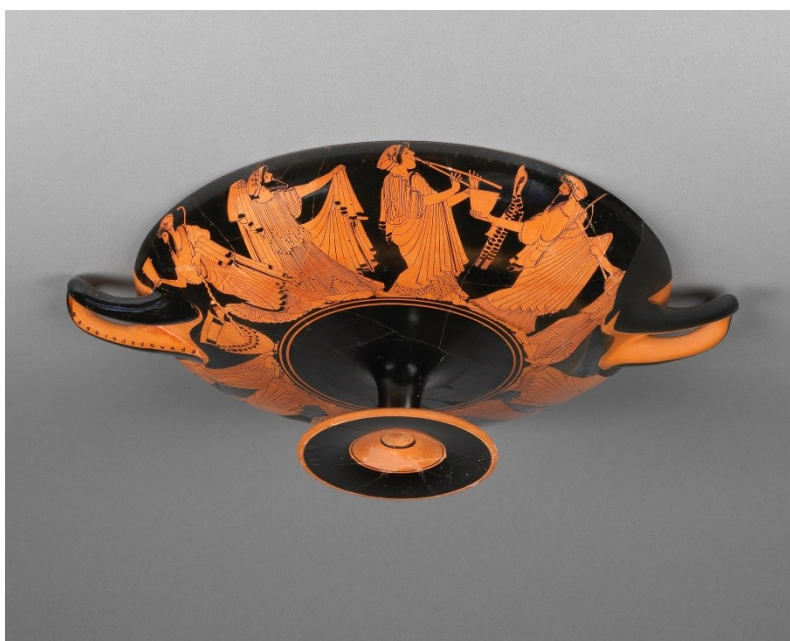
a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 2011.604.1.6788. Attic red-figure kylix featuring a man and a *hetaira* reclining at the symposium, 480-470 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1843,1103.4. Attic cup featuring komasts, 480-475 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. G 220. Attic red-figure amphora featuring an Anakreontic komast, first quarter of the 5th century BCE. © 2002 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



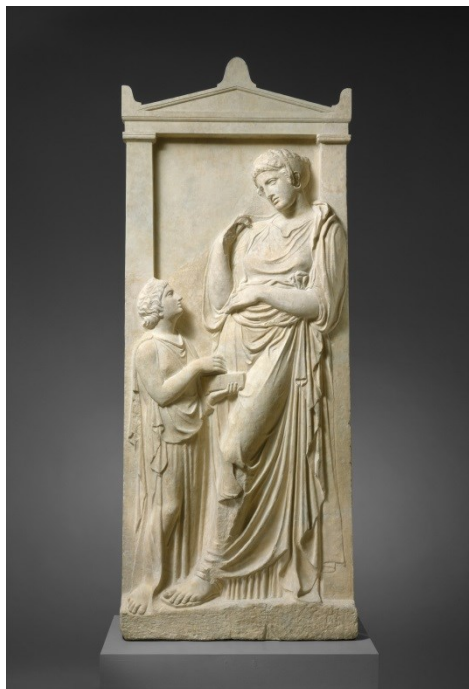
b) J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 86.AE.293. Attic red-figure cup featuring Anakreontic komasts, ca. 480 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1920,0216.2. Attic cup featuring men and women dancing at the komos, 550-530 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1814,0704.566. Campanian red-figure hydria featuring a female acrobat, ca. 340-330 BCE © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 36.11.1. Attic funerary stele of a woman and her female servant, ca. 400-390 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 24.97.27. Attic red-figure neck-amphora featuring a woman receiving a chest from her female servant, middle of the 5th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

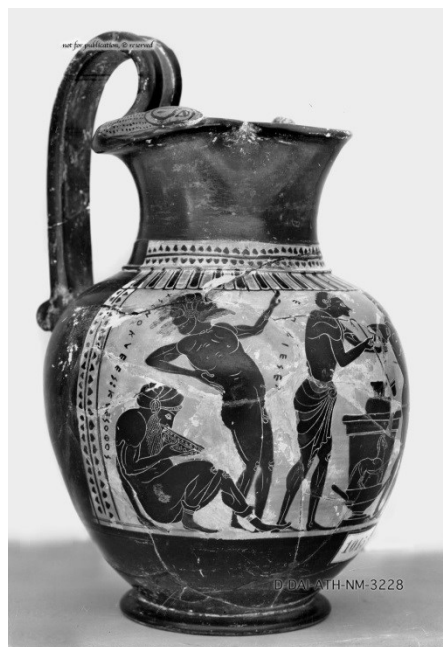


a) Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (Spain), inv. 11117. Attic red-figure hydria featuring women fetching water from a fountain house, 490 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional. Photo: Antonio Trigo Arnal. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

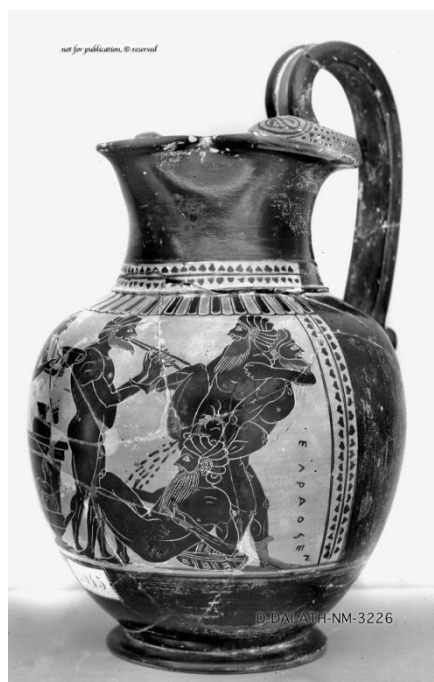


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Attische Pelike, Ident. Nr. VI. 3228
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b) Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. V.I. 3228. Attic pelike featuring women fetching water, assaulted by saytrs, ca. 490 BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).



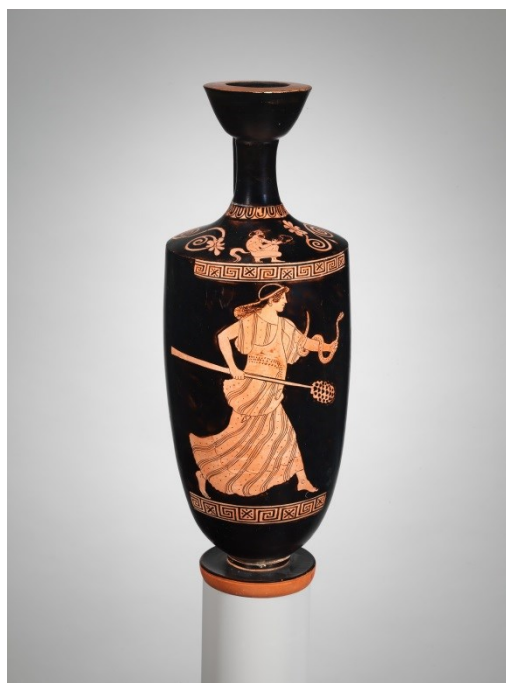
a) National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Greece), inv. 1045. Attic black-figure oinochoe featuring a Lydian drinking party (side a), Archaic Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2712403>> (17.04.2021). Photographer: Hermann Wagner. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Greece), inv. 1045. Attic black-figure oinochoe featuring a Lydian drinking party (side b), Archaic Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2712401>> (17.04.2020). Photographer: Hermann Wagner. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. CA 2587. Attic red-figure hydria featuring Thracian women with tattoos fetching water, 465-460 BCE. © 2000 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 41.162.19. Attic red-figure lekythos featuring a running maenad, ca. 460 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



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a) Museo Provinciale Sigismondo Castromediano, Lecce (Italy), inv. 638. Apulian red-figure bell-amphora featuring the Theban women ready to attack Pentheus. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4104632>> (15.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1843,1207.2. Attic red-figure vessel-stand featuring a maenad dancing, ca. 520-510 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. K 300. Attic red-figure amphora featuring Medea slaying her children, third quarter of the 4th century BCE. © RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Maurice et Pierre Chuzeville. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



Sitzung
Preußischer Kulturbesitz
Hephaisteion-Maler, Attischer Stamnos, Ident. Nr. F 2188
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b) Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. F 2188. Attic red-figure stamnos featuring the Peliades and the rejuvenated ram they had butchered, second quarter of the 5th century BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).



a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 01.8.6. Siana cup featuring a running gorgon, ca. 575 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 45.11.1. Attic red-figure pelike featuring Perseus pursuing the gorgon Medusa, ca. 450-440 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (USA), inv. 1994.11.1. Apulian red-figure bell-krater featuring the Erinyes pursuing Orestes, ca. 375 BCE. Digital image courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery. Reproduced under Yale University's Open Access Policy.



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1864,1007.82. Attic red-figure neck-amphora featuring Phineus and the Harpyiai, ca. 470-450 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



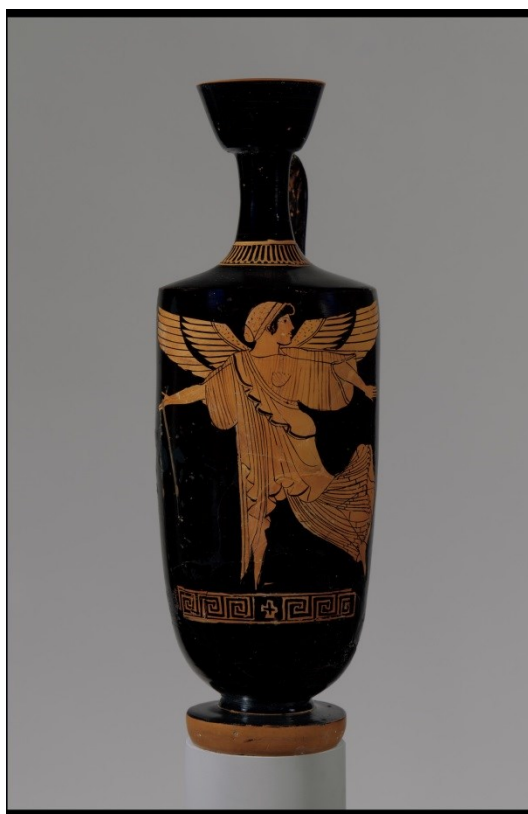
a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 06.1021.93. Attic red-figure oinochoe featuring Iris crouching, 470-460 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. X.21.15. Attic black-figure oinochoe featuring Hera sending out Iris with the Nemean lion, ca. 500 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1867,0508.975. Attic cup featuring Nike (?) running, flanked by two men, 550-525 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



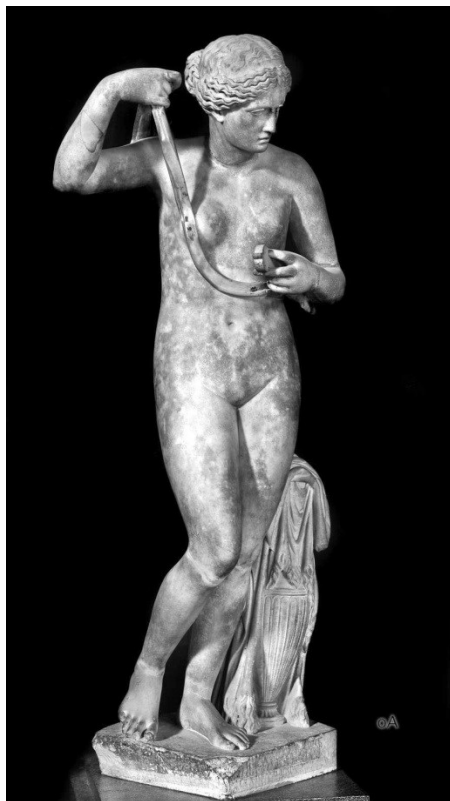
b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 25.78.1. Attic red-figure lekythos featuring Nike, ca. 480-470 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. G 115. Attic red-figure cup featuring Eos collecting the body of her son Memnon, 490-480 BCE. © 1999 RMN / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 25.78.2. Attic red-figure lethykos featuring Hermes, ca. 480-470 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (Italy), inv. 611. Statue of Aphrodite with a sword, Roman copy of a Greek original dating to about the middle of the 4th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6960369>> (15.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1923,0401.1153. Cameo featuring Omphale holding the club and lion skin of Herakles, Hellenistic Period. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1772,0320.19.+. Attic bell-krater featuring Nereids on hippocampi, carrying the arms of Achilles, ca. 350 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



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Diosphos-Maler, Attische Halsamphora, Ident. Nr.: F 1837
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Fotograf: Johannes Laurentius



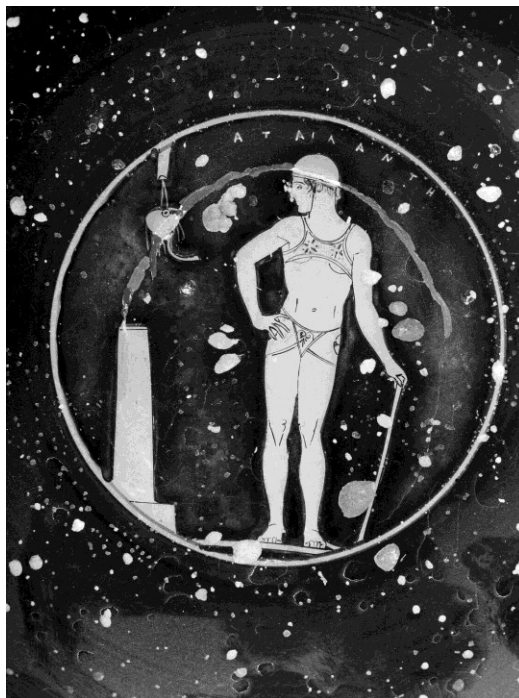
b) Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. F 1837. Attic neck-amphora featuring Peleus wrestling Atalanta, ca. 490 BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).



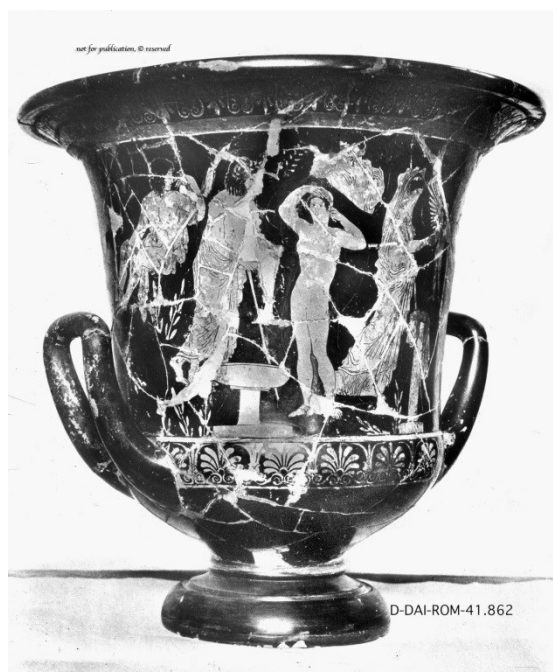
a) Martin von Wagner Museum, Würzburg (Germany), inv. L328. Attic black-figure stamnos featuring wrestlers in loincloths (side a), ca. 510 BCE. © Martin von Wagner Museum of Würzburg University (photograph: C. Kiefer). Reproduced with permission of the museum.



b) Martin von Wagner Museum, Würzburg (Germany), inv. L328. Attic black-figure stamnos featuring runners in loincloths (side b), ca. 510 BCE. © Martin von Wagner Museum of Würzburg University (photograph: C. Kiefer). Reproduced with permission of the museum.



a) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. CA 2259. Attic red-figure cup featuring Atalante, dressed in a *strophion* and *perizoma*, second quarter of the 5th century BCE. © Musée du Louvre / Maurice et Pierre Chuzeville. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



b) Museo Civico Archeologico, Bologna (Italy), inv. 300. Attic red-figure kelch krater featuring Atalante preparing for the footrace against Meilanion or Hippomenes, 430-420 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2687136>> (15.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

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For the monument, see Boardman - Arrighi 1984, 947 no. 87.

a) Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques, Paris (France), inv. De Ridder.818. Attic red-figure cup featuring Peleus admiring Atalante, ca. 390-370 BCE.



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 07.286.68. Attic black-figure lekythos featuring Athena fighting in the Gigantomachy, first quarter of the 5th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1824,0501.16. Attic red-figure lekythos featuring an Amazon preparing for battle, ca. 500-475 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Greece), inv. 12780. Attic red-figure lekythos featuring Artemis hunting, ca. 420 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Photographer: Eleftherios Galanopoulos. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development (H.O.C.RE.D.).

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For the monument, see Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 941 no. 5.

a) R. Blatter Collection, Bolligen (Switzerland). Fragment of an Attic black-figure Dinos featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, including Atalante, ca. 570-560 BCE.



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 05.30. Bronze statue of the emperor Trebonianus Gallus (nude), 251-253 CE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



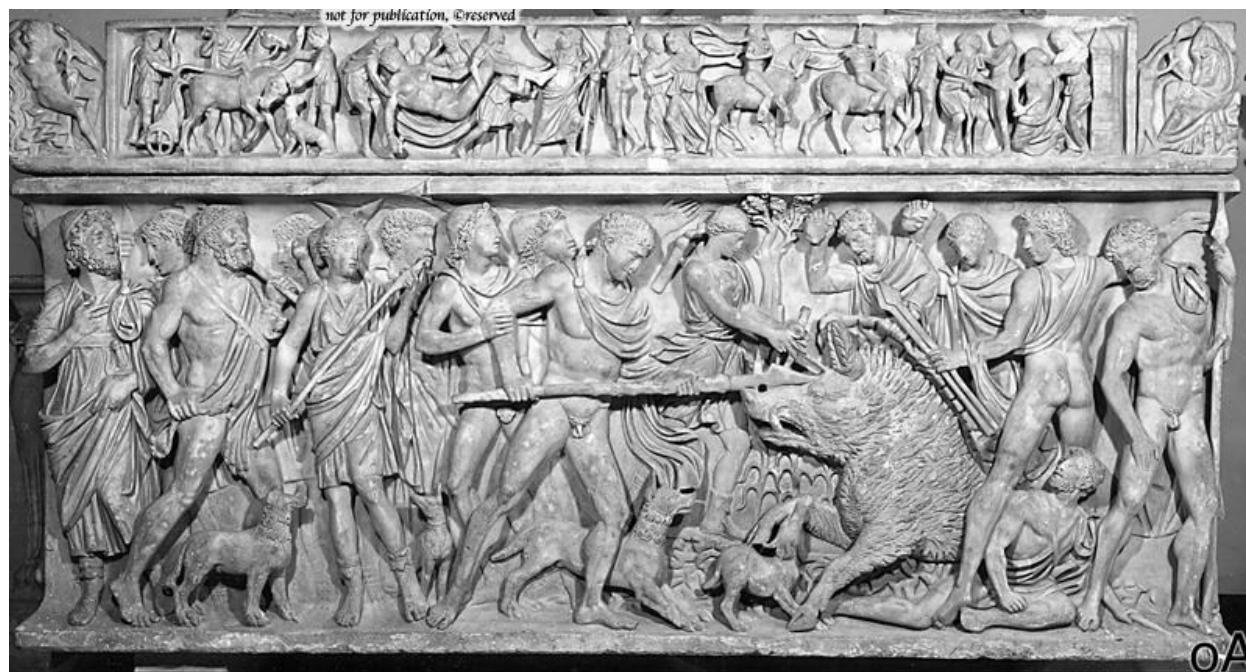
a) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Turkey), inv. 124. Portrait statue of a man (short *tunica* and *sagum*), middle of the Antonine Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4224752>> (30.05.2021). Photographer: Raoul Laev. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Museo Archeologico Ostiense, Ostia (Italy), inv. 5203. Terracotta funerary relief showing the midwife Scribonia Attice helping a woman give birth, 2nd century CE. Digital image courtesy of the Direzione Generale Musei Parco Archeologico di Ostia Antica. © Archivio Fotografico del Parco Archeologico di Ostia Antica.



a) VI 10, 1b, Pompeii (Italy). Wall-painting featuring a bar-keeper (male? female?) serving a soldier, before 62 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <arachne.dainst.org/entity/419049> (30.05.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Villa Doria Pamphilj, Casino Belrespiro, Rome (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring the Meleager and Atalanta in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, 170-180 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/685388>> (15.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (Italy), inv. 726. Roman sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy, 140/150 CE. Photo: S. Hollaender. Roma, Musei Capitolini. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1805,0703.154. Roman sarcophagus featuring the discovery of Achilles on Skyros, ca. 220-230 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. 6406. Statue of Hercules and Omphale, 1st century BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3876712>> (19.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1851,0416.16. Attic pelike featuring Hercules and Omphale (?), perhaps trading their dress, ca. 430 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. F 3291. Apulian hydria featuring Hercules and Omphale (?) on a throne, 340-330 BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).



b) Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland (USA), inv. 1916.973. Phokaian hekte featuring the head of Omphale (obverse), 4th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



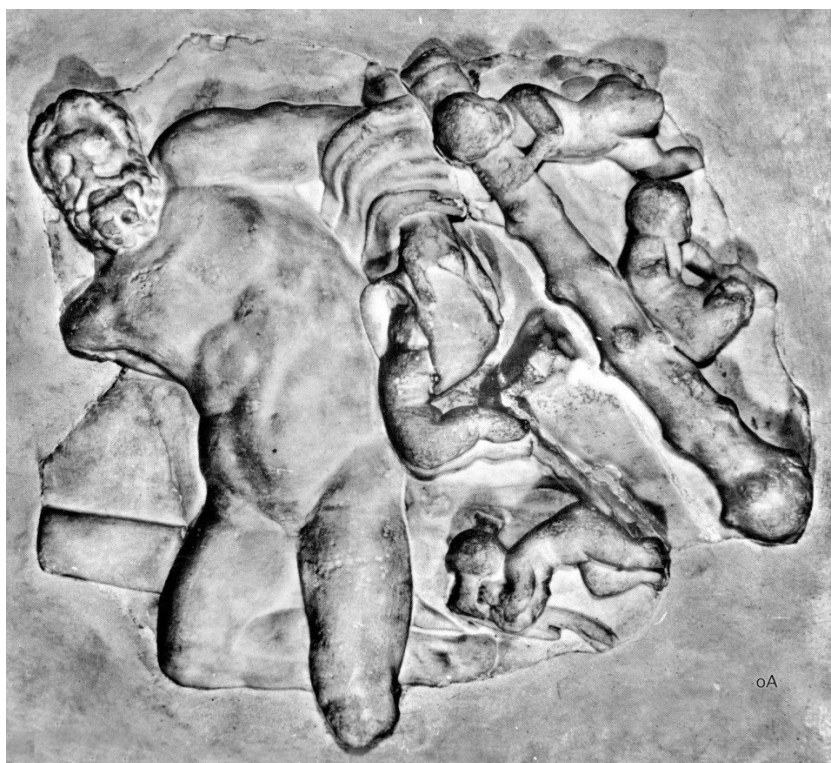
a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1905,0711.5. Scaraboid featuring Omphale with the club and lion skin of Herakles, 4th century BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1905,0711.5. Impression of a scaraboid featuring Omphale with the club and lion skin of Herakles, 4th century BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1923,0401.597. Glass paste featuring Omphale holding the club and lion skin of Herakles, 1st-3rd century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) Warren Collection, Brunswick (USA), inv. 1906,2. Relief featuring a drunken Hercules and erotes playing with his weapons, Hellenistic Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4949145>> (08.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (Spain), inv. 17459. Relief of Eros sleeping with the club and lion skin of Hercules, 1st century CE. Digital image courtesy of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional. Photo: Miguel Angel Otero. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1805,0703.227. Roman puteal featuring Hercules struggling with Omphale in a bacchic setting, 1st-2nd century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) Musei Capitolini, Rome (Italy), inv. 45. Statue of Omphale dancing like a maenad, 1st/2nd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/1415978>> (25.04.2021). Photographer: Barbara Malter. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



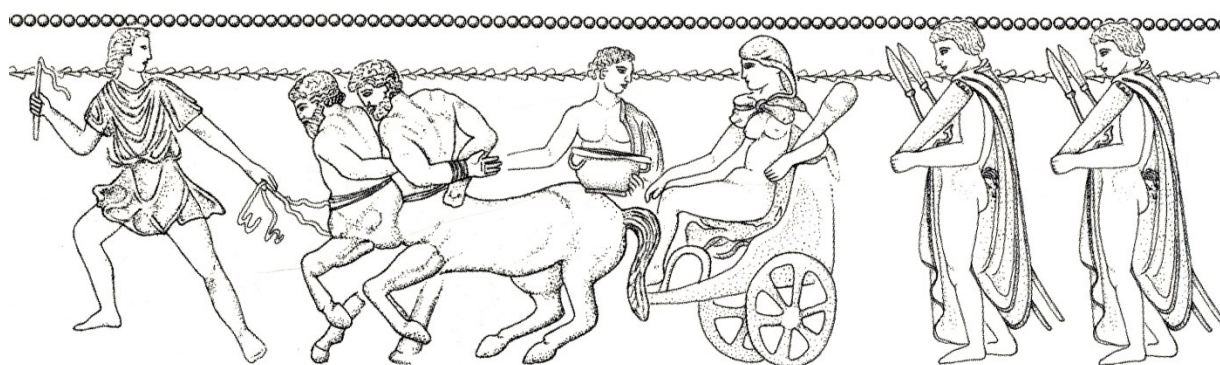
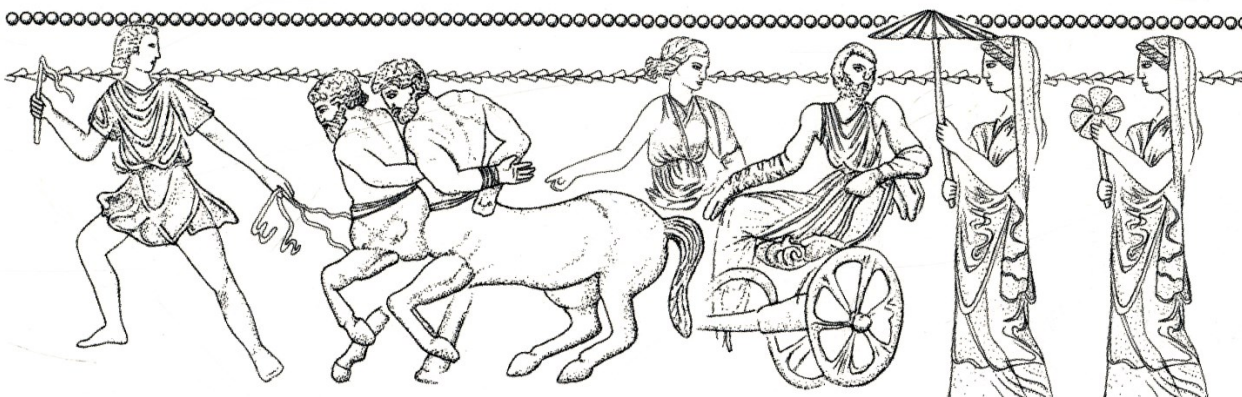
b) J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 83.AQ.377.463. Roman lamp featuring Omphale sleeping, 1st century BCE - 4th century CE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.



a) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. NIII 3445. Arretine bell-krater featuring Hercules and Omphale in a procession of chariots (side a), final quarter of the 1st century BCE. © 2008 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



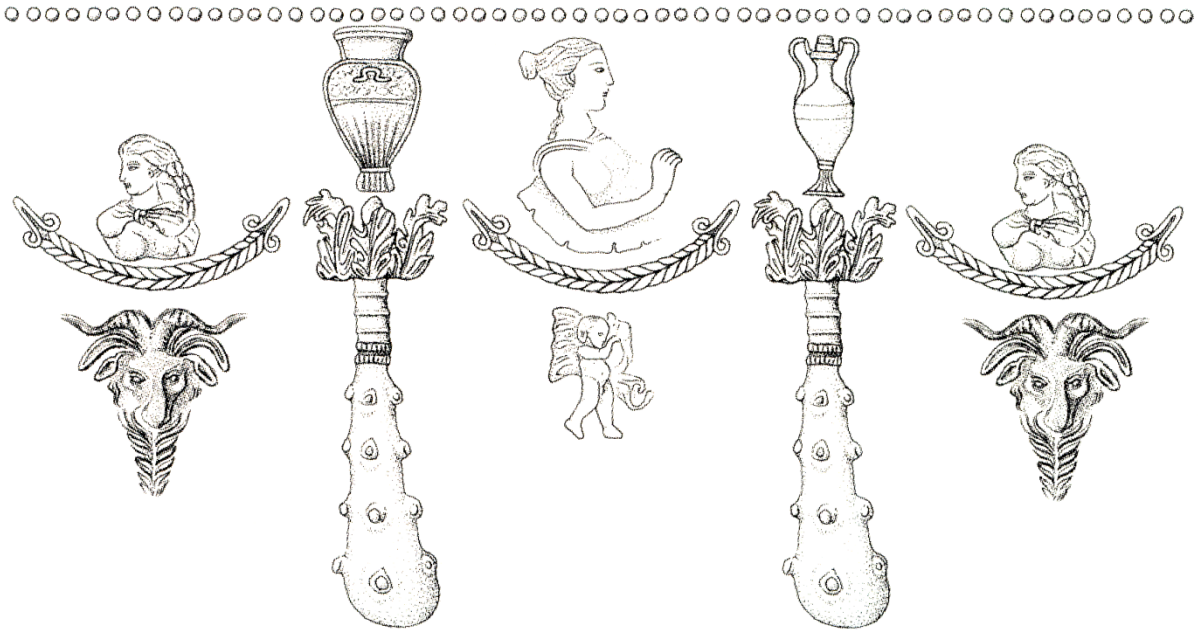
b) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. NIII 3445. Arretine bell-krater featuring Hercules and Omphale in a procession of chariots (side b), final quarter of the 1st century BCE. © 2008 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



a) Reconstruction of the Hercules-Omphale cycle from the workshop of Marcus Perennius (Phase 1) (divided here into two sections). F.P. Porten Palange. *Die Werkstätten der arretinischen Reliefkeramik, Monographien (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz) 76* (Mainz 2009), table 22 (Komb. Per 3). © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum / M. Weber. Reproduced with permission of the publisher.



b) Reconstruction of the Hercules-Omphale cycle from the workshop of Cn. Ateius. F.P. Porten Palange. *Die Werkstätten der arretinischen Reliefkeramik, Monographien (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz) 76* (Mainz 2009), table 91 (Komb. At 23). © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum / M. Weber. Reproduced with permission of the publisher.



a) Reconstruction of the Hercules-Omphale cycle from the workshop of Marcus Perennius (Phase 4). F.P. Porten Palange. *Die Werkstätten der arretinischen Reliefkeramik, Monographien* (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz) 76 (Mainz 2009), table 56 (Komb. Per 95). © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum / M. Weber. Reproduced with permission of the publisher.



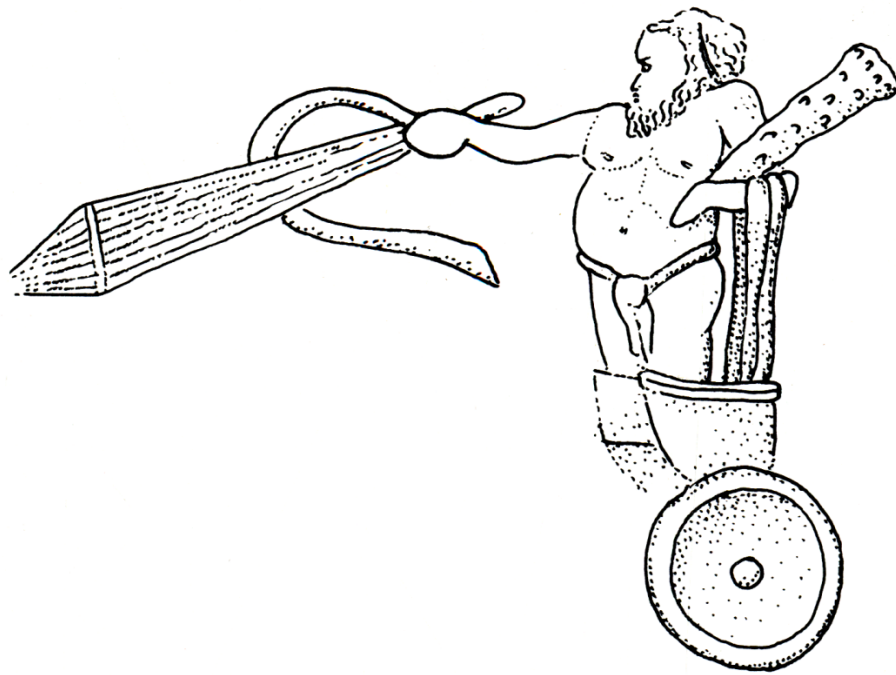
b) Drawing of a stamp depicting Hercules seated and meditating from the workshop of Marcus Perennius. F.P. Porten Palange, *Katalog der Punzenmotive in der arretinischen Reliefkeramik, Kataloge vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer* 38 (Mainz 2004), table 82 (mMG/Herakles re 2a). © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum / M. Weber. Reproduced with permission of the publisher.



a) Museo Archeologico Gaio Cilnio Mecante, Depot, Arezzo (Italy), inv. 4933. Fragment of a mold for an Arretine cup featuring Hercules as an actor among the Muses, from the workshop of Marcus Perennius. Su autorizzazione della SOPRINTENDENZA Archeologia, belle arti e paesaggio per le province di Siena, Grosseto e Arezzo. Any further reproduction or duplication of this image is prohibited.



b) Drawing of a stamp depicting Hercules as an actor from the workshop of Marcus Perennius. F.P. Porten Palange, Katalog der Punzenmotive in der arretinischen Reliefkeramik, Kataloge vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer 38 (Mainz 2004), table 82 (mMG/Herakles fr. 1a). © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum / M. Weber. Reproduced with permission of the publisher.



a) Drawing of a stamp depicting Hercules as a portly caricature from the workshop of Marcus Perennius. F.P. Porten Palange, Katalog der Punzenmotive in der arretinischen Reliefkeramik, Kataloge vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer 38 (Mainz 2004), plate 83 (mMG/Herakles li 7a). © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum / M. Weber. Reproduced with permission of the publisher.



b) Reconstruction of the procession of Bacchus from the workshop of Marcus Perennius (Phase 3). F.P. Porten Palange. *Die Werkstätten der arretinischen Reliefkeramik*, Monographien (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz) 76 (Mainz 2009), table 43 (Komb. Per 62). © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum / M. Weber. Reproduced with permission of the publisher.



a) Museo Archeologico Gaio Cilnio Mecante, Arezzo (Italy), inv. 2108. Mold for an Arretine cup featuring Hercules reclining with a woman at the symposium, from the workshop of Marcus Perennius. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura - Direzione regionale Musei della Toscana - Firenze. Any further reproduction or duplication of this image is prohibited.



b) Cornell Plaster Cast Collection, Ithaca (USA), inv. 580. Reproduction of an Arretine cup featuring Hercules reclining with a woman at the symposium, from the workshop of Marcus Perennius. Digital image courtesy of the Cornell Plaster Cast Collection. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

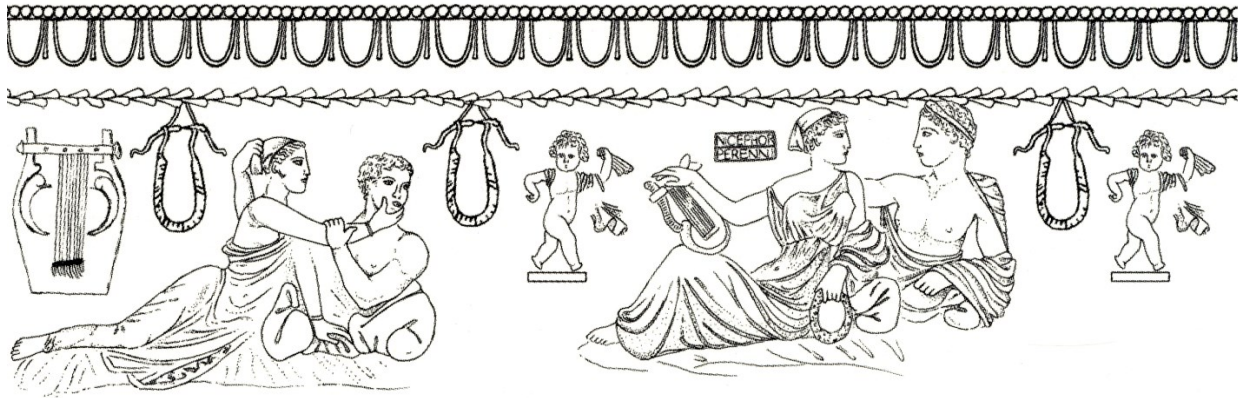


a) Museo Archeologico Gaio Cilnio Mecenate, Depot, Arezzo (Italy), inv. 10476. Fragment of a mold for an Arretine cup featuring Hercules reclining, from the workshop of Marcus Perennius. Su autorizzazione della SOPRINTENDENZA Archeologia, belle arti e paesaggio per le province di Siena, Grosseto e Arezzo. Any further reproduction or duplication of this image is prohibited.

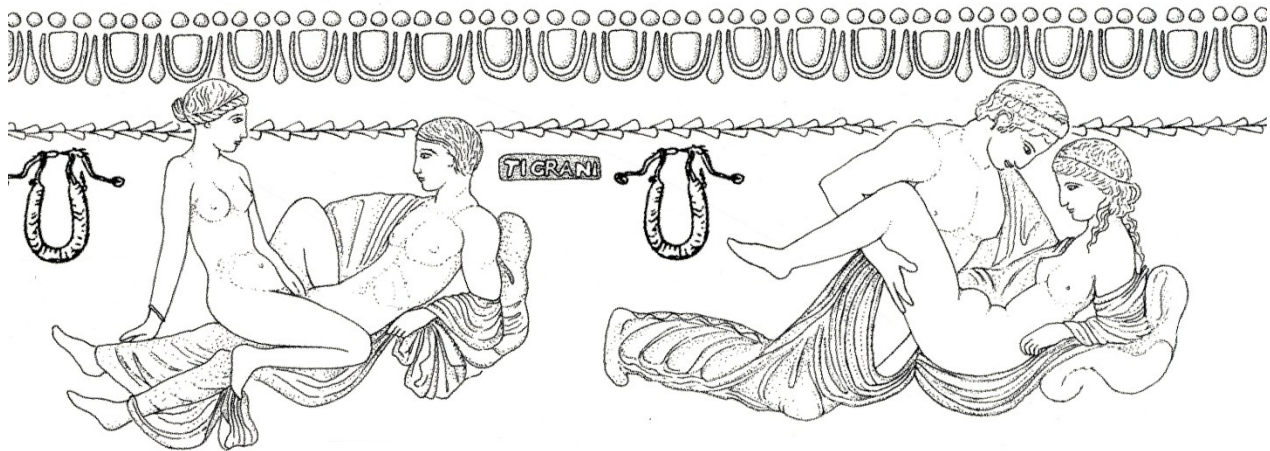
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For the monument, see Porten Palange 1966, 34 cat. 29.

b) Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome (Italy), inv. 15803. Fragment of an Arretine vessel featuring Hercules making love to a woman, from the workshop of Marcus Perennius.



b) Reconstruction of the symposium cycle from the Workshop of Marcus Perennius (limited to one half here). F.P. Porten Palange. *Die Werkstätten der arretinischen Reliefkeramik, Monographien* (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz) 76 (Mainz 2009), table 30 (Komb. Per 33). © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum / M. Weber. Reproduced with permission of the publisher.



b) Reconstruction of the symplegma cycle from the Workshop of Marcus Perennius (limited to one half here). F.P. Porten Palange. *Die Werkstätten der arretinischen Reliefkeramik, Monographien* (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz) 76 (Mainz 2009), table 31 (Komb. Per 37). © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum / M. Weber. Reproduced with permission of the publisher.



a) Römerhaus, Augst (Switzerland). Fragment of a terracotta relief vessel featuring Omphale triumphantly bearing the club and lion skin of Hercules and Victoria reaching out to crown her with a wreath, Roman Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2089205>> (15.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

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For the monument, see Boardman 1994, 49 no. 41.

b) Reconstruction of a campana plaque featuring Omphale triumphantly receiving the attributes of Hercules, based on the fragments located at the Universität Tübingen and the Museo Nazionale Romano (inv. 39600), 1st century BCE/CE. J. Boardman, Omphale, in: LIMC VII (Zürich 1994) 45-53, p. 50 fig. 41.

