TEXTILES IN MOTION

DRESS FOR DANCE IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

EDITED BY
AUDREY GOUY

ANCIENT TEXTILES SERIES 41

TEXTILES IN MOTION

DRESS FOR DANCE IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

Edited by
AUDREY GOUY

OXBOW | books
Oxford & Philadelphia

Published in the United Kingdom in 2023 by
OXBOW BOOKS
The Old Music Hall, 106–108 Cowley Road, Oxford, OX4 1JE

and in the United States by
OXBOW BOOKS
1950 Lawrence Road, Havertown, PA 19083

© Oxbow Books and the individual authors 2023

Hardback Edition: ISBN 978-1-78925-798-4
Digital Edition: ISBN 978-1-78925-799-1 (epub)
Open Access Digital Edition: ISBN 979-8-88857-093-7 (pdf)

A CIP record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Control Number: 2023933354

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical including photocopying, recording or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission from the publisher in writing.

Printed in the United Kingdom by Short Run Press

For a complete list of Oxbow titles, please contact:

UNITED KINGDOM
Oxbow Books
Telephone (0)1226 734350
Email: oxbow@oxbowbooks.com
www.oxbowbooks.com

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Oxbow Books
Telephone (610) 853-9131, Fax (610) 853-9146
Email: queries@casemateacademic.com
www.casemateacademic.com/oxbow

Oxbow Books is part of the Casemate Group

Front cover: Veiled dancer from Myrina. Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. Myr 660). Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski

Contents

Scientific committee

Eva Andersson Strand (Director, Centre for Textile Research, University of Copenhagen, Denmark); Elizabeth J. W. Barber (Occidental College, Los Angeles, USA); Marie Louise Bech Nosch (Centre for Textile Research, University of Copenhagen, and President of the Danish Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters, Denmark); Cecilie Brøns (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Denmark); Véronique Dasen (Université de Fribourg, Switzerland); Marie-Hélène Delavaud-Roux (Université de Bretagne Occidentale, France); Margerita Gleba (Università di Pavia, Italy); Florence Gherchanoc (Université Paris Diderot, France); Mary Harlow (University of Leicester, UK), Fiona MacIntosh (Director, Archive of Performance of Greek and Roman Drama, University of Oxford, UK); Cécile Michel (UMR 7041 ArScAn, France); Rosie Wyles (University of Kent, UK); Elsa Yvanez (Centre for Textile Research, University of Copenhagen, Denmark).

List of contributors

Elizabeth J. W. Barber
Occidental College, Los Angeles, US
barber@oxy.edu

Ulrike Beck
University of the Arts, Berlin, Germany
u.beck@udk-berlin.de

Angela Bellia
Institute of Heritage Science, National Research Council of Italy
angbellia@gmail.com

Gerrit Berenike Heiter
University of Vienna, Austria and University of Leipzig, Germany
berenice@commedia-dell-arte.at

Jordan Galczynski
University of California, Los Angeles, US
jgalczynski@ucla.edu

Audrey Gouy
University of Copenhagen, Denmark
gouy.audrey@yahoo.fr

Karina Grömer
Natural History Museum, Vienna, Austria
karina.groemer@nhm-wien.ac.at

Evangelia Keramari
National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece
ekeramar@phil.uoa.gr

Heidi Köpp-Junk
Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland
kontakt@heidikoepp.de

Elena Miramontes Seijas
Autonomous University of Madrid, Spain
eleseimi@gmail.com

Leonidas Papadopoulos
Kings College London, UK
leonidardo@yahoo.gr

Beate Maria Pomberger
Natural History Museum, Vienna, Austria
Beate.Pomberger@nhm-wien.ac.at

Robyn Price
University of California, Los Angeles, US
rsprice@ucla.edu

Vittoria Rapisarda
University of Leipzig, Germany
vittoria.rapisarda@hotmail.it

Aikaterini-Iliana Rassia
University of Erfurt, Germany
aikaterini-iliana.rassia@kcl.ac.uk

Alexandra Sofroniew
University of California, Davis, US
asofroniew@ucdavis.edu

Introduction

Audrey Gouy

Dance was an integral part of life in the ancient world. It played a crucial role, especially in rituals and in the organization of ancient societies. As a rhythmical, aesthetical and expressive performance and body motion, often supported by music and sound, it clearly differed from ordinary motor activities such as walking or running. The studies conducted on the topic have helped in understanding its importance but also in defining its different forms, its contexts, its actors and to what extent it contributed to the construction and affirmation of communities, identities and different social systems. The various props used during dance were communicative keys and constituted tools intended as both effective and multi-sensorial. They had an important impact on movements as well as on the general direction and expression of dance. Among those props, textiles in the form of garlands, tents, furniture and dress were of primary importance. Dress in particular was at the core of dance. It adorned dancers, defined various roles and formed symbolic expressions that, for example, either bound people together or opposed them. As a key communicative tool, it gave important information to the understanding of dance as well as the culture and the sociological dimensions of a group of people. As such, dress transcends how it is seen visually to address what is being communicated. Nonetheless, studies in ancient dance have rarely taken clothing into consideration (Delavaud-Roux 1994; 2014; Friesländer 2001; Llewellyn-Jones 2003; Gherchanoc 2006; Martin 2007; 2019; Olsen 2017).