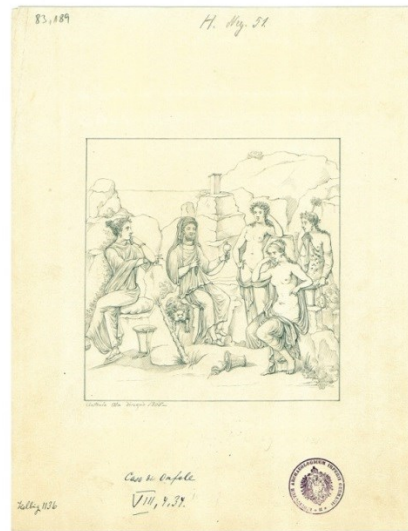
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For the monument, see Boardman 1994, 52 no. 80.

a) Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques, Paris (France), inv. 56.11. Silver phiale featuring Omphale sleeping, surrounded by erotes and the attributes of Hercules, first half of the 1st century CE.



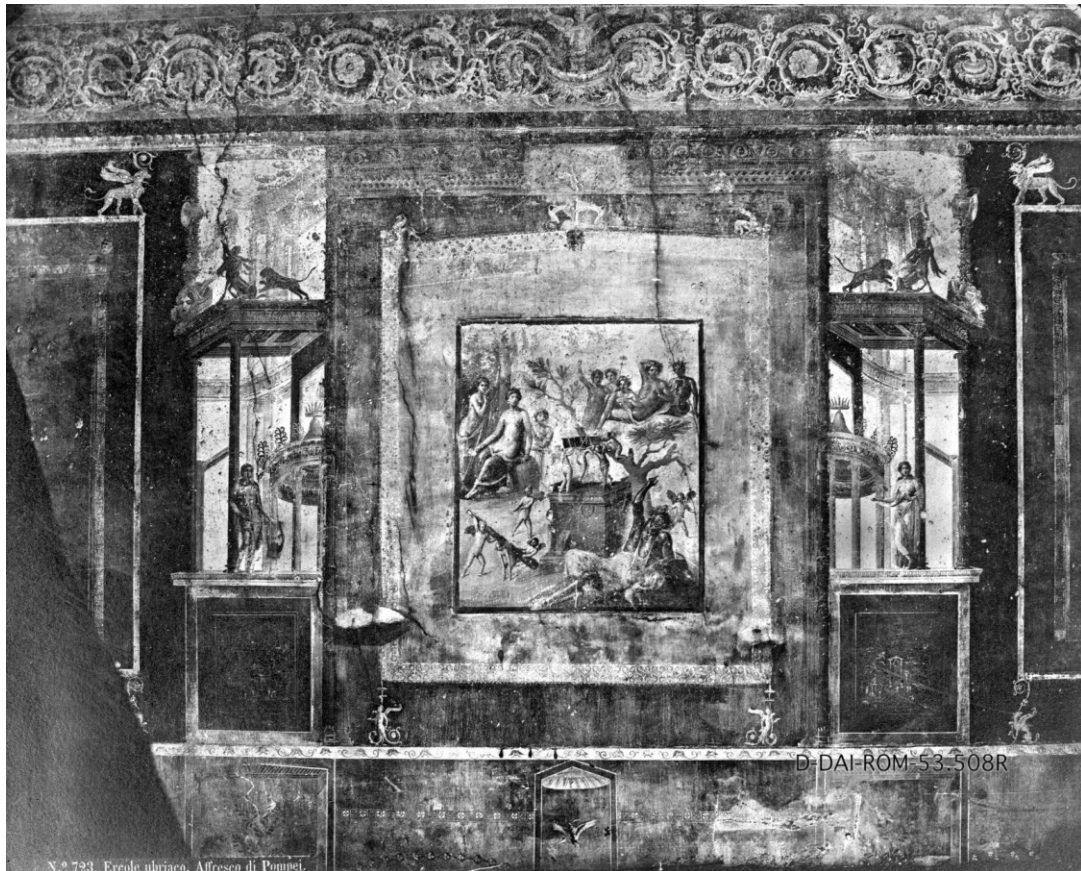
b) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MR 220. The Sleeping Hermaphroditus, Roman copy of a Greek original dating to the 2nd century BCE. © 2011 Musée du Louvre / Thierry Ollivier. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



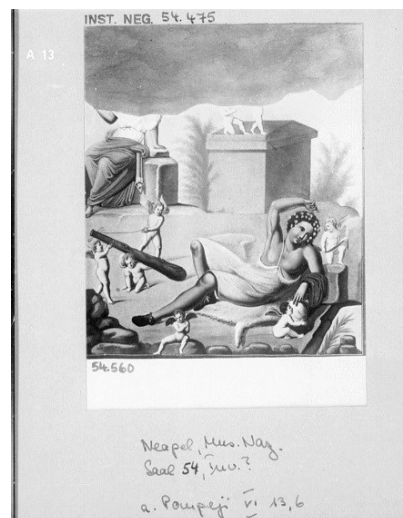
a) Drawing of a Pompeian wall-painting (from VIII 4, 34) featuring Hercules spinning among Omphale and her Lydian maidens, from the 1st century CE (before 79 CE). Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/5022361>> (15.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. 9000. Pompeian wall-painting (from the Scavo del Principe di Montenegro: Il Is. Occid. 15) featuring Omphale observing a group of erotes stealing the arms of Hercules, lying drunk on the ground before her, middle of the 1st century CE. Photo: No Copyright. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura - Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.



a) Casa di Sirico (VII 1, 25), Pompeii (Italy). Wall-painting featuring Omphale observing erotes stealing the arms of Hercules, lying drunk on the ground before her, ca. 70 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3490806> (15.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Drawing of a Pompeian wall-painting (from the Casa del Forno di Ferro: VI, 13, 6) featuring Omphale observing erotes stealing the arms of Hercules, lying drunk on the ground before her, from the middle of the 1st century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2876734> (15.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. 8992. Pompeian wall-painting (from the Casa di Marcus Lucretius: IX 3, 5.24) featuring Hercules and Omphale in the Dionysian *thiasos*, middle of the 1st century CE. Photo: No copyright. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura - Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1805,0703.124. Roman strigillated sarcophagus featuring Bacchus leaning on a satyr, ca. 200 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1873,0820.119. Bronze jar featuring the Dionysian *thiasos*, including the drunken Hercules being supported by the revellers, 1st century BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1899,0215.1. Roman wall-painting featuring Bacchus and Silenus, 30 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



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Status der sogenannten-Aphrodite auf der Schildkröte (Aphrodite Brazza), ident. Nr. SK 1459
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a) Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. SK 1459. Aphrodite Urania, late Hellenistic or early Roman copy of a Greek original dating to ca. 430-420 BCE. © Photos: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Jürgen Liepe. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. R.13793. Sesterius featuring Antoninus Pius (obverse) and Fortuna (reverse), 151-152 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. 9004. Pompeian wall-painting featuring Hercules and Omphale embracing, middle of the 1st century CE. Photo: © Stefano Bolognini. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura - Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.



b) Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. MN 929. Pompeian wall-painting featuring a portrait of a young woman with a stylus and tablet, before 79 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3185051>> (04.05.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1856,1226.1621. Pompeian wall-painting featuring a portrait of a man and woman, 20 BCE - 20 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) Drawing of a Pompeian wall-painting (from VII 1, 25.47) featuring Hercules seated before Omphale, holding the bow of Hercules, before 79 CE Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/5343161>> (05.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (Russia), inv. GR-24193. Jasper intaglio featuring Omphale holding the club and lion skin of Hercules, 1st century BCE. Photo © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Vladimir Terebenin, Alexander Koksharov. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



b) Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University, Atlanta (U.S.A.), inv. 2008.31.28. Intaglio with Omphale. Roman. Julio-Claudian, late 1st Century BC - 1st Century AD. Chalcedony var. cornelian. Gift of the Estate of Michael J. Shubin. <<http://www.carlos.emory.edu>> (12.04.2020) © Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University. Photo by Bruce M. White, 2010. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



a) Staatliche Münzsammlung München, Munich (Germany), inv. A 2926. Cameo featuring Omphale coquettishly playing with the club and lion skin of Hercules, 1st century CE. Digital image courtesy of the Staatliche Münzsammlung München. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

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For the monument, see Boardman 1994, 47 no. 16.

b) Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung und Ephesomuseum, Vienna (Austria), inv. IX B 1560. Intaglio featuring Hercules and Omphale embracing, 1st century BCE.



a) Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig (Germany). Intaglio featuring Hercules and Omphale embracing, 1st century BCE/CE. Digital image courtesy of Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

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For the monument, see Boardman 1994, 49 no. 34.

b) Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung und Ephesismuseum, Vienna (Austria), inv. IX B 1364. Intaglio featuring Hercules and Omphale making love, late 1st century BCE.

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For the monument, see Boardman 1994, 49 no. 34 (noted).

a) Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung und Ephesosmuseum, Vienna (Austria), inv. IX B 1365. Intaglio featuring Hercules and Omphale making love, 1st century BCE.



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1856,1226.808. Silver mirror with handle in the form of Hercules' club and lion skin (sides a and b), 2nd century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (USA), inv. 57.1541. Greek diadem with Hercules-knot, 3rd-2nd century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Walters Art Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1884,0614.13. Hercules-knot with Eros, Hellenistic Period. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) Musei Vaticani, Magazzino (Vatican City State), inv. 18919. Roman tub-sarcophagus featuring Hercules and Omphale in the Dionysian *thiasos*, 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4588450>> (15.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

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For the monument, see Boardman 1994, 48 no. 30.

b) Bardo National Museum, Tunis (Tunisia), inv. 2788. Mosaic featuring Hercules reclining in the presence of Omphale and Bacchus, 3rd century CE.



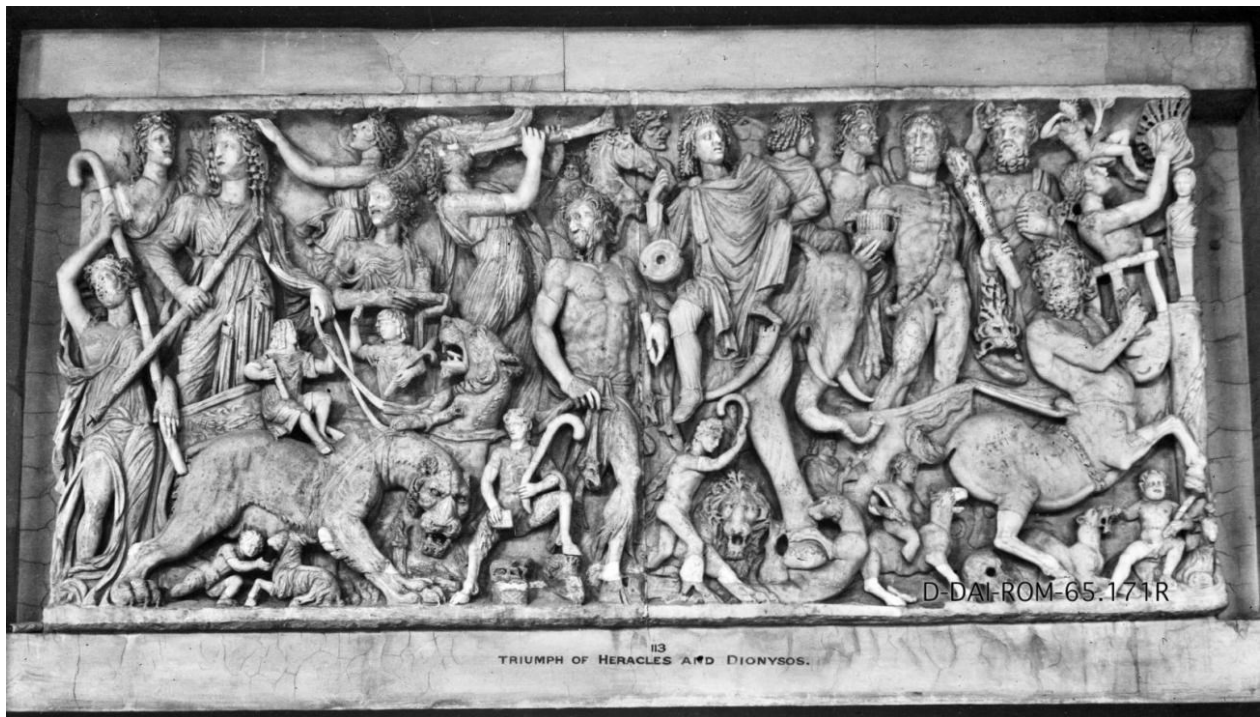
a) Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. 6776. Roman sarcophagus featuring the Dionysian *thiasos*, including Hercules trying to embrace a maenad, end of the 2nd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4637864>> (15.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Greece), inv. 3335. Slipper-Slapper Group (Aphrodite, Eros, Pan), 100 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/361168>> (15.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. LL 49. Roman sarcophagus featuring Bacchus' discovery of Ariadne, with an (unfinished) portrait of a woman as Ariadne, 220-240 CE. © Photo RMN / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



b) Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire (England). Roman sarcophagus featuring the triumph of Bacchus, with a portrait of a man a Hercules, 220-240 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4627454>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

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For the monument, see Boardman 1994, 51 no. 57.

a) Antalya Archaeological Museum, Antalya (Turkey), inv. 928. Asiatic columnar sarcophagus featuring the Twelve Labours of Hercules, as well as Omphale, 150-170 CE.

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For the monument, see Boardman 1994, 51 no. 57.

b) Antalya Archaeological Museum, Antalya (Turkey), inv. 928. Asiatic columnar sarcophagus featuring the Twelve Labours of Hercules, as well as Omphale (detail: short side a), 150-170 CE.

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For the monument, see Waelkens et al. 2019.

a) Antalya Archaeological Museum, Antalya (Turkey), inv. 2017/400. Asiatic columnar sarcophagus featuring the Twelve Labours of Hercules, as well as Omphale (detail: short side a), 150-170 CE.

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For the monument, see Waelkens et al. 2019.

b) Antalya Archaeological Museum, Antalya (Turkey), inv. 2017/400. Asiatic columnar sarcophagus featuring the Twelve Labours of Hercules, as well as Omphale (detail: short side b), 150-170 CE.



a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 03.12.13. State of Hercules (New York type), 69-96 CE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 96.AB.185. Statuette of Hercules (Farnese type), 1st century CE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1867,0101.1365. Roman denarius featuring Apollo (obverse) and Hercules Musarum (reverse), 66 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MA 439. Statue of Aphrodite (Arles type), Roman copy of a Greek original dating to the second quarter of the 4th century BCE. © 2006 Musée du Louvre/Daniel Lebée/Carine Deambrosis Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



a) Rhode Island School of Design Museum, Providence (USA), inv. 02.004. Fragment of a Roman sarcophagus featuring Omphale, ca. 200 CE. Digital image courtesy of the Rhode Island School of Design Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) Nationalmuseet i København, Copenhagen (Denmark), inv. 13530. Clay relief mug featuring Priapus in the Dionysian *thiasos*, 1st century BCE/CE. © Nationalmuseet i København. Photographer: John Lee. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-SA 2.0).



a) Private Collection. Statue of Priapus, Roman Imperial Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2026459>> (16.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (Spain), inv. 38315BIS. Mosaic featuring Hercules and Omphale surrounded by the Twelve Labours, 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional. Photo: Lola Hernando Robles. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



a) Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. 6742. Roman relief featuring Omphale being grasped by Hercules, with Eros, 2nd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7559154>> (16.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1986,0501.81. Magical gem featuring Hercules fighting the Nemean Lion, 3rd century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) Staatliche Münzsammlung München, Munich (Germany), inv. P. Arndt 2356. Impression of a magical gem featuring Omphale fighting a donkey (front) and text (back). Digital image courtesy of the Staatliche Münzsammlung München. Reproduced with permission of the museum.




b) British Museum, London (England), inv. OA.9836. Magical gem featuring Hercules fighting the Nemean Lion (front) and Omphale fighting a donkey (back), 3rd century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

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For the monument, see Boardman 1994, 51 no. 56.

a) Roman AE contorniate portraying Olympias in the guise of “Omphale” (obverse) and Roma sitting on a pile of arms (reverse), 350-435 CE. A. Alföldi - E. Alföldi. *Die Kontorniat-Medaillons II, Antike Münzen und geschnittene Steine 6* (Berlin 1990), pl. 23 fig. 7.



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Olympias, Ident. Nr. 18203481
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Fotografen: Reinhard Saczewski

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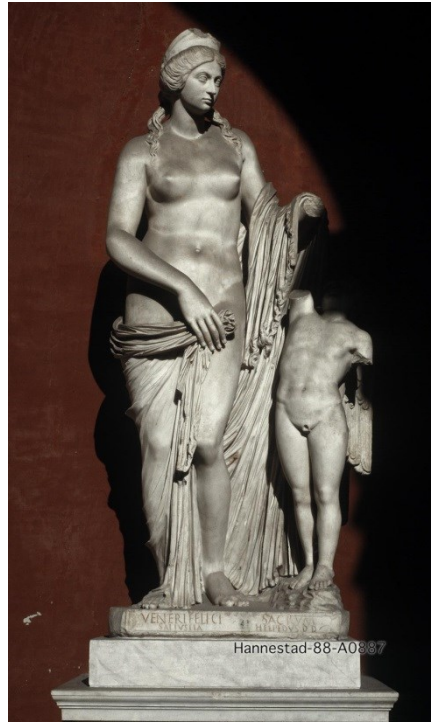
b) Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Berlin (Germany), inv. 18203481. Roman AE contorniate featuring Olympias (obverse) and Alexander the Great (reverse), 355-395/423 CE. © Photo: Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Reinhard Saczewski. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1923,0401.752. Gem engraved with the bust of Hercules in profile. 1st-3rd century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



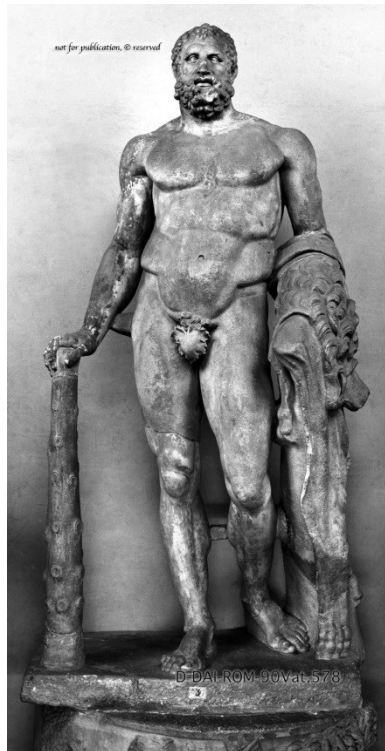
b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1929,0811.43. Tetradrachm featuring Herakles (or Alexander as Herakles) (obverse) and Zeus (reverse), ca. 336-323 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) Musei Vaticani, Cortile del Belvedere (Vatican City), inv. 936. Portrait of a Woman as Venus (Venus Felix type), second half of the 2nd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7706208>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License: CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE.



b) Musei Capitolini, Sala delle Colombe, Rome (Italy), inv. 39. Statue featuring a boy as Hercules, late Antonine Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/694232>> (03.04.2021). Photographer: Barbara Malter. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti (Vatican City State), inv. 1771. Statue of Hercules (Chiaramonti type), Roman copy of a Greek original dating to end of the 4th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6481568>> (03.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. 6017. Statue of Aphrodite (Capuan type), Roman copy of a Greek original dating to the last quarter of the 4th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6653079>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Musei Capitolini, Galleria, Rome (Italy), inv. 249. Roman sarcophagus featuring the abduction of Proserpina by Pluto, with a portrait of a woman as Proserpina, 222-235 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6691246>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, Rome (Italy), inv. 8642. Roman sarcophagus featuring the Twelve Labours of Hercules, with a portrait of a man as Hercules shooting the Stymphalian birds, 240-250 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7124169>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



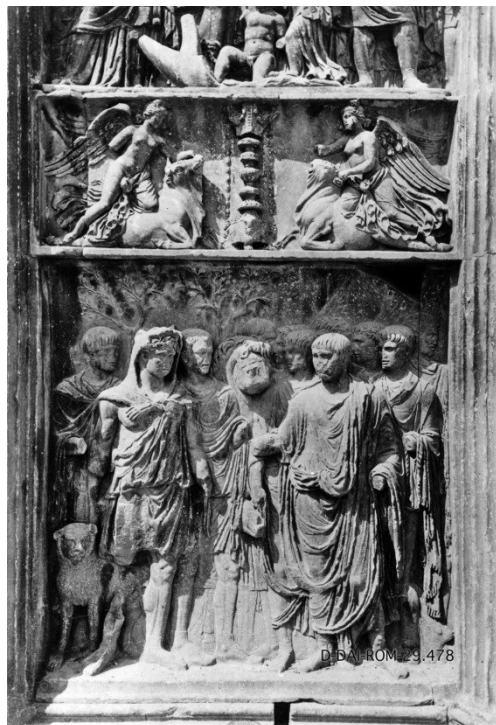
a) Palazzo Mattei, Rome (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring the abduction of Hylas by the nymphs, with a portrait group of a family as Hylas, the nymphs and the search party (Hercules and Iolaus?), second quarter of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/693017>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Bardo National Museum, Tunis (Tunisia), inv. 3047. Statue of a man as Hercules-Silvanus (?), middle of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4312378>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1861,1127.50. Statue of Demeter holding a staff and ears of corn, 150-200 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) Arch of Trajan, Benevento (Italy). Relief featuring Trajan and a *signifer*, 114 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3781636>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Museo Civico, Arezzo (Italy). Statue of Silvanus, Roman Imperial Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/1665989>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo, Rome (Italy), inv. 106513. Roman nude portrait of a man, late Republican Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/496460>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 96.AA.213. Statue of Venus (Genetrix type), 2nd century CE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.



b) Ostia Antica, Museo Ostiense (Italy), inv. 24. Portrait of a woman as Venus (Gentrix type), 110-120 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4666914>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (Italy), inv. 4. Statue group of Mars and Venus, probably a modern pastiche of two ancient statues. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7041266>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MR 316. Portrait statue group of a man and woman as Mars and Venus, ca. 120-140 CE. © 2008 RMN / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



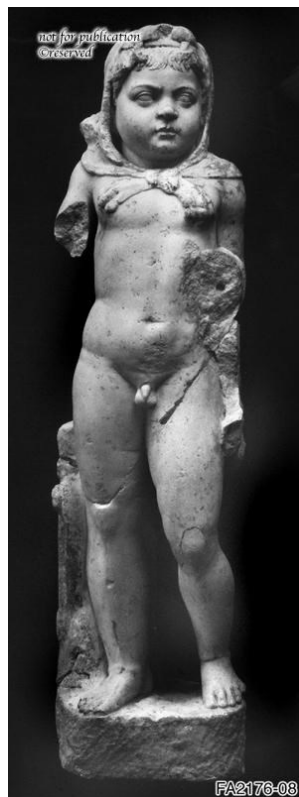
a) Villa Albani, Rome (Italy), inv. 435. Vita Romana Sarcophagus (Sacrifice/Wedding Sarcophagus), ca. 250 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3315353>> (06.12.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



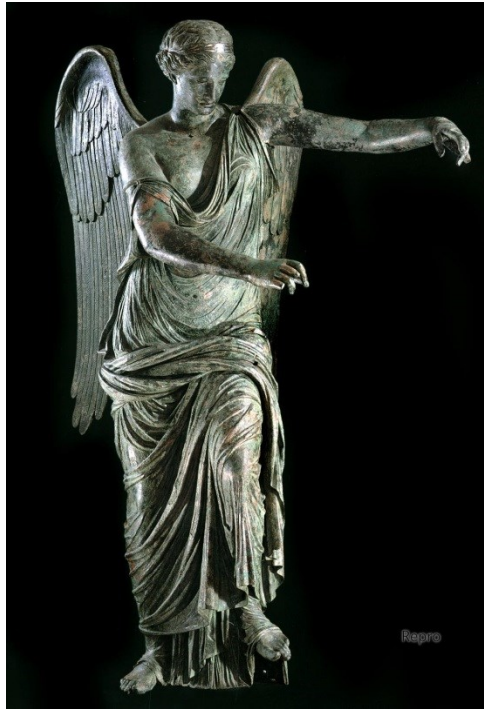
b) Museo Ostiense, Ostia Antica (Italy), inv. 5. Funerary relief featuring a portrait of a husband and wife accompanied by cupid, second half of the 2nd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7269930>> (24.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Cliveden House, Buckinghamshire (England). Roman sarcophagus featuring Theseus' abandonment of Ariadne, with a portrait group of a mother and son as Ariadne and Theseus, first half of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/697038>> (22.11.2020). Photographer: Raoul Laev. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



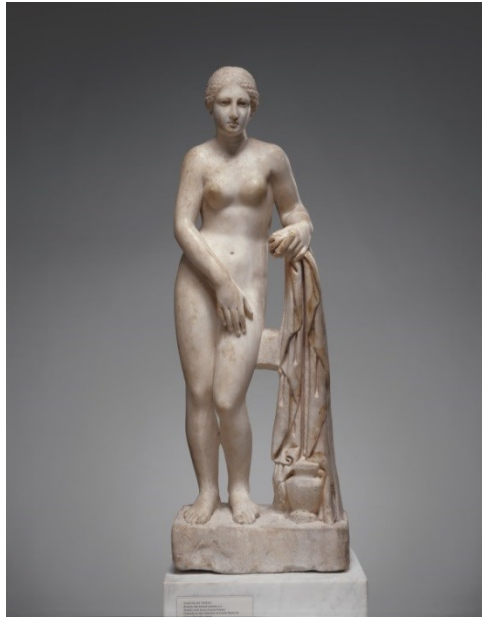
b) Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano (Vatican City), inv. 9808. Portrait statue of a boy as Cupid wearing the lion skin of Hercules, Roman Imperial Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/704481>> (22.11.2020). Photographer: Raoul Laev. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Museo Civico Romano, Brescia (Italy), inv. MR 369. Statue of Victoria inscribing a shield, second quarter of the 1st century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/5088681>> (05.06.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1948,0423.1. Funerary relief featuring a portrait of a woman as Venus holding a palm branch, ca. 100-120 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 72.AA.93. Statue of Venus (Knidian type), 175-200 CE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.



b) Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen (Denmark), inv. 711. Portrait statue of a Woman as Venus (Capitoline type) (side view), Trajanic Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6675383>> (11.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung (Albertinum), Dresden, inv. Hm 159. Statue of Hercules, Roman Imperial Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3260920>> (17.05.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Museo Nazionale Romano, Museo delle Terme, Rome (Italy), inv. 72115. Statue of Aphrodite (Kyrene type). Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7127642>> (22.11.2020). Photographer: Barbara Malter. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



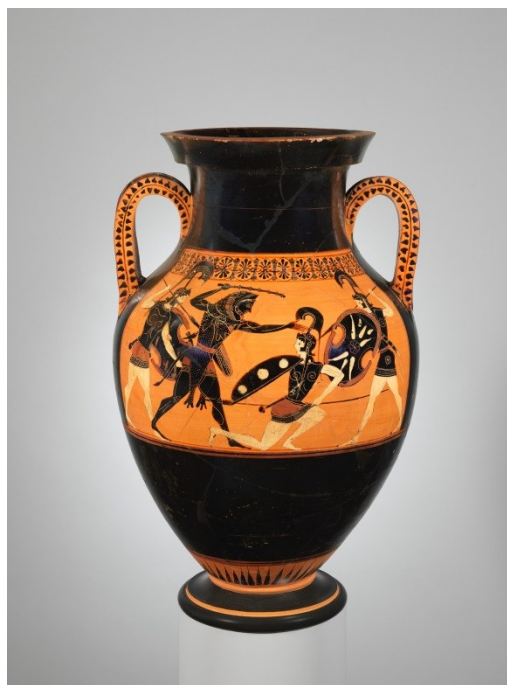
a) J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (USA), inv. 84.XO.251.3.73. Albumen silver print featuring a statue of Hercules (Albani type) from the Roman Imperial Period. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.



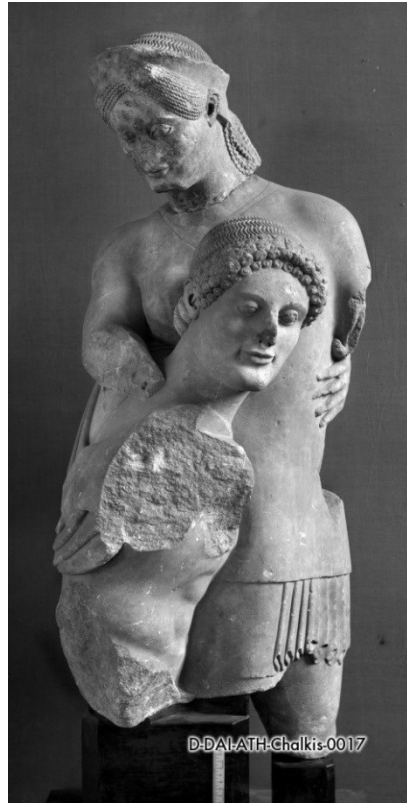
b) Freie Universität, Abguss-Sammlung Antiker Plastik, Berlin (Germany), inv. 2/3 I.G. 2166. Cast of a statue of Aphrodite ("Sappho"/"Kore" Albani type), Classical Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2718591>> (22.11.2020). Photographer: Abguss-Sammlung Antiker Plastik der freien Universität (Institut für klassische Archäologie). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License: CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE.



a) Nafplio Archaeological Museum, Nafplio (Greece), inv. 4509. Terracotta votive shield featuring an Amazonomachy, ca. 700 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4171326>> (03.04.2021). Photographer: Gösta Hellner. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 56.171.7. Attic black-figure amphora featuring Herakles and "Greek" Amazons in combat, ca. 530 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) Archaeological Museum, Chalkis (Greece), inv. 4. Sculptural group of Theseus lifting Antiope, from the west pediment of the Temple of Apollo Daphnephoros, 510-490 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4120555>> (17.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1837,0609.59. Attic red-figure plate featuring a “Skythian” Amazon (or a Skythian), 520-510 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1836,0224.101. Attic red-figure cup featuring a “Greek” Amazon running alongside a “Skythian” Amazon, 510-500 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



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Oitos, Attische Trinkschale (Kylix), Ident. Nr.: F 2263
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b) Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. F 2263. Attic red-figure kylix featuring Herakles fighting a “Greek” Amazon (with Thrakian *pelta*) and a “Skythian” Amazon, 530-500 BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).



a) J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 71.AE.202. Attic white-ground alabastron featuring an African warrior, ca. 480 CE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1864,1007.253. Attic white-ground alabastron featuring an "African" Amazon, ca. 480 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 44.11.12. Attic red-figure neck-amphora featuring Greeks battling "Persian" Amazons, ca. 400 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 07.286.86. Attic red-figure calyx-krater featuring an Amazonomachy, with Amazons in various kinds of dress (side a), ca. 460-450 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 07.286.86. Attic red-figure calyx-krater featuring an Amazonomachy, with Amazons in various kinds of dress (side b), ca. 460-450 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 07.286.86. Attic red-figure calyx-krater featuring an Amazonomachy, with Amazons in various kinds of dress (side c), ca. 460-450 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 07.286.86. Attic red-figure calyx-krater featuring an Amazonomochy, with Amazons in various kinds of dress (side d), ca. 460-450 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 31.11.13. Attic white-ground and red-figure lekythos featuring the Greeks battling "Greek" and "Persian" Amazons, ca. 420 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 56.171.63. Apulian red-figure volute-krater featuring the assembly of the gods (upper section) and an Amazonomachy (lower section), ca. 320-310 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



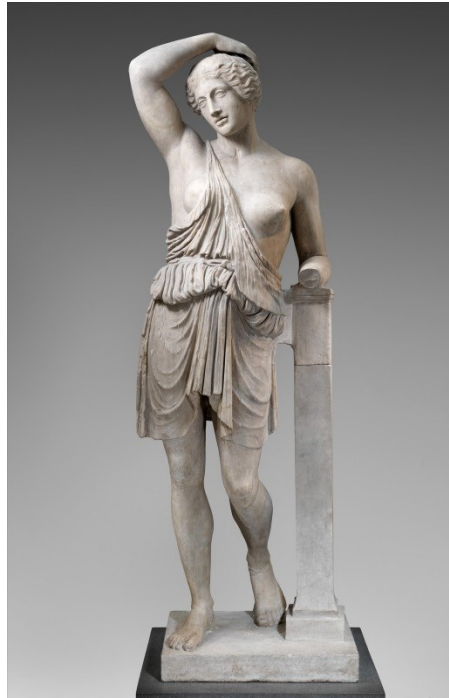
b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1864,0220.18. The Strangford Shield (copy of the Shield of Athena Parthenos), 200-300 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) National Archaeological Museum of Athens, Athens (Greece), inv. 136. Sculpture of an Amazon on horseback, from the west pediment of the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros, late Classical Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/631464>> (03.04.2021). Photographer: Hermann Wagner. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1847,0424.11. Marble block featuring an Amazonomachy from the frieze of the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, ca. 350 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



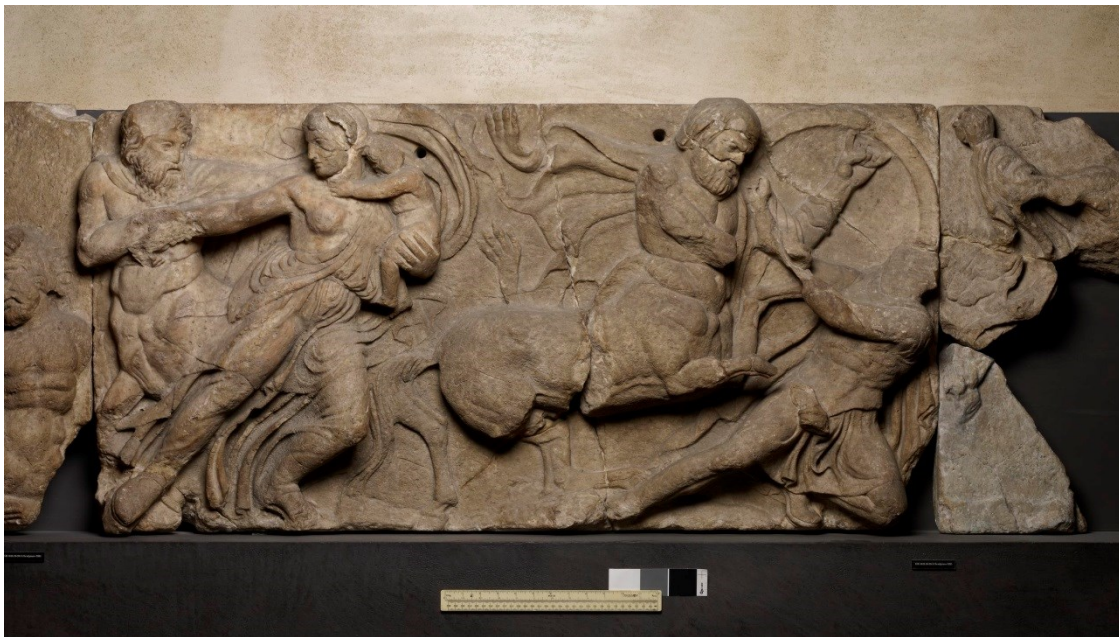
a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 32.11.4. Statue of a wounded Amazon, Roman copy of a Greek original dating to the middle of the 5th century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 07.286.84. Attic red-figure volute-krater featuring an Amazonomachy, including an Amazon with a bare breast, ca. 450 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1864,0220.18. The Strangford Shield (copy of the Shield of Athena Parthenos) (detail: defeated Amazon with a bare breast), 200-300 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1815,1020.3. Marble block featuring a Centauromachy from the west side of the Temple of Apollo Epikourios, including a Lapith woman with a bare breast, 420-400 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1815,1020.21. Marble block featuring an Amazonomachy from the Temple of Apollo Epikourios, ca. 350 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1865,0723.1. Marble block featuring an Amazonomachy from the frieze of the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, ca. 350 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. F 80. Apulian red-figure krater featuring an Amazonomachy, ca. 460 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4119670>> (30.05.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Ferrara, Ferrara (Italy), inv. 2865 T. 404. Fragment of an Attic red-figure volute krater featuring Atalanta with male athletes (perhaps Atalanta is being lifted by Hippomenes, while Kleomolpos and Amykos watch), 440-430 BCE. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura - Archivio Fotografico Direzione regionale Musei dell'Emilia-Romagna. Any further reproduction or duplication of this image is prohibited.



a) Museo Nazionale Jatta, Ruvo di Puglia (Italy), inv. 36734 (J 423). Apulian red-figure amphora featuring an Amazonomachy, middle of the 4th century BCE. © Photographic archive Museo Nazionale Jatta - Ruvo di Puglia. Images used by permission of the Direzione Regionale Musei Puglia - Italian Ministry of Culture.



a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 2011.604.3.733. Attic black-figure neck-amphora featuring Herakles fighting a “Greek” Amazon with an embroidered tunic, 570-560 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1885,1213.18. Attic red-figure hydria featuring a women and her female servants, wearing a *peplos* belted over the overfold, ca. 450 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich (Germany), inv. 2688. Attic red-figure cup featuring Achilles slaying Penthesilea, wearing a *peplos* with a long, overgirt overfold over her *chiton* (detail), 500-450 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7789232>> (06.06.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

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For the monument, see Devambez - Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 606 no. 297.

b) Salinas Museo Archeologico, Palermo (Italy), inv. G 1283. Attic red-figure volute-krater featuring an Amazonomachy, with an Amazon wearing a short *peplos* with a long overfold, ca. 460 BCE.



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1873,0820.368. Attic red-figure neck-amphora featuring an Greek battling an Amazon, wearing a short *peplos* with short overfold, 450-430 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels (Belgium), inv. A 715. Attic red-figure kantharos featuring an Amazonomachy, with Amazons wearing a short *chiton* with a short overfold (side a), ca. 490-480 BCE. © RMAH, Brussels. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



a) Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels (Belgium), inv. A 715. Attic red-figure kantharos featuring an Amazonomachy, with Amazons wearing a short *chiton* with a short overfold (side b), ca. 490-480 BCE. © RMAH, Brussels. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1815,1020.13. Marble block featuring an Amazonomachy from the Temple of Apollo Epikourios, including an Amazon in a short *chiton* with a short overfold (left), as well as Melanippe wearing a *peplos* (right), 420-400 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1815,1020.20. Marble block featuring an Amazonomachy from the Temple of Apollo Epikourios, including Antiope (left) wearing a *peplos*, 420-400 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 27.45. Greek funerary stele featuring a girl with her pet dove, wearing an ungirt *peplos*, ca. 450-440 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1864,1007.93. Attic hydria featuring Eros pursuing a *parthenos*, wearing a *peplos* belted over the overfold, ca. 420-400 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



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Grabstele der Silenis, Ident. Nr.: SK 1492
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b) Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. SK 1492. Attic funerary relief featuring a *parthenos* (Silenis) wearing a *peplos* belted over the overfold and a *kestenos*, ca. 360 BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Ingrid Geske. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).



a) Archaeological Museum, Aegina (Greece), inv. 2222. Attic funerary relief with two women (with the one on the right dressed in a *peplos* belted under the overfold), shortly before 400 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/647505>> (18.11.2021). Photographer: Gösta Hellner. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 41.162.147. Attic red-figure alabastron featuring a woman in a long *chiton*, belted and bloused, ca. 440-430 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1905,1024.6. Boeotian terracotta figurine of a woman wearing a high-girdled *chiton*, ca. 300 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 75.AA.63. Attic funerary relief featuring a girl (Demainete) wearing a high-girdled *chiton*, ca. 310 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.



a) Delphi Museum, Delphi (Greece), inv. 4335. Sculpture of an Amazon wearing a “built-in” bra (left) from the metopes above the peristyle of the Tholos at Delphi, ca. 400 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/490170>> (03.04.2021). Photographer: Georg Karo. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1815,1020.14. Marble block featuring an Amazonomachy from the Temple of Apollo Epikourios, including Hippolyta wearing a *kestos*, 420-400 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 19.192.81.1, .7, .42, .46, .55. Apulian red-figure volute-krater featuring Herakles meeting Hippolyta and other Amazons, wearing a *kestos*, ca. 330-310 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Turkey), inv. 639. Marble block featuring an Amazonomachy, with an Amazon wearing a *kestos*, from the south frieze of the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia, second half of the 2nd century BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/631766>> (03.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1836,0224.128. Attic black-figure hydria featuring Achilles carrying Penthesilea, wearing a headband, bracelets and anklets, ca. 510- 500 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, Basel (Switzerland), inv. BS 486. Attic red-figure volute-krater featuring an Amazonomachy, including Amazons wearing anatomical cuirasses (side a), ca. 450 BCE. © Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



a) Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, Basel (Switzerland), inv. BS 486. Attic red-figure volute-krater featuring an Amazonomachy, including Amazons wearing anatomical cuirasses (side b), ca. 450 BCE. © Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1884,0804.8. Corinthian black-figure lekythos featuring an Amazonomachy, including an Amazon fighting in the nude, ca. 575-550 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1899,0721.5. Attic red-figure Dinos featuring an Amazonomachy, including an Amazon in transparent garments, 440-430 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, Basel (Switzerland), inv. BS 608. Gilded medallion on the lid of a silver pyxis featuring a Greek warrior about the slay an Amazon, whose garments have fallen off her, ca. 230 BCE. © Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



a) Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam (Netherlands), inv. 2761. Guttus with a black varnish featuring Achilles supporting Penthesilea (or an Amazon supporting a fallen warrior), ca. 200 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Allard Pierson Museum. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1865,1211.5. Marble block featuring an Amazonomachy from the frieze of the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, ca. 350 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1836,0224.127. Attic black-figure amphora featuring Achilles slaying Penthesilea, wearing an Attic helmet without cheek guards, ca. 530-525 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 41.162.217. Attic black-figure lekythos featuring Herakles battling an Amazon, wearing an imaginary “cap”, ca. 480 BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MA 2881.15. Marble block featuring an Amazonomachy from the frieze of the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander, first quarter of the 2nd century BCE. © 2016 Musée du Louvre / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