This book builds on the Marie Skłodowska-Curie project 'TEXDANCE. Textiles in Etruscan Dance (8th–5th Centuries BC)' that was held at the Centre for Textile Research (CTR), University of Copenhagen, Denmark, in partnership with the Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama (APGRD), Faculty of Classics, University of Oxford, UK, from September 2019 to August 2021. This project explored in depth the key role of dance in ancient ritual practices by focusing on its props, textiles in particular, and by producing new data from Etruria.[1] The scope was to examine how textiles make us understand the movements of dance, their ritual functions, their diversity, their performativity, the ritual function of costumes in dance and the social relations which intertwine. For the first time, the relation between dance and textiles in Etruscan ritual practices was studied, as well as their handling. Indeed, focusing on textiles allowed for the study of what is often ignored: the question of use. In this regard, and while studies on ancient textiles have primarily focused on production and *chaîne opératoire*, consumption and value, economy and trade, materiality and aesthetics, the aim of this Marie Skłodowska-Curie project and of this book is to decisively engage with the next steps in textile research and look toward new questioning, knowledge and inspiration.[2]

Dress and dance

The veiled dancer from the Musée du Louvre in Paris on the cover of this book (inv. no. MNC 535) is a wonderful example of the inherent meanings of dress during ancient dance, and of the questions that are raised on the use of dress in ancient rituals. Indeed, the veil unfolds and twirls, leaving in space a fleeting impression of the female body. It covers and hides the body, while revealing it at the same time, following the figure's different movements. This dancer is part of a series of terracotta female dancers characterized by the wearing of a veil, or a coat, that completely covers the body. The ritual in which they are represented has been discussed several times, as has the status of those female dancers (Besques 1963; Delavaud-Roux 1994, 47–48; Jeanmet 2003; Pisani 2006; Martin 2019). They could have been spouses and mothers, or servants. When they were entering the dance space, their dress would have immediately given indications of status that were very well known and understandable to the spectators at that time. The movement suggested through the head bent backward or frontward, the torsion of the bust and of the whole body, as well as the gradation in intensity that all those figures show, indicate fervent forms of dance. Those specific dances were dedicated to deities, such as the two goddesses of initiation and fertility: Artemis for young girls,

and Demeter for married women (Delavaud-Roux 1994, 56). The dance is thus considered as a place for bodily gestures linked to the *sophrosunè*, a virtue that characterized the modesty and reserve expected from women in ancient Greece. However, the study of dress and the series of movement that can be drawn from those representations of veiled dancers invite the refining of those considerations. The dress was entirely covering the body, excluding the face and the feet, but the rapid movement of the dancers made the cloth very skin-tight and different parts of their body became alternately very distinctive, such as the hips. Moreover, the body was gradually moving, following a precise choreography composed by movements that associated spinning, jumping and twisting. The very long and large tunic and mantle definitely added an aesthetic touch to the dance as they moved in the space and emphasized the female dancers' movements. But the function was not only decorative and aesthetic. This dress had a crucial function in the dance, especially on the dancers and the spectators. As in other well-known fervent forms of dance such as the *soufi* dances (Zarcone 2015), dress reinforced the dancers' movements, made them more visible, made the variation and gradation of movement more understandable for the viewer and expressed the passions and feelings of the dancers. The dress undulated as the dancers were undulating in the dance, and in this regard it embodied the emotional state the dancers were experiencing during the ritual. It also allowed and ensured the full involvement of the spectator as it had a strong visual impact that was reinforced by complementary sensory experiences such as sound, touch and smell. Consequently, the spectators were actively and intensively following the course of the dance as they were invited to emotionally enter and participate in it. In this manner, there is no doubt that dress was, and still is, a means of communication between dancers and spectators. It transmits emotions, passions and movements that run through the dancer's body. It constitutes the thread that connects and link dancers and spectators in the ritual. It also constitutes a thread that connects communities with their ritual's beneficiaries, e.g. the deities.