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b) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MA 2881.196. Marble block featuring an Amazonomachy from the frieze of the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander, first quarter of the 2nd century BCE. © 2016 Musée du Louvre / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



a) Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (Italy), inv. 726. Roman sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy (detail: front relief, left side) 140/150 CE. Photo: S. Hollaender. Roma, Musei Capitolini. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



b) Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (Italy), inv. 726. Roman sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy (detail: front relief, middle), 140/150 CE. Photo: S. Hollaender. Roma, Musei Capitolini. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



a) Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (Italy), inv. 726. Roman sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy (detail: front relief, middle), 140/150 CE. Photo: S. Hollaender. Roma, Musei Capitolini. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



a) Galleria Borghese, Rome (Italy), inv. LXXX. Lid of a Roman sarcophagus featuring the Amazons arming themselves for the battle at Troy (detail: right side), ca. 170 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4699650> (03.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. CA 1414. Lamp featuring an Amazon supporting a fellow warrioress, 75-100 CE. © 2015 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Stéphane Maréchalle. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



a) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. S 916. Campana plaque featuring Achilles supporting Penthesilea, 50 BCE - 50 CE. © 2009 Musée du Louvre / Anne Chauvet. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



b) Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias (Turkey). Relief featuring Achilles supporting Penthesilea from the Sebasteion, Claudian to Neronian Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/5098674>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. R.6690. Aureus featuring Trajan (obverse) and Virtus (reverse), 103-111 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. R.13725. As featuring Marcus Aurelius (obverse) and Virtus (reverse), 145-169 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1872,0709.469. Sestertius featuring Vespasian (obverse) and Honos and Virtus (reverse), 71 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1843,0116.530. Denarius featuring the head of Virtus (obverse) and a warrior holding a fallen figure (reverse), 71-70 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1843,0116.530. Denarius featuring jugate heads of Honos and Virtus (obverse) and Italia and Roma (reverse), 70 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



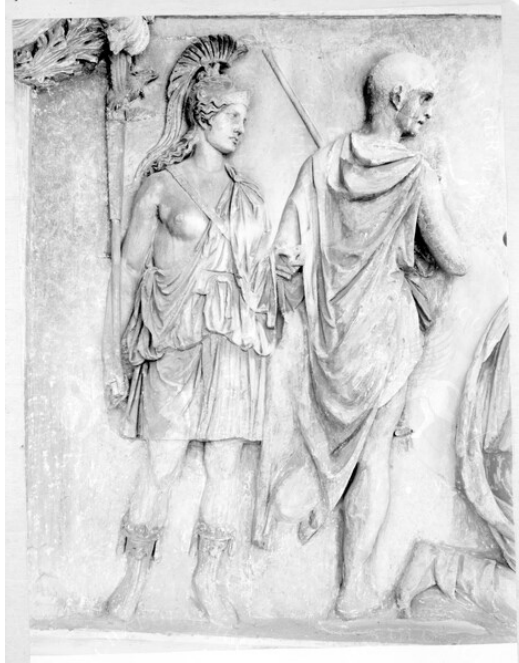
b) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. BJ 2366. Silver cup from Boscoreale (the so-called "Cup of Augustus"), late Augustan Period. © 2008 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



a) Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias (Turkey), inv. M. 79.10.174. The Zoilos Monument, featuring Zoilos between Andreaia and Time, 30-20 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/211893>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio Clementino, Galleria delle Statue (Vatican City State), inv. 568. Fragment of a relief for Sabinus Maternus, featuring Virtus holding a spear and *parazonium*, and Fortuna holding a cornucopia and patera, Roman Imperial Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/21199>> (07.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Villa Medici (Rome). Relief featuring Virtus, wearing her *chlamys* bunched on the shoulder, next to a soldier, Roman Imperial Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <arachne.dainst.org/entity/5547950> (07.04.2021). Photographer: O. Savio. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz (Germany), inv. O.39470. Canteen featuring the combat between Achilles and Penthesilea (side a), 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum. © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum / S. Steidl.



a) Cathedral, Mazara del Vallo (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring Achilles battling Penthesilea, 190-200 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/8127384>> (07.04.2021). Photographer: Singer. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Skulpturhalle, Basel (Switzerland), inv. sh 1135. Reconstruction of the Achilles and Penthesilea Group (by Ernst Berger), Greek original dating to 2nd century BCE. © Skulpturhalle Basel, photo Ruedi Habegge. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



a) Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz (Germany), inv. O.39470. Canteen featuring Achilles supporting the dying Penthesilea (side b), 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum. © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum / S. Steidl.



b) Musei, Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano (Vatican City State), inv. 10409. Roman sarcophagus featuring the life and death of Adonis, with a portrait of a youth as Adonis and a woman as Venus, first third of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6960195>> (29.11.2020). Photographer: Gisela Geng. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung und Ephesismuseum, Vienna (Austria), inv. IX A 63. Gemma Claudia, middle of the 1st century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2679673>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki (Greece), inv. 877. Statue of Iulia Domna as Athena (Medici type), 2nd century CE (recut in the early 3rd century CE). Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4120453>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Antikenmuseum der Universität, Abgusssammlung, Leipzig (Germany), inv. G 197. Plaster cast of a cameo featuring Iulia Domna as Victoria, ca. 200 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7367621>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw (Poland), inv. 139678 MN. Relief featuring Caracalla being crowned by Iulia Domna as Victoria, 215 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6641000>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

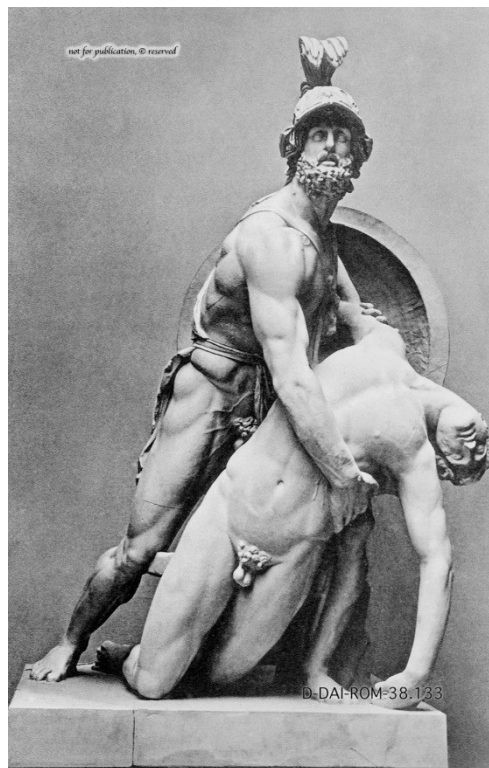


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Septimius Severus, Iulia Domna, Ident. Nr.: 18217900
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a) Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Berlin (Germany), inv. 18217900. As featuring Iulia Domna (obverse) and the Mater Castrorum (reverse), 196-211 CE. © Photo: Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Dirk Sonnenwald. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).



b) Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence (Italy). The Pasquino Group, Roman copy of a Greek original dating to the Hellenistic Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3782864>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Archaeological Museums, Izmir (Turkey), inv. 8120. Canteen featuring the combat between Achilles and Penthesilea with a label (ΑΧΙΛΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΑΖΟΝΟΣ ΜΑΧΗ) (side a), 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of the Izmir Museum Directorate. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



b) Archaeological Museums, Izmir (Turkey) inv. 8120. Canteen featuring Achilles supporting the dying Penthesilea with a label (ΑΝΕΠΕΣΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ) (Side B), 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of the Izmir Museum Directorate. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



a) Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (Canada), inv. 947.26 Sarcophagus with relief of Greeks fighting the Amazons, marble, found in Ostia, Italy, about 150 AD. Note that Achilles is holding the lifeless body of Penthesilea. Digital image courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum. Reproduced with permission of the museum. Any further reproduction or duplication of this image is prohibited.



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1805,0703.143. Fragment of a Roman sarcophagus featuring a wedding scene with a husband and wife joining their right hands (i.e. *dextrarum iunctio*), 2nd century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1924,0511.1. Aureus featuring a bust of Septimius Severus (obverse) and Septimius charging down a foe on horseback with the legend VIRTUS AVG (reverse), 198-200 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, Rome (Italy), inv. 8574. Ludovisi Battle Sarcophagus, ca. 260 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/8591932>> (22.11.2020). Photographer: Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



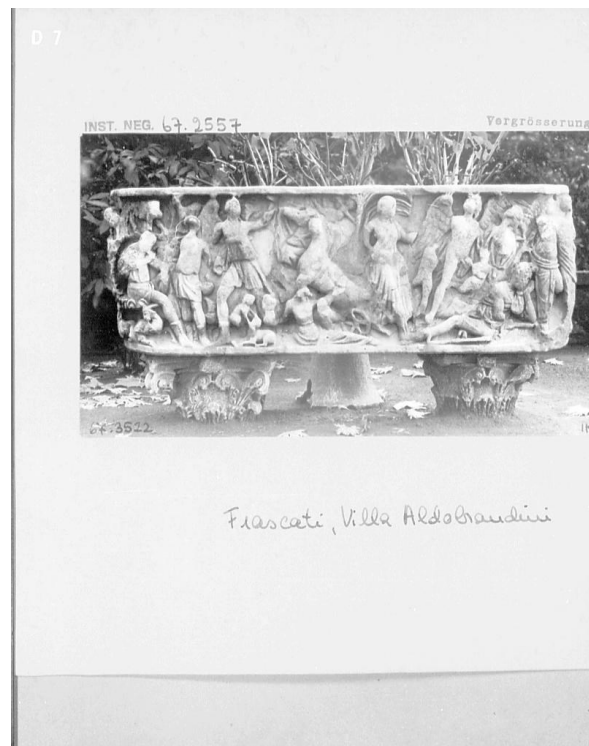
a) Catacombe di Pretestato, Museo, Rome (Italy). So-called Balbinus Sarcophagus, second quarter of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7122507>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MA 539. Roman sarcophagus featuring Meleager on his death bed, ca. 180 CE. © 2017 Musée du Louvre / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



a) Palazzo Mattei, Rome (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring Venus embracing Mars, late 2nd century or early 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/8457060>> (07.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Villa Aldobrandini, Frascati (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring Selene approaching Endymion in his sleep, first half of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2977939>> (17.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Villa Doria Pamphili, Casino Belrespiro, Rome (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring the life and death of Adonis, last quarter of the 2nd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/601385>> (07.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



Römischer Sarkophag (sog. Feldherrn-Sarkophag), Ident. Nr.: 1987.2
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b) Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. 1987.2. Roman sarcophagus featuring a wedding and sacrifice scene, as well as the death of Adonis, ca. 200 CE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1982.0202.12. Sestertius featuring a bust of Alexander Severus (obverse) and Romulus (or the emperor) carrying a tropaeum (reverse), 230 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) Musei Capitolini, Rome (Italy), inv. 213. Roman sarcophagus featuring a battle scene, including a *tropaeum* at each corner, ca. 170 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/8597239>> (22.11.2020). Photographer: Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome (Italy), inv. 108437. Roman sarcophagus featuring a battle scene, including Victoria holding a tropaeum at each corner, ca. 170 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7123582>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



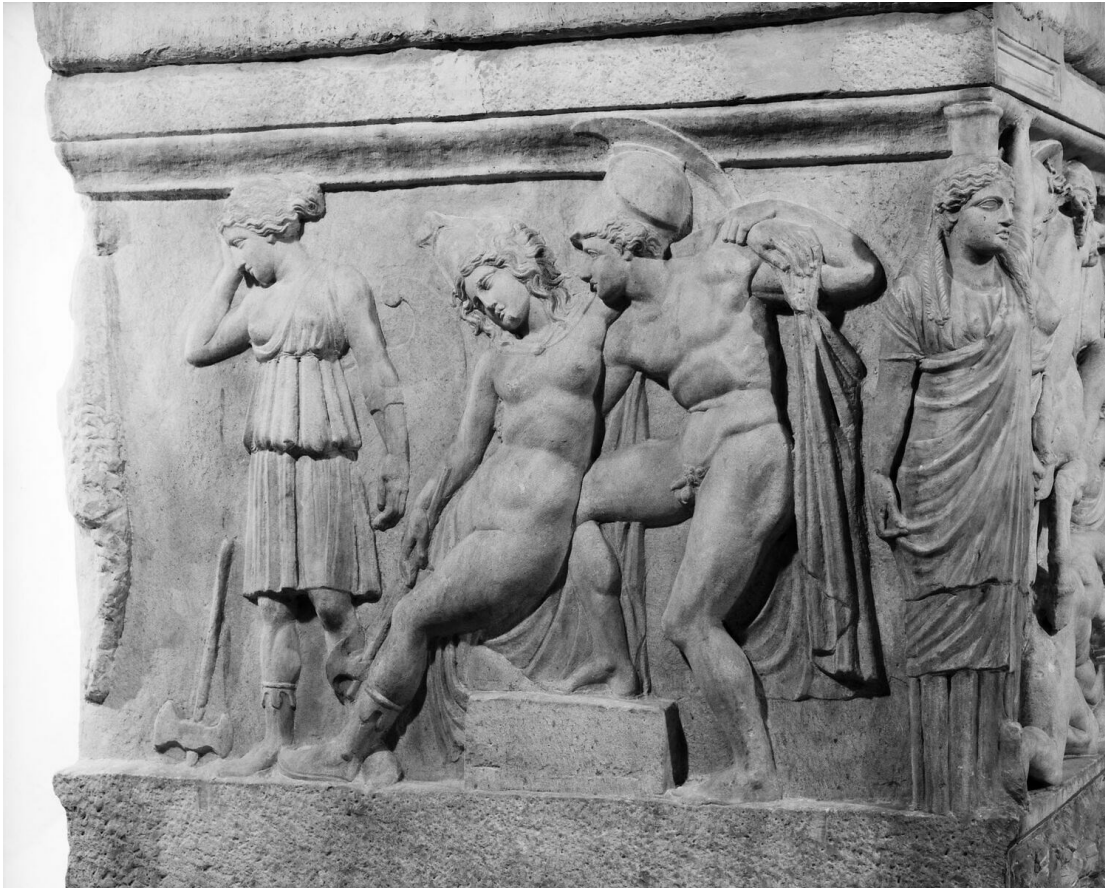
b) Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, Rome (Italy), inv. 8574. Ludovisi Battle Sarcophagus (right side), ca. 260 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/8591734>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Musei Vaticani, Reparto di Ostia, Sez. Mosaico (Vatican City State), inv. 10682. Lid of a Roman sarcophagus featuring defeated Amazons dedicated to Arria Maxima, ca. 150-160 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6654242>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. LP 2584. Attic sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy, including a kline lid with a portrait group of a man and woman, ca. 180 CE. © 1993 RMN / René-Gabriel Ojéda. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



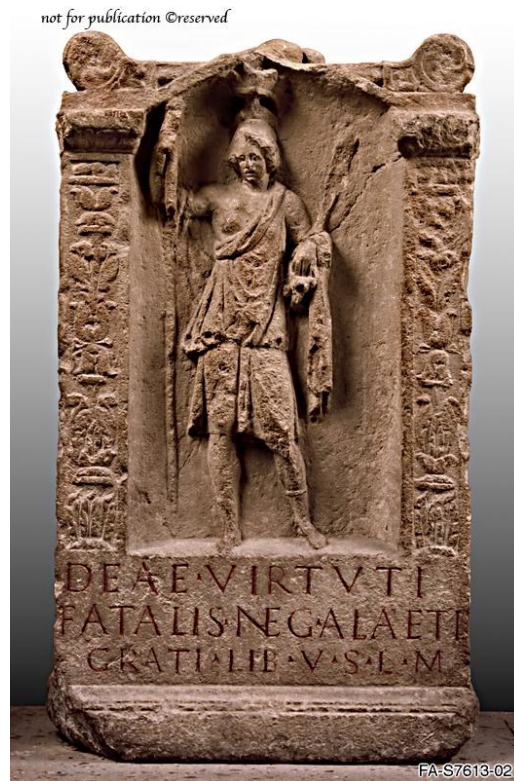
a) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. LP 2584. Attic sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy (left side), ca. 180 CE. © 1993 Musée du Louvre / Christian Larrieu. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



b) Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (Italy), inv. 82. Vita Romana Sarcophagus (General/Wedding Sarcophagus), 180 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6638223>> (22.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Liebieghaus, Frankfurt am Main (Germany), inv. 342. Roman sarcophagus featuring an Amazonomachy (detail: left side, with Achilles granting clemency to an Amazon), early 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/703828>> (07.04.2021). Photographer: Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne (Germany). Roman votive altar of Virtus, Roman Imperial Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/360590>> (19.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

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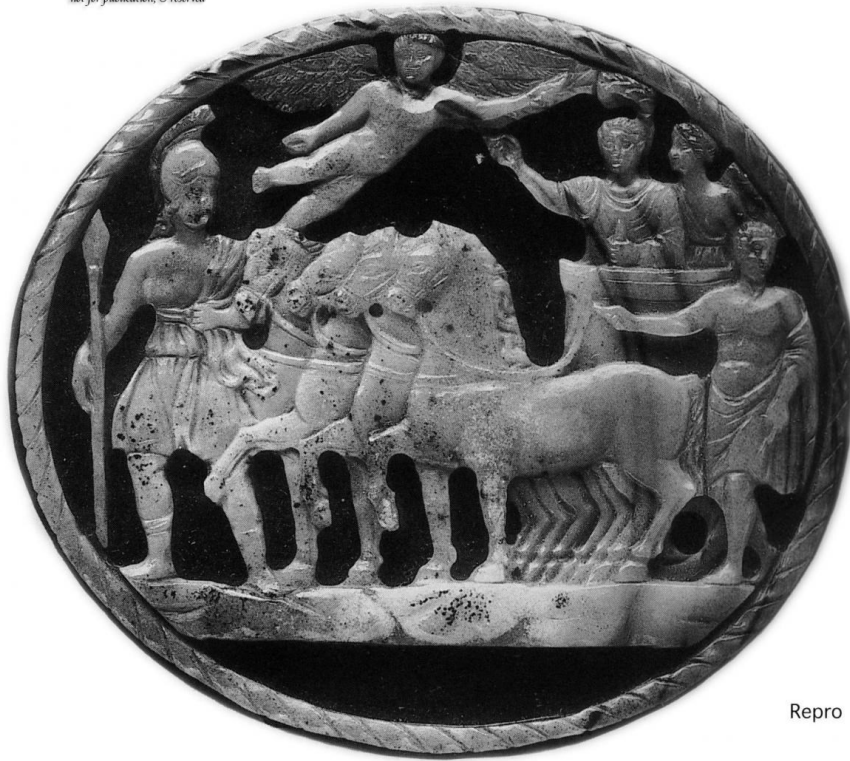
For the monument, see Andreae 1980, 167f. cat. 131.

a) Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi, Rome (Italy). Roman Hunt Sarcophagus, 240-250 CE.



b) Museo del Sannio, Benevento (Italy), inv. 513. Roman sarcophagus featuring the life of Hippolytos, early 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3182461>> (23.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

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a) Metropolitan Museum, New York (USA), inv. 658. Cameo featuring an emperor in a chariot led by Virtus, 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2138600>> (23.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1993,0401.29. Sestertius featuring a bust of Septimius Severus (obverse) and Virtus crowning Septimius Severus (reverse), 195 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano (Vatican City State), inv. 13389-13391. Cancellaria Relief A, including Virtus touching Trajan, 90-100 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6649794>> (23.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MA 346. Roman Hunt Sarcophagus, 235-240 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4627382>> (16.12.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Palazzo Mattei, Rome (Italy). Roman Hunt Sarcophagus, first third of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6960076>> (23.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



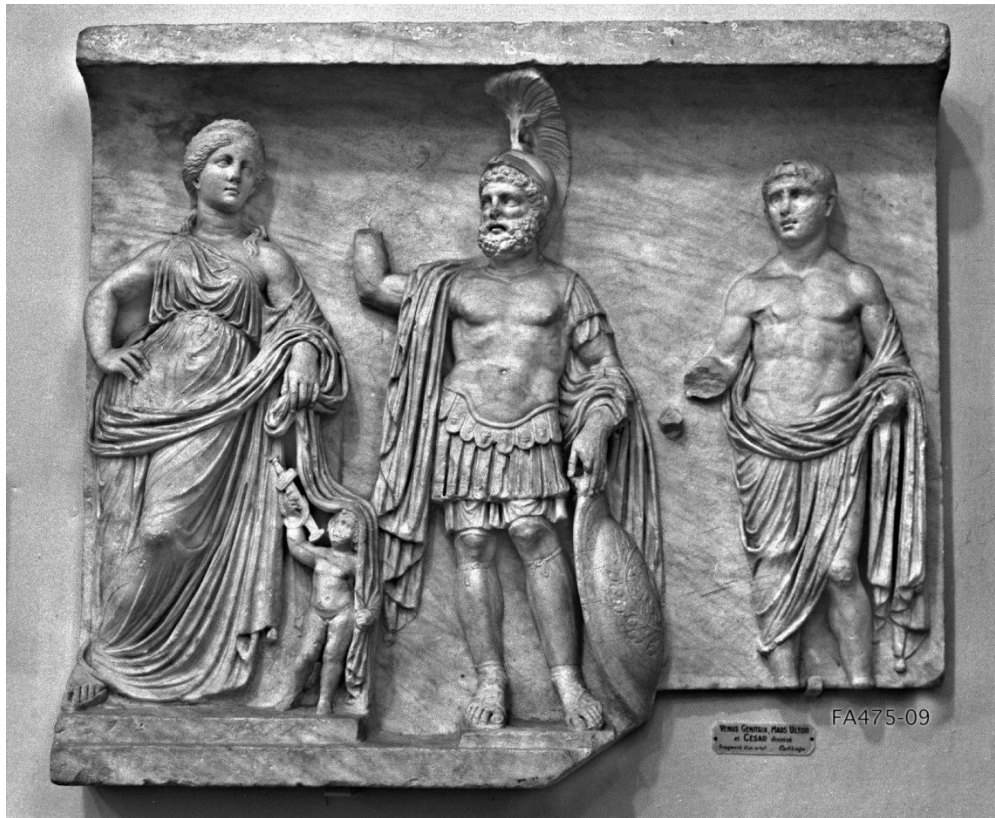
b) Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome (Italy), inv. 124712. Vita Romana Sarcophagus (Sacrifice/Wedding Sarcophagus), ca. 180 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4198975>> (12.05.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano, Rome (Italy), inv. 9504. Roman sarcophagus featuring a portrait group of a man and two women as learned figures, third quarter of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7705953>> (24.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



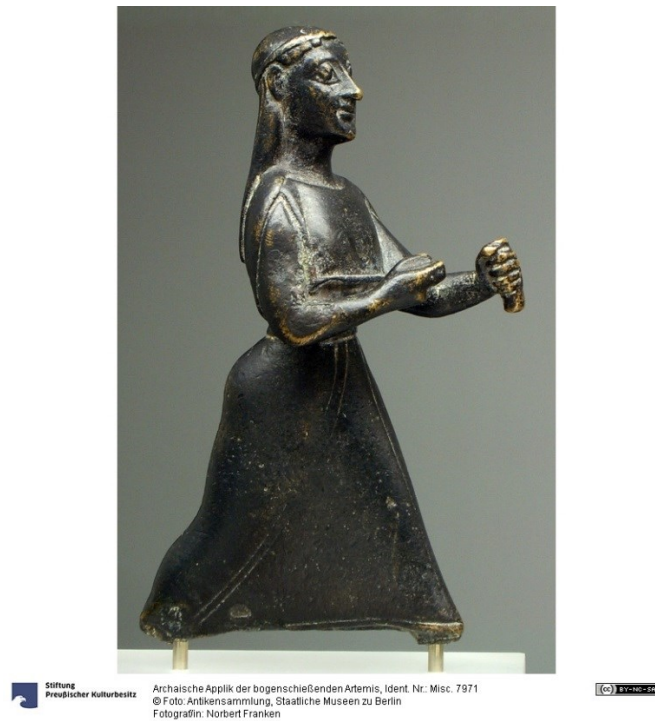
b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (USA), inv. 18.145.52. Fragment of a Roman sarcophagus featuring a wedding scene with a husband and wife, accompanied by Concordia and Hymenaeus, early 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) National Museum of Antiquities and Islamic Art, Algiers (Algeria), inv. 217. Relief featuring Mars Ultor, Venus and Amor, as well as Caesar (?), perhaps representing the cult statues from the Temple of Mars Ultor, Claudian Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/5088385>> (24.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung und Ephesosmuseum, Vienna (Austria), inv. VI 2350. Bronze statuette of an arms bearer, presenting a helmet, Claudian Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4857150>> (09.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



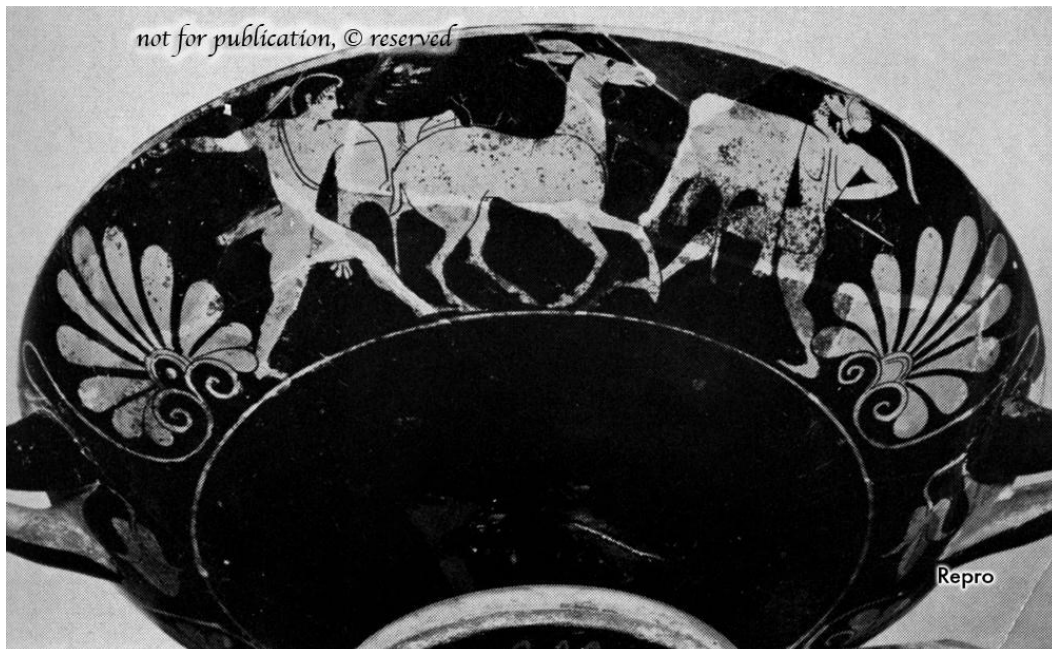
a) Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. Misc. 7971. Appliqué of Artemis striding and holding a bow and arrow, ca. 560 BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Norbert Franken. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).



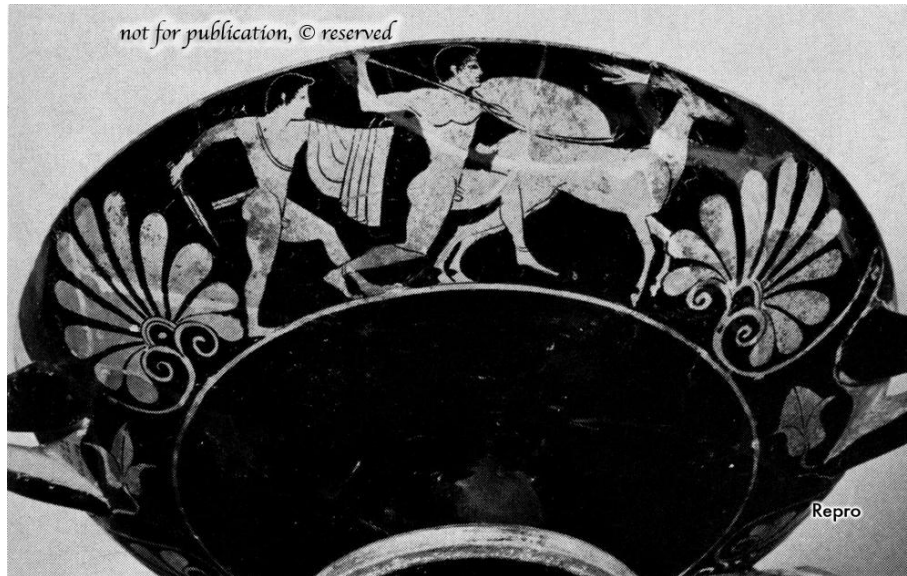
b) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. E 864. Attic black-figure amphora featuring Apollo and Artemis killing Tithyos, second quarter of the 6th century BCE. © 2007 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



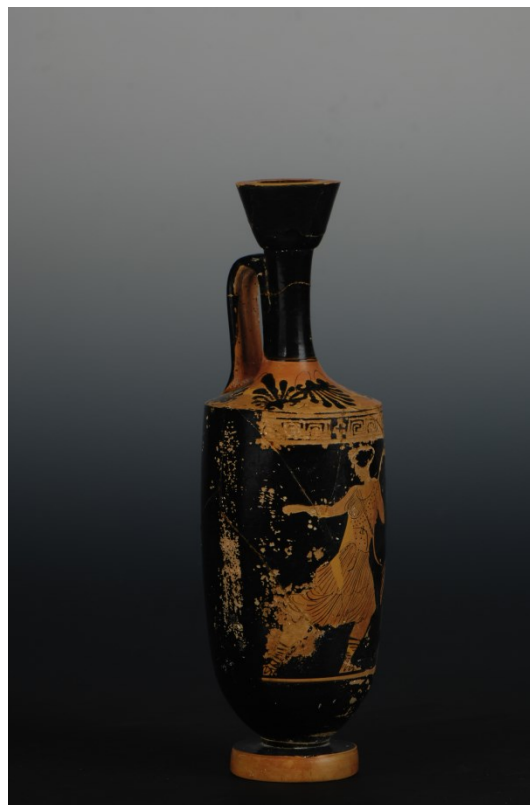
a) Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Florence (Italy), inv. 3830. Attic black-figure hydria featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, including Atalante, ca. 570 BCE. Su concessione del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze (Direzione regionale Musei della Toscana). Any further reproduction or duplication of this image is prohibited.



b) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. G 22. Attic red-figure cup featuring a non-mythological deer hunt, with hunters equipped with weapons and armour (side a), 510 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/1497130>> (09.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. G 22. Attic red-figure cup featuring a non-mythological deer hunt, with hunters equipped weapons and armour (side b), 510 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/1497129> (09.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Greece), inv. 1311. Attic red-figure lekythos featuring Artemis hunting, ca. 420 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Photographer: George Fafalis. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development (H.O.C.R.E.D.).



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Preussischer Kulturbesitz Pergamonaltar, Ostfries - Ausschnitt: Artemis im Kampf mit den Giganten, Ident. Nr.: AvP III.2
GF 10, 3 - 10, 5
© Foto: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
Fotograf: Johannes Laurentius

a) Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. AvP III.2 GF 10, 3 - 10, 5. Marble blocks featuring Artemis fighting the Giants from the east frieze of the Pergamon Altar, second quarter of the 2nd century BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1865,0103.21. Apulian red-figure volute-krater featuring the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, including Artemis, 370-350 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



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Unterwelt-Maler, Apulischer Volutenkrater, Ident. Nr.: F 3258
© Foto: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
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a) Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. F 3258. Apulian red-figure volute-krater featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, including Atalante, 330-310 BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).



a) Civico Museo d'Antichità J.J. Winckelmann, Trieste (Italy), inv. S 380. Apulian red-figure amphora featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, including Atalante, ca. 350 BCE. © Fototeca dei civici Musei di Storia ed Arte. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



b) Klassisch-Archäologische Sammlungen, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Mainz (Germany), inv. 35. Attic red-figure lekythos featuring Prokris mortally wounded by Kephalos, ca. 450 BCE. © JGU Mainz, Department of Classical Archaeology (Photographer: Angelika Schurzig). Reproduced with permission of the museum.



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1895,1028.1. Votive relief featuring Bendis and worshippers, 400-375 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1865,0103.17. Lucanian red-figure nestoris featuring the myth of Aktaion and Artemis (upper register), and Eros chasing a woman (lower register), ca. 390-380 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



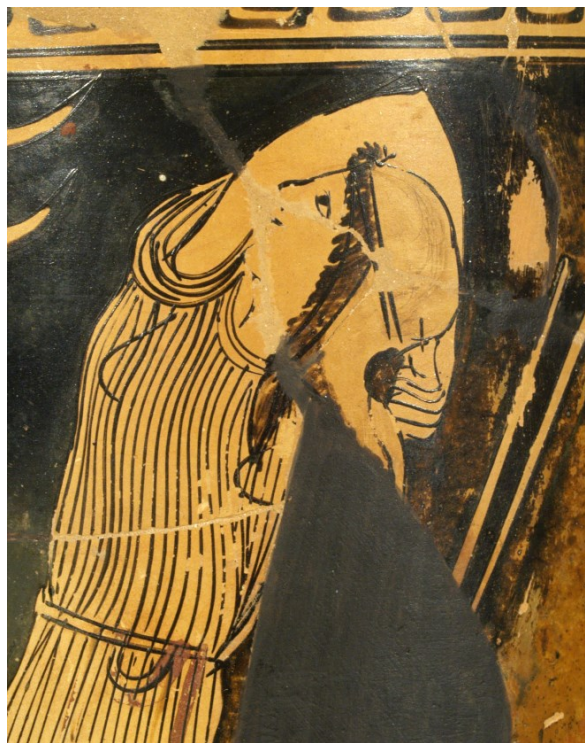
a) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. G 515. Apulian red-figure krater featuring an assembly of the gods, including Artemis, ca. 380-370 BCE. © 2006 Musée du Louvre / Peter Harholdt. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



b) The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (Russia), inv. GR-10493. Attic red-figure pelike featuring the Kalyonian Boar Hunt, including Atalanta, 370 BCE. © The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



a) Civico Museo d'Antichità J.J. Winckelmann, Trieste (Italy), inv. S 380. Apulian red-figure amphora featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt (detail: Atalante), ca. 350 BCE. © Fototeca dei civici Musei di Storia ed Arte. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



b) Klassisch-Archäologische Sammlungen, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Mainz (Germany), inv. 35. Attic red-figure lekythos featuring Prokris wounded by Kephalos (detail), ca. 450 BCE. © JGU Mainz, Department of Classical Archaeology (Photographer: Angelika Schurzig). Reproduced with permission of the museum.

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For the monument, see Kahil - Icard 1984, 646 no. 267.

a) Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. 20328. Terracotta figurine of Artemis hunting with a bare breast.



b) Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 72.AE.128. Apulian red-figure chous featuring Kallisto mortally wounded, ca. 360 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1772,0320.36.+. Attic column-krater featuring Prokris mortally wounded, ca. 460-420 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. CA 2993. Attic red-figure oinochoe featuring Prokris during the hunt, second quarter of the 5th century BCE. © 2012 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Stéphane Maréchal. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.

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For the monument, see Simantoni-Bourania 1992, 3 no. 21.

a) Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (USA), inv. 13.198. Attic red-figure lekythos featuring Kephalos during the hunt, ca. 470 BCE.



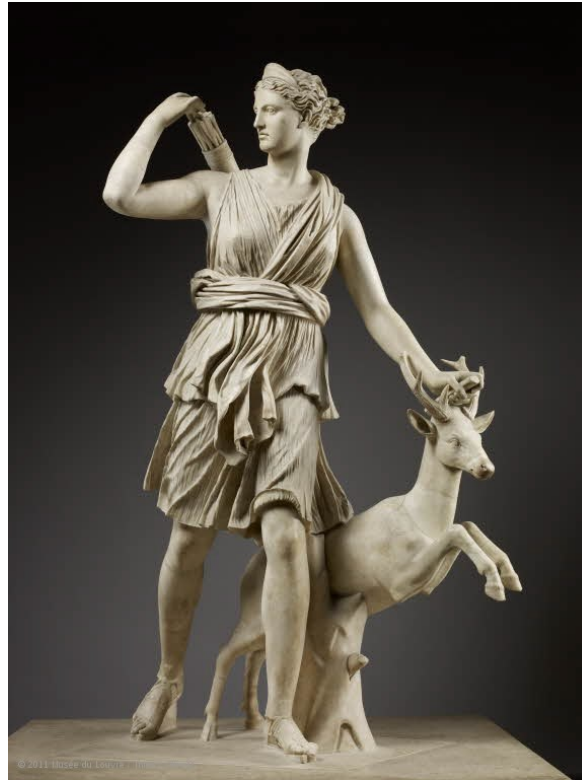
b) Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Florence (Italy), inv. 4209. Attic black-figure krater featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt in the uppermost register (detail: Atalante hunting), ca. 570 BCE. Su concessione del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze (Direzione regionale Musei della Toscana). Any further reproduction or duplication of this image is prohibited.



a) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. Ma 3544. Statuette of Artemis, 300-250 BCE. © 1999 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



b) The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (USA), inv. 23.82. Statue of Artemis, Roman copy of a Greek original dating to the 4th-2nd century BCE. Digital image courtesy of The Walters Art Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MR 152. Artemis Versailles-Leptis Magna, Roman copy of a Greek original dating to the 4th century BCE. © 2011 Musée du Louvre / Thierry Ollivier. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



b) Sammlung Käppeli, Basel (Switzerland). Attic red-figure bell krater featuring Artemis chastising the Alloadai, 440 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/1497127>> (09.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. Cp 710. Apulian red-figure bell-krater featuring Orestes fleeing from the Erinyes, including Artemis, 380-370 BCE. © 1993 RMN / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



b) Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland (USA), inv. 1966.114. Attic white-ground lekythos featuring Atalanta fleeing from erotes, 500-490 BCE. Digital image courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. Ma 529. Statue of Artemis (Gabii type), Roman copy of a Greek original dating to 350-330 BCE. © 2013 Musée du Louvre / Thierry Ollivier. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



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Statue der Artemis, Ident. Nr. SK 62.
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b) Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. SK 62. Statue of Artemis, Roman copy of a Greek original dating to the 4th century BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1873,0820.43. Statuette of Diana, middle of the 2nd century BCE - 3rd century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



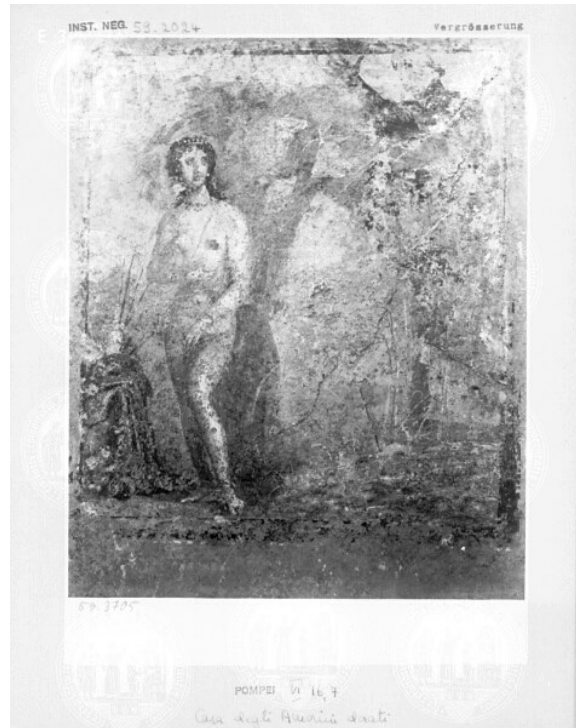
b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1872,0709.385. Medallion featuring a bust of Antoninus Pius (obverse) and Diana hunting (reverse), 145-161 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) Archaeological Museum, Nikopolis (Greece), inv. 424. Lamp featuring Diana hunting, 2nd century CE. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sport, Ephorate of Antiquities of Preveza - Archaeological Museum of Nicopolis. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



b) The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago (USA), 1985.1042a-b. Mirror featuring Diana by her bath, 2nd century CE. Digital image courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).