A bodily experience

The different sources from the ancient world – iconographical, archaeological, literary – show the different strategies of communication that were at stake in dress during ancient dance. At the core of these strategies, senses were constantly assailed through sound, touch, smell, sight. In archaeological contexts, and as recalled by Susanna Harris, textiles are usually very degraded and have lost the sensory dimension they were originally conferred (Harris 2019). This is how the Egtved woman's clothing, found in a grave dated from 1370 BC, had been discovered in 1921: brown and shapeless textiles (Bergerbrant 2007; Randsborg 2011; Fossøy and Bergerbrant 2013; Demant 2017). The reconstruction by the Sagnlandet Lejre in Denmark has demonstrated the delicacy of the dress in its colours and textures (Fig. i). Different types of wool were used depending on their colour, so the dress ranged from white to golden brown and dark brown. The difference of yarns spun and weaving technics found in the dress created various effects of texture, surface and motion (Demant 2017, 36–37). The dress, composed of a blouse, a belt and a corded skirt, is said to have been used for dancing rituals (Bergerbrant 2014, 84–87). The skirt, in particular, could have been designed to fit and embrace the movements performed during specific dances. This hypothesis is difficult to confirm. However, constituted of a 210 cm long waistband resting on the hips and wrapped twice around the body (Demant 2017, 39–42), the skirt was made of cords hanging down that created a light and airy effect, while the firm lower edge maintained the whole. With motion, the cords moved from side to side, regularly discovering the body. The firm lower edge contributed to make the external row of cords inflated when the body was turning around, while the inner row of cords maintained the dancer's minimum privacy (see the experiments of Anni Brøgger). The inflation of the dress is a pattern regularly found in visual representations of dance in the ancient world as part of visual codes that defined dance in ancient iconography. On the left wall in the Tomba del Gallo in Tarquinia (Fig. ii), the lower part of the tunic worn by the female dancer is inflated, revealing the legs. In the picture, the dress provides information on the type of movement produced: the female dancer is spinning around while playing the castanets. Those two examples also highlight the importance of cloth transparency, which is a characteristic often sought in dance, and which creates visual accessibility to the dancer's body. The transparency of the cloth is made possible by the fineness and number of threads per cm, as well as the possible treatment applied to the yarn and the fabric during or after its weaving, such as olive oil (Spantidaki 2014). The oil applied could also have been perfumed. In that case, the dress had also a smell dimension.

To these textile treatments creating visual effects and impacting the experience of dance, colours must be added. They emphasized, expanded and materialized the movement. In the Tomba delle Danzatrici found in Ruvo (Gadaleta 2002), the coloured clothes worn by the female dancers regularly alternate, following a quaternary rhythm (Fig. iii). By regularly alternating, the colours create a rotative movement in a motionless picture. Moreover, they emphasize both the alternative representation and movement of the female dancers, as well as the way they have knotted themselves to each other. Their hands are tied to the second dancer in front and behind, weaving

Fig. i. The blouse, belt and corded skirt from the Egtved woman (a. after Demant 2017, 34, fig. 1. Image: Roberto Fortuna, National Museum of Denmark) and the reconstructed dress (b. after Demant 2017, 42, fig. 12. Image: Sagnlandet Lejre).

them together and creating two overlapping and alternating threads of dancers. As such, body movement and dress are shown intertwined. From a symbolical aspect, this recalls the alternating movement of warp and weft threads on the weaving loom, as well as the tight links woven among a community. In the picture, the dancers are depicted on the walls of a tomb, around a dead body. We can argue that, in a funerary context, the dancers are also symbolically and everlastingly weaving a new status for the deceased. Their symbolical thread around the corpse tightens it to the Hereafter for eternity. Performed during the funerary ritual, this dance might also have contributed to healing the community by weaving new relationships among its members after the loss of one eminent figure (on the symbolical aspect of weaving, see Scheid and Svenbro 2003).

The objects applied to the dress, such as belts, jewels and appliqué, could have added specific sounds to the dance and enhanced its experience. Such objects, specifically intended to be used on moving bodies during ritual performances such as dances, have been discovered, for example, in the south of Italy. Indeed, rattling adornment became very fashionable during the 8th and 7th centuries BC, and then culminated between the end of the 6th and the first half of the 5th century BC in pre-Roman Italy (Kolotourou 2007, 85). Tomb 60 found in 1977 in the Temperella zone of the cemetery of Macchiabate in Calabria, dating back to the 8th century BC (Zancani Montuoro 1974–1976), revealed a rich burial assemblage with a calcophone (Fig. iv) and several little bronze objects that could have formed idiophones, objects producing a rattling or clanking sound when shackled together, similar to the set from Molino della Badia (Saltini Semerari 2019, 16–17) (Fig. v). These objects could have been 'sound jewels', as proposed by Katerina Kolotourou (Kolotourou 2007, 80). And they have led researchers to interpret the deceased woman as a former dancer and priestess. These objects added to the dress were made with various kinds of metal – primarily bronze – and were most probably designed according to the possibilities of the body's movement. Grouped together, those metal additions collided with each other. As a result, the sound and sonorous effects produced were rattling and clanking. As we observe different kinds of metal additions according to gender, it is plausible they were also contributing to define the identity of the bearers (Gouy forthcoming). By producing sounds and non-verbal communication, jewels, appliqués and belts were expanding the experience of ritual performances by sensorially impacting both the bearer and the attendee. In this regard, it is possible to argue that dress for dance was part of performative textiles, specifically dedicated to performative rituals. This book is thus also about performative dress, made for stage.