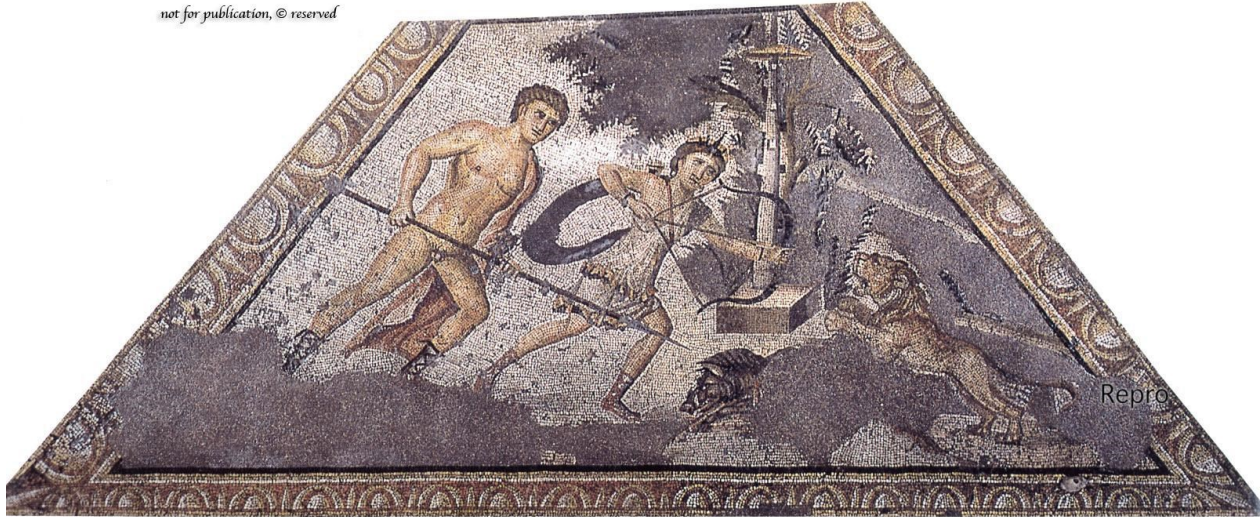


a) Casa degli Amorini Dorati (VI 16, 7), Pompeii (Italy). Wall-painting featuring Actaeon spying on Diana (Venus Medici type), before 79 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <arachne.dainst.org/entity/654065> (09.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. FG 6435. Gem featuring Actaeon and Diana, 1st century BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Jürgen Liepe. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

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a) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MA 3444. Mosaic featuring Meleager and Atalante hunting a lion and a boar, early 4th century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3382353>> (09.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Casa di Meleagro (VI 9, 2), Pompeii (Italy). Wall-painting featuring Meleager and Atalante resting after the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, Flavian Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7123262>> (27.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

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For the monument, see PPM III (1991) 170. 172 no. 90 fig. 90 s.v. II, 3, 3 (Arnold de Vos).

a) Casa della Venere in Conchiglia (II, 3, 3), Pompeii (Italy). Wall-painting featuring Meleager and Atalante resting after the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, before 79 CE.

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For the monument, see Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 945 no. 39.

b) Byblos (Lebanon). Mosaic featuring Meleager and Atalante resting after the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, 3rd century CE.

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For the monument, see Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 943 no. 36.

a) Casa delle Danzatrici (VI 2, 22), Pompeii (Italy). Wall-painting featuring Meleager and Atalante resting after the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, before 79 CE.



b) The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago (USA), 1983.584. Short side of a sarcophagus featuring Meleager and Atalante resting after the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, first half of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



a) Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University, Atlanta (U.S.A.), inv. 1985.5. Mirror with Meleager and Atalanta. Roman. Imperial, 2nd Century AD. Bronze, gilt. Carlos Collection of Ancient Art. <<http://www.carlos.emory.edu>> (12.04.2020) © Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University. Photo by Bruce M. White, 2012. Reproduced with permission of the museum.

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For the monument, see Boardman - Arrigoni 1984, 944 no. 45.

b) VI 15, 6, Pompeii (Italy). Wall-painting featuring Meleager and Atalante in a moment of loving togetherness, ca. 70-79 CE.



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1926,0116.47. Coin featuring a bust of Trajan (obverse) and Diktyнна (reverse), 97-117 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1861,1127.30. Relief featuring Kyrene overpowering a lion and being crowned by Libya, 120-140 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) Petit Palais, Musée des Beaux-arts de la Ville de Paris, Paris (France), inv. ADUT172. Simpulum featuring Jupiter in the guise of Diana assaulting Kallisto, ca. 200 CE. Digital image courtesy of Paris Musées. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC0 1.0).



b) Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. 8898. Pompeian wall-painting (from the Casa di Meleagro) featuring Dido abandoned by Aeneas, before 79 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2107604>> (27.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (USA), inv. 84.XM.1386.10. Albumen silver print of a Pompeian wall-painting (from the Casa del Citarista: I, 4, Eingang 5.6.25.28) featuring Aeneas, Dido and Ascanius, 20 BCE - 50 CE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. No copyright - United States.



a) The Museum of Somerset, Taunton (England). Mosaic featuring the legend of Aeneas and Dido, late 4th century CE. Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society and South West Heritage Trust, 2021. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1805,0703.302. Campana relief featuring a nereid riding a hippocamp, first half of the 1st century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

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For the monument, see Simon 1997a, 169 no. 7b.

b) Museum, Hama (Syria). Mosaic featuring Dido hunting on horseback, Late Antiquity.



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1857,1220.440. Mosaic featuring Meleager hunting on horseback, 4th century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1857,1220.439. Mosaic featuring Atalante hunting on horseback, 4th century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome (Italy), inv. 168186. Roman sarcophagus featuring Ascanius on the hunt, middle of the 2nd century CE. Su concessione del Ministero della cultura - Museo Nazionale Romano.



b) Torno Collection, Milan (Italy), inv. 814. Sarcophagus featuring a palaestra scene, including a “portrait” of Octavia Paulina as a victorious female athlete, late 2nd - early 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4302242>> (27.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. SK 60. Statue of Artemis (Dresden type), Roman copy of a Greek original dating to ca. 360 BCE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4925112>> (28.11.2020). Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MA 168. Statue of Artemis (Louvre-Ephesos type), Roman copy of a Greek original dating to the late Hellenistic Period. © 2016 Musée du Louvre / Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



a) Nasjonalmuseet for kunst, arkitektur og design, Oslo (Norway), inv. NG.S.01020. Portrait head of a girl, late Neronian Period to early Flavian Period. Digital image courtesy of the Nasjonalmuseet for kunst, arkitektur og design. © Ukjent kunstner. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY 4.0).



b) Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. Sk 59. Statue of Diana (Artemis Colonna type), Roman copy of a Greek original dating to middle of the 4th century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4124063>> (27.05.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



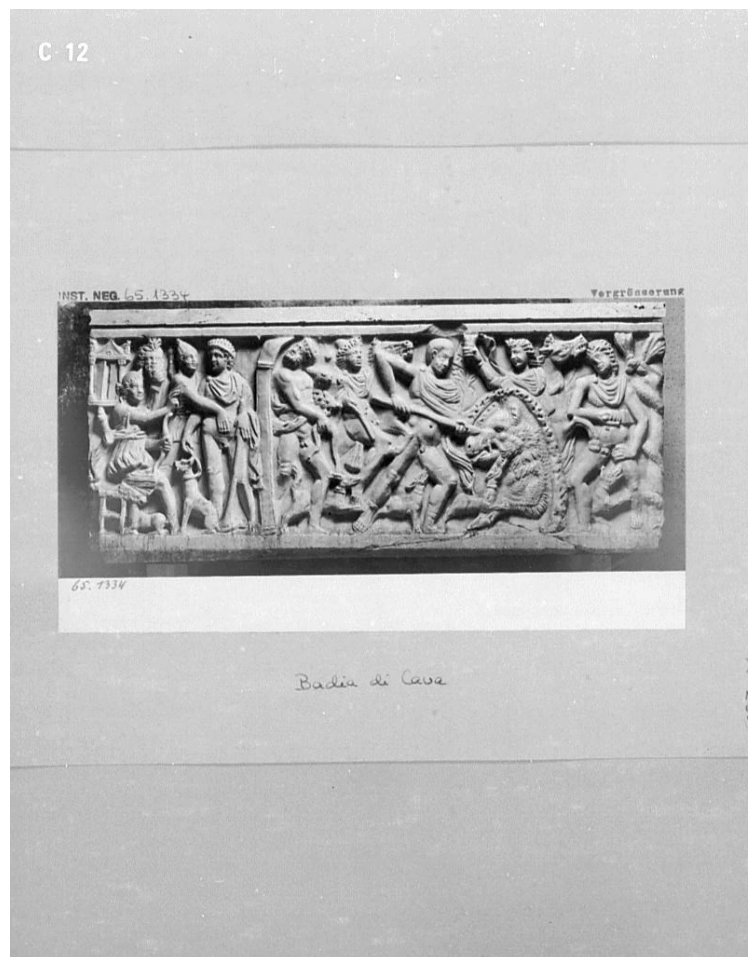
a) Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (Denmark), inv. 481-482. 482a. Statue group of Artemis and Iphigeneia, 50 BCE. © Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



b) Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano (Vatican City State), inv. 10400. Roman sarcophagus featuring the myth of Hippolytus, 210-220 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2104192>> (28.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Musei Capitolini, Atrium, Rome (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, middle of the Antonine Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7124564>> (29.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Abbazia della Trinità, Cava de' Tirreni (Italy). Campanian sarcophagus featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, early 4th century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilderbestand/864261>> (13.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen (Denmark), inv. 1550. Funerary relief featuring a portrait of a man as a *venator*, Hadrianic Period. © Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. Reproduced with permission of the museum.



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1871,0705.8. Attic red-figure pelike featuring Artemis subduing a deer, 410-400 BCE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, Rome (Italy), inv. 837. Roman sarcophagus featuring a battue, 370-380 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4201419>> (29.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1871,0705.8. Tetradrachm featuring the bust of Hadrian (obverse) and the bust of Sabina as Artemis (reverse), 117-138 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, Rome (Italy), inv. 848. Portrait Bust of Sabina wearing a diadem, 130-140 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3794977>> (14.04.2021). Photographer: Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



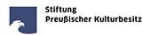
b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1867,0101.762. Aureus featuring the bust of Iulia Domna (obverse) and Diana Lucifera (reverse), 198-209 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1964,1203.124. Aureus featuring the bust of Faustina Minor (obverse) and Diana holding a bow and arrow (reverse), 198-209 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1846,0910.238. Medallion featuring the bust of Faustina Minor (obverse) and Diana preparing for her bath, 145-161 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



Marcus Aurelius, Diva Faustina (Minor), ident. Nr.: 18218161
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Fotograf: Dirk Sonnenwald

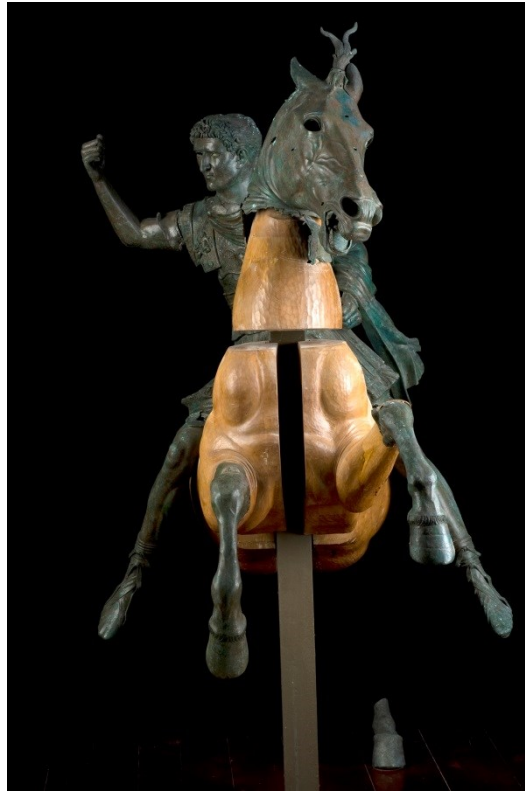


a) Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Berlin (Germany), inv. 18218161. Sestertius featuring the bust of Faustina Minor (obverse) and Diana with a crescent moon on her neck and holding a torch (reverse), after 176 CE. © Photo: Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Dirk Sonnenwald. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

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For the monument, see Mikocki 1995b, 181 cat. 208.

b) Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques, Paris (France), inv. camée.279. Cameo featuring Agrippina Minor as Diana, ca. 50 CE.



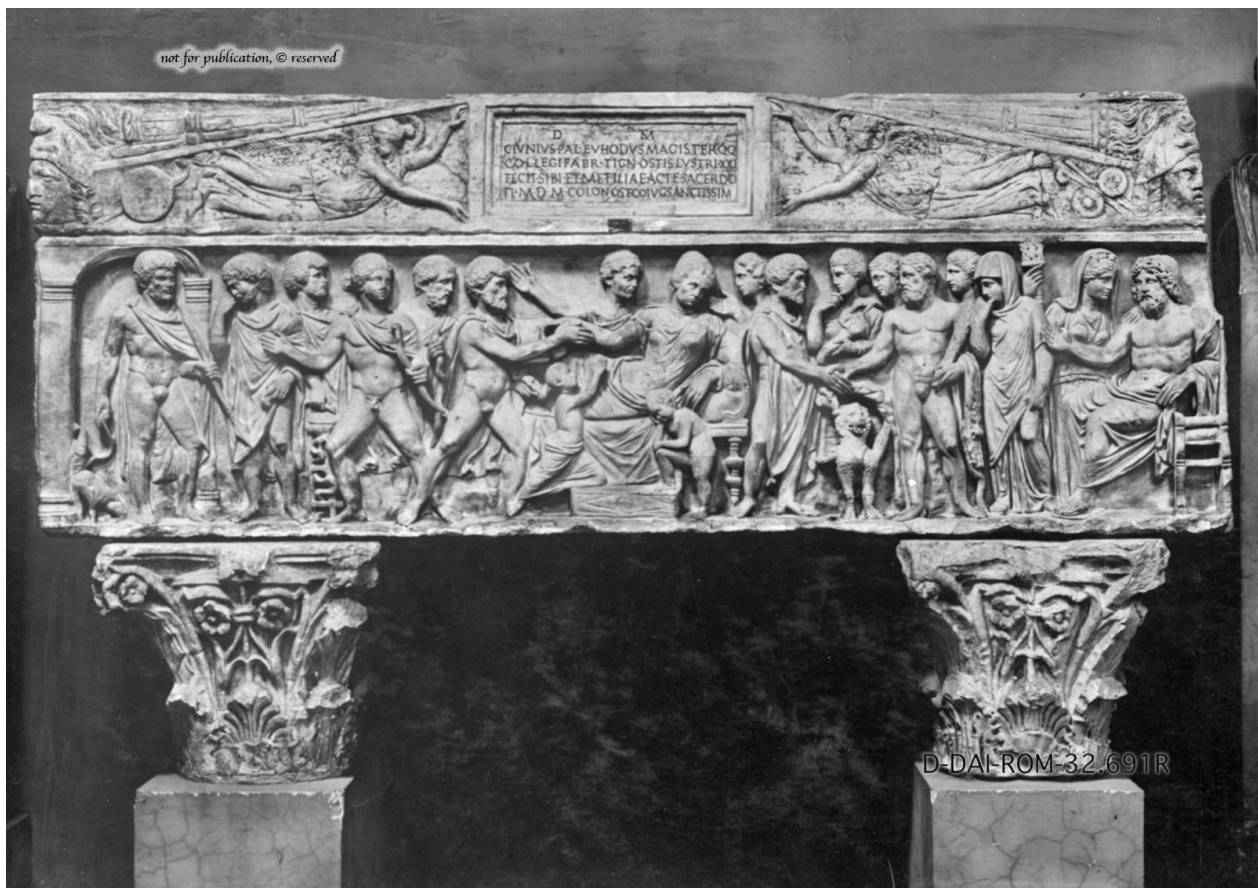
a) Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei, Castello Aragonese di Baia, Bacoli (Italy), inv. 155743. Equestrian statue of Domitia (recaved as Nerva), 81-96 CE. Digital image courtesy of the Parco archeologico dei Campi Flegrei. Su concessione del Parco archeologico dei Campi Flegrei - Ministero della Cultura.



b) Arch of Constantine, Rome (Italy). Tondi Adrianei once featuring Hadrian hunting a bear (left) and making an offering to Diana (right), Hadrianic Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3298878>> (30.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1846,0910.238. Medallion featuring the bust of Hadrian (obverse) and Hadrian hunting a lion with the legend VIRTUTI AVGVSTI, 130-138 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti (Vatican City State), inv. 1195. Roman sarcophagus featuring the self-sacrifice of Alcestis for Admetus, with portraits of C. Iunius Euhodus as Admetus and Metilia Acte as Alcestis, 161-170 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4778259>> (30.11.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



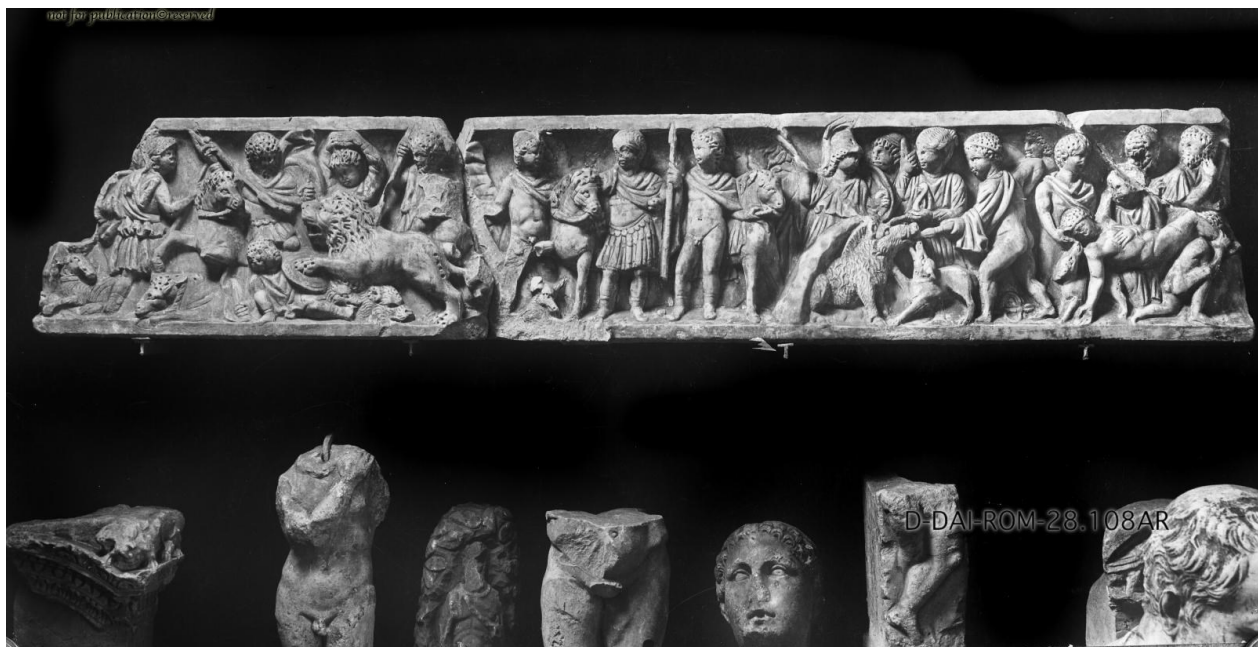
a) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. LL 50. Roman sarcophagus featuring Selene approaching Endymion in his sleep, with (unfinished) portraits of a man as Endymion and a woman as Selene, 220-240 CE. © 2007 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



b) Abbazia della Trinità, Cava de' Tirreni (Italy). Campanian sarcophagus featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt (detail: portrait head of a man as Meleager), early 4th century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/32641>> (02.06.2021). Photographer: Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Liebieghaus, Frankfurt (Germany), inv. 1528. Roman sarcophagus featuring the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, with a portrait of a man (Aurelius Vitalis) as Meleager, early Gallienic Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3415438>> (06.12.2020). Photographer: Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Grottaferrata, Rome (Italy). Lid of a Roman sarcophagus featuring a portrait of a youth as a Roman military commander, flanked by the Kalydonian Boar Hunt and the contemporary lion hunt, third quarter of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4319354>> (02.06.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Wilton House, Wiltshire (England), inv. 1963,32. Roman sarcophagus featuring Meleager fighting the Thestiades and on his deathbed, ca. 180 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/394207>> (06.12.2020). Photographer: Gisela Geng. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

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For the monument, see Koch 1975, 131 cat. 146.

b) S. Pietro in Vaticano (Vatican City State). Roman sarcophagus featuring Meleager and Atalante resting after the Kalydonian Boar Hunt (detail), 180/190 CE.



a) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Turkey), inv. 2100. Roman casket featuring the return of Meleager's body, as well as a lid featuring the feast after the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, early Antonine Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/531333>> (02.06.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (Canada), inv. 959.17.25. Sarcophagus relief depicting the myth of Meleager, marble, Roman Imperial period. Note that it includes a portrait of a man as Meleager, feasting after the Kalydonian Boar Hunt. Digital image courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum. Reproduced with permission of the museum. Any further reproduction or duplication of this image is prohibited.



a) Studio Canova, Rome (Italy). Lid of a Roman sarcophagus featuring the feast after the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, with an (unfinished) portrait bust of a man, first half of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7121389>> (02.06.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Musei Vaticani, Cortile del Belvedere (Vatican City State), inv. 1089. Vita Romana Sarcophagus (Sacrifice/Wedding Sarcophagus), 190 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3341587>> (06.12.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire (England). Sarcophagus featuring Meleager and Atalante in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt and resting afterwards, 280-290 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/1835758>> (06.12.2020). Photographer: Raoul Laev. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. SK 849. Fragment of a sarcophagus featuring Meleager and Atalante as children in Kalydonian Boar Hunt, Roman Imperial Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/275655>> (06.12.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Palazzo Barberini, Rome (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring men carrying the body of Meleager, performed by cupids and psyches, middle of the Antonine Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4699656>> (06.12.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Turkey), inv. 2452. Attic sarcophagus featuring a boar hunt, first half of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/493971>> (06.12.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MA 3570. Roman sarcophagus featuring the discovery of Achilles on Skyros, 220-230 CE. © 2017 Musée du Louvre / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced under the terms and conditions of the museum.



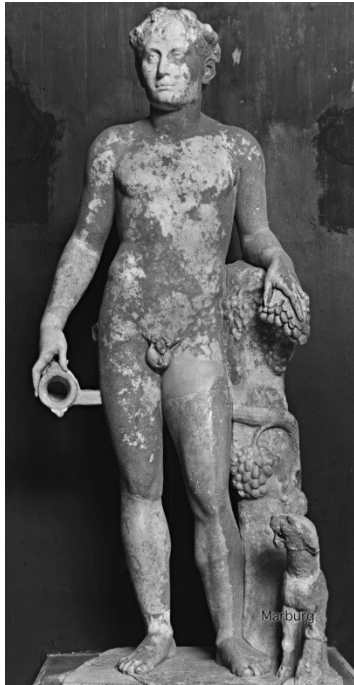
b) Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), inv. MA 3570. Roman sarcophagus featuring the discovery of Achilles on Skyros (detail: portraits of a man and woman on the lid aligned with Achilles and Deianira), 220-230 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/34111>> (25.04.2021). Photographer: Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Musei Capitolini, Sala del Fauno, Rome (Italy), inv. 725. Roman sarcophagus featuring Selene approaching Endymion in his sleep, 150-170/180 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4805623>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo (Egypt), inv. J. E. 45062. Funerary stele of Isidoros in the guise of Osiris-Bacchus, 120-140 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3322990>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Greece), inv. 2779. Statue of a youth in the guise of Bacchus, 220-230 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/5085415>> (25.04.2021). Photographer: Marburg. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

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For the monument, see Wrede 1981, 208 cat. 40.

b) Hearst Castle, San Simeon (USA). Reproduction of a Roman sarcophagus featuring Apollo Kitharoidos among the nine Muses and Minerva, with a portrait of a youth as Apollo, ca. 230 CE.



a) Museo Maffeiano, Verona (Italy), inv. 28765. Roman sarcophagus featuring the nine Muses, with a portrait of a boy as a male Kalliope, last quarter of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2005600>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples (Italy), inv. 144995. Roman sarcophagus featuring a portrait of a woman in the guise of "Ariadne", ca. 270 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4083436>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1947,0714.8. Campanian sarcophagus featuring a portrait of a youth as “Endymion”, 240-260 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Greece), inv. 1192. Funerary relief of Artemidoros as a boar hunter, Antonine Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2088984>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Temple of Artemis, Pronaos, Kyrene (Libya), inv. C 17100. Female draped statue, Roman Imperial Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7582160>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Museum of Antiquities, Kyrene (Libya), inv. C 17031 a. b. Portrait head of Tiberius placed on a female draped statue (the breasts have been flattened, the tunic shortened and *calcei senatorii* added), pastiche dating to the 4th century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7147863>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino (U.S.A.), inv. 22.6. Roman sarcophagus with portrait head of a man placed on the body of a learned woman (the tunic has been shortened), ca. 290 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7147863>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Cathédrale Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption de Clermont, Crypt, Clermont-Ferrand (France). Roman sarcophagus featuring an *orans* (praying woman), second third of the 4th century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4228046>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



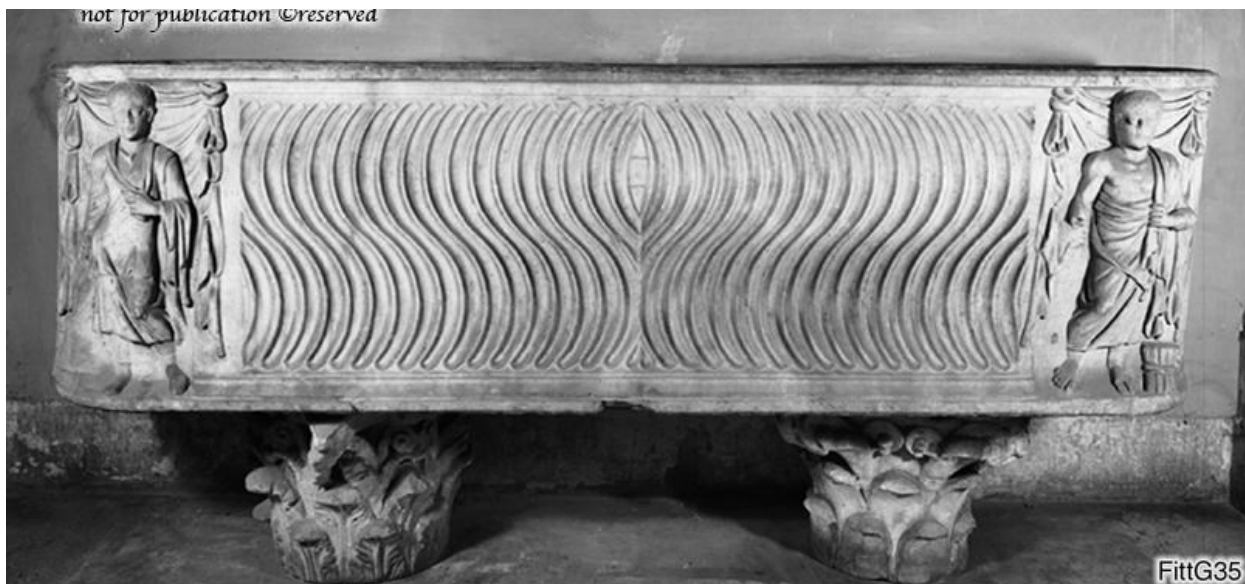
a) Musée Lapidaire, Arles (France), inv. FAN.92.00.2514. Roman sarcophagus (top) with portrait head of a man placed on the body of an *orans* (the *dalmatica* has been re-carved into a long-sleeved tunic and *paenula*), ca. 290 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4225088>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Staatlichen Museen, Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Berlin (Germany), inv. 6686. Roman sarcophagus with portrait head of a man placed on the body of an *orans* (the *palla*, worn as a veil, has been chiselled off), middle of the 4th century CE. © Photo: Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Antje Voigt. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).



a) Cattedrale di Palermo, Cripta, Palermo (Italy). Roman sarcophagus with a portrait head of a boy placed on the body of a learned man and woman, with the nine Muses in the background, third quarter of the 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7124414>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Musei Capitolini, Rome (Italy), inv. 821. Roman sarcophagus with a portrait head of a youth placed on the body of a learned man and woman (the tunic has been shortened), 235-250 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/658459>> (25.04.2021). Photographer: Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Musei Capitolini, Rome (Italy), inv. 821. Roman sarcophagus with a portrait head of a youth placed on the body of a learned man and woman (the tunic has been shortened) (detail: the youth as a learned woman), 235-250 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/658462>> (25.04.2021). Photographer: Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Evangelische Akademie, Park, Tützing (Germany). Roman sarcophagus with portrait head of a woman placed on the body of a man wearing a *toga contabulata*, 270-280 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/4201849>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Museo Archeologico Ostiense, Ostia (Italy), inv. 48277. Roman sarcophagus with portrait head of a woman placed on the body of philosopher, late Severan to early Tetrarchic Period. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7270179>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Basilica di San Saba, Rome (Italy). Roman sarcophagus featuring portraits of a man and woman as learned figures among Apollo and the Muses, early 4th century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3341564>> (25.04.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz (Germany). Lid of the Ludovisi Battle Sarcophagus, featuring a portrait of a man as a military commander and a portrait of a woman as a learned figure, 260 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/690175>> (06.12.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Campo Santo, Pisa (Italy), inv. A 6 int. Roman sarcophagus featuring Amor/Psyche (middle) a portrait of a woman sacrificing (left) and a portrait of a man sacrificing (right), 190-200 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3358590>> (06.12.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



a) Villa Medici, Rome (Italy), inv. 87. Roman sarcophagus featuring a portrait of a man and woman as learned figures, late 3rd century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/6656513>> (06.12.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



b) Staatlichen Museen, Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. Sk 843 b. Sarcophagus featuring the death of Creusa, ca. 140-150 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3795890>> (31.05.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).

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For the monument, see Robert 1919, 471 cat. 380.

a) Lost. Fragment of a Roman sarcophagus featuring the abduction of Proserpina by Pluto, with a portrait of a woman as Proserpina, 3rd century CE.

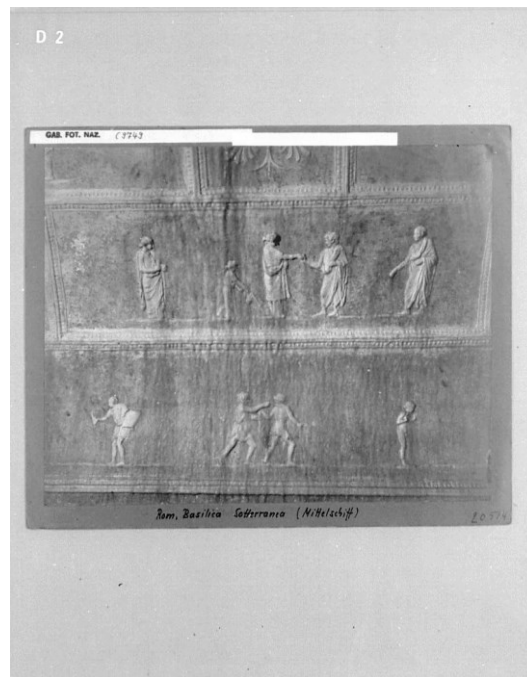


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Römisches Grabrelief des Freigelassenen Publius Aedius Amphio und seiner Frau Aedia Fausta Melior, Ident. Nr. SK 840
© Foto: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
Fotografin: Ingrid Geske

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b) Staatlichen Museen, Antikensammlung, Berlin (Germany), inv. SK 840. Funerary relief featuring a portrait group of a man and woman (Publius Aedius Amphio and Aedia Fausta Melior) clasping hands (i.e. *dextrarum iunctio*), third quarter of the 1st century BCE. © Photo: Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Ingrid Geske. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).



a) Basilica sotterranea di Porta Maggiore, Rome (Italy). Ceiling of the nave. Stucco image featuring a groom taking his bride by the hand, 1st century CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/2871722>> (14.05.2021). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



Antoninus Pius, Antoninus Pius, Ident. Nr.: 18200260
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Fotografen: Lutz-Jürgen Lübke (Lübke und Wiedemann)



b) Staatliche Museen, Münzkabinett, Berlin (Germany), inv. 18200260. Sestertertius featuring the bust of Antoninus Pius (obverse) and Antoninus Pius and Faustina Maior clasping hands (*dextrarum iunctio*) with the legend *CONCORDIAE*, 140-144 CE. © Photo: Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Lutz-Jürgen Lübke (Lübke und Wiedemann). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).



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Marcus Aurelius, Faustina (Minor), Ident. Nr.: 18204221
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a) Staatliche Museen, Münzkabinett, Berlin (Germany), inv. 18204221. As featuring the bust of Faustina Minor (obverse) and Venus embracing Mars (reverse), 161-176 CE. © Photo: Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Dirk Sonnenwald. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).



b) Museo Nazionale Romano, Museo delle Terme, Rome (Italy), inv. 40799. Vita Roman Sarcophagus (Sacrifice/Wedding Sarcophagus) featuring a portrait of a man and woman clasping hands (*dextrarum iunctio*) and embracing, 270-280 CE. Digital image courtesy of iDAI.objects arachne: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/8400896>> (06.12.2020). Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 DE).



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Front vom Kasten und Deckel eines Relief-Sarkophags, Ident. Nr.: 2785
© Foto: Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
Fotografin: Ingrid Geske



a) Staatliche Museen, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Berlin (Germany), inv. 2785. Roman sarcophagus featuring a clipeus with an (unfinished) portrait of a man and woman, ca. 270 CE. © Photo: Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photographer: Ingrid Geske. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1993,0401.105. Sestertertius featuring the bust of Caracalla (obverse) and Caracalla and Geta in military dress, making an offering over an altar and being crowned by Victoria, with the legend CONCORDIAE AVGG (reverse), 202-211 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1896,0608.83. Aureus featuring the bust of Diocletian (obverse) and Diocletian and Maximian sitting on curule chairs, holding a globe and *parazonium* in their hands and being crowned by Victoria, with the legend *CONCORDIAE AVGG* (reverse), 284-305 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1844,0425.1663. Coin featuring the bust of Balbinus (obverse) and clasped hands (*dextrarum iunctio*) with the legend *CONCORDIA AVGG* (reverse), 238 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



a) British Museum, London (England), inv. 1937,0406.55. Coin featuring the bust of Pupienus (obverse) and clasped hands (*dextrarum iunctio*) with the legend AMOR MVTVVS AVGG (reverse), 238 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



b) Königsplatz, Munich (aerial view looking north). © Wolfgang Pehlemann. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC-BY-SA 3.0 DE). (Note that the photo was cropped to focus on the Königsplatz.)



a) Propyläen, Munich. © Bbb-Commons. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC-BY-SA 3.0).



b) East Pediment, Propyläen, Munich. © Rufus46. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC-BY-SA 3.0).



a) West Pediment, Propyläen, Munich. © Rufus46. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License (CC-BY-SA 3.0).



b) Schwanthaler-Sammlung, Münchner Stadtmuseum, Munich (Germany), inv. 868 (Sondermappe III, 37). Drawing of the personification of Hellas flanked by Victories. Ludwig Michael Schwanthaler's second draft of the West Pediment of the Propyläen. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Graphik/Gemälde, Photo: S. Hollaender



a) Schwanthaler-Sammlung, Münchner Stadtmuseum, Munich (Germany), inv. 868 (Sondermappe III, 37). Drawing of a Greek warrior avenging a priest. Ludwig Michael Schwanthaler's second draft of the West Pediment of the Propyläen. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Graphik/Gemälde, Photo: S. Hollaender



b) Schwanthaler-Sammlung, Münchner Stadtmuseum, Munich (Germany), inv. 867 (Sondermappe IV, 27). Drawing of a Greek woman defending her son. Ludwig Michael Schwanthaler's first draft of the West Pediment of the Propyläen. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Graphik/Gemälde, Photo: S. Hollaender



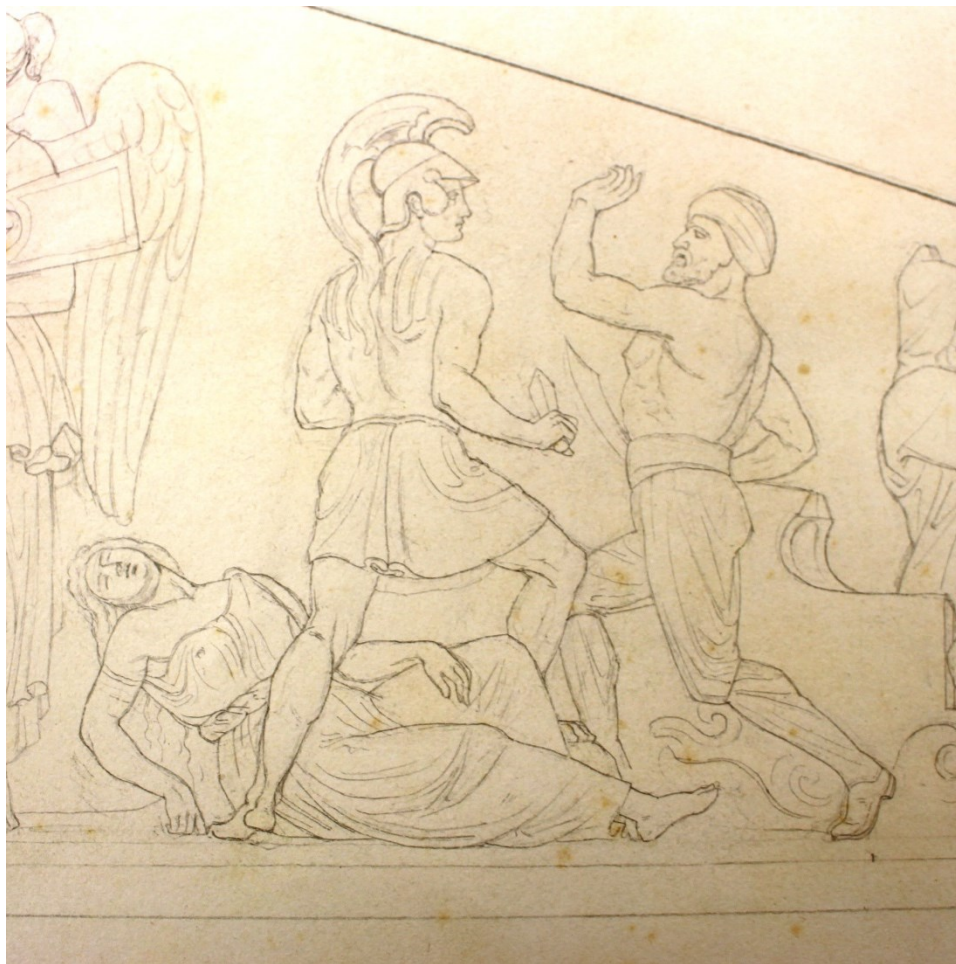
a) Schwanthaler-Sammlung, Münchner Stadtmuseum, Munich (Germany), inv. 868 (Sondermappe III, 37). Drawing of a Greek woman defending her son. Ludwig Michael Schwanthaler's second draft of the West Pediment of the Propyläen. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Graphik/Gemälde, Photo: S. Hollaender



b) U-Bahn Station Königsplatz, Munich (Germany). Sculpture of a Greek woman defending her son from the West Pediment of the Propyläen. © S. Hollaender.



a) Schwanthaler-Sammlung, Münchner Stadtmuseum, Munich (Germany), inv. 868 (Sondermappe III, 37). Drawing of Gaia observing the battle. Ludwig Michael Schwanthaler's second draft of the West Pediment of the Propyläen. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Graphik/Gemälde, Photo: S. Hollaender



b) Schwanthaler-Sammlung, Münchner Stadtmuseum, Munich (Germany), inv. 868 (Sondermappe III, 37). Drawing of a Greek warrior avenging his wife. Ludwig Michael Schwanthaler's second draft of the West Pediment of the Propyläen. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Graphik/Gemälde, Photo: S. Hollaender



a) Schwanthaler-Sammlung, Münchner Stadtmuseum, Munich (Germany), inv. 868 (Sondermappe III, 37). Drawing of the sea battle. Ludwig Michael Schwanthaler's second draft of the West Pediment of the Propyläen. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Graphik/Gemälde, Photo: S. Hollaender