Fig. ii. Tarquinia, Monterozzi necropolis, Tomba del Gallo, ca. 400 BC. Detail of the left wall. After Steingräber 1985, fig. 76.

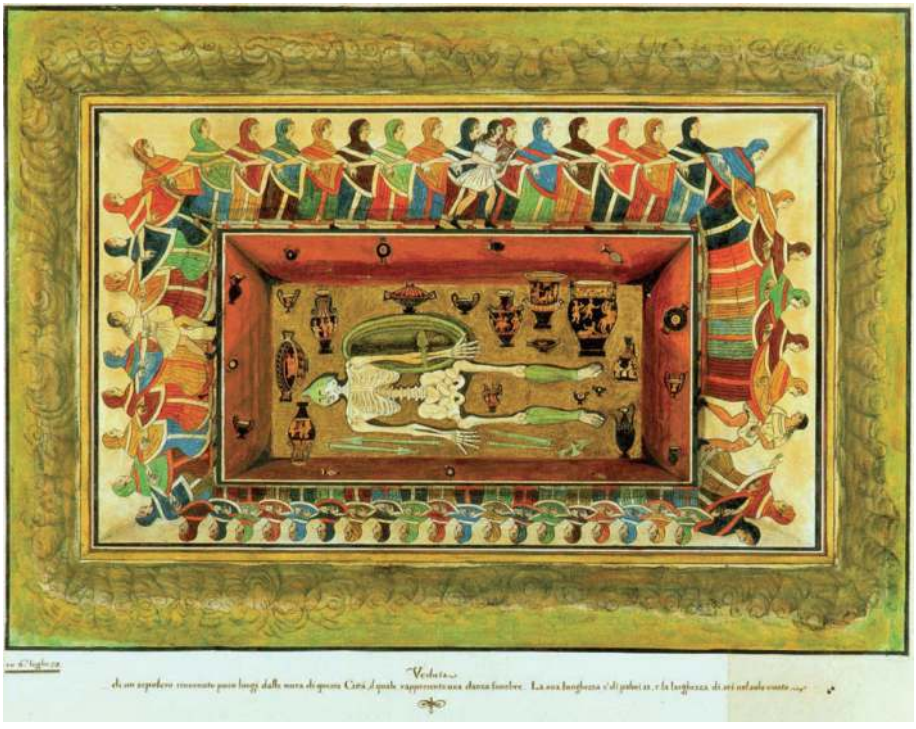


Fig. iii. Ruvo di Puglia, Corso Cotugno necropolis, Tomba delle Danzatrici. Watercolour of Vincenzo Cantatore, Molfetta, Seminario Vescovile, at the time of the discovery of the tomb (1833–1838). End of 5th century BC–mid-4th century BC. The tomb is at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (inv. no. 9353). After Ragazzi 2015, 317, fig. 5.

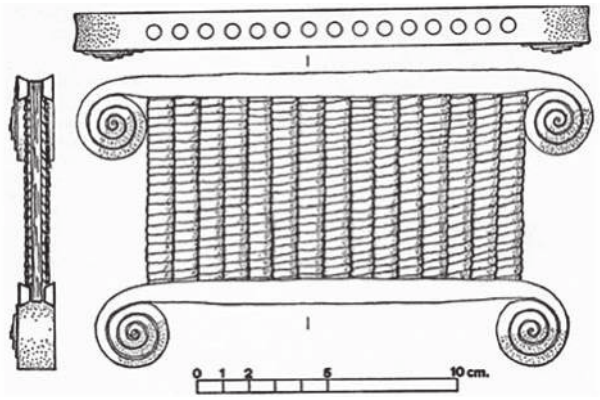


Fig. iv. Macchiabate in Calabria, tomb 60, Temperella zone of the cemetery. Calcophone in bronze. Drawing. After Saltini Semerari 2019, 14, fig. 1.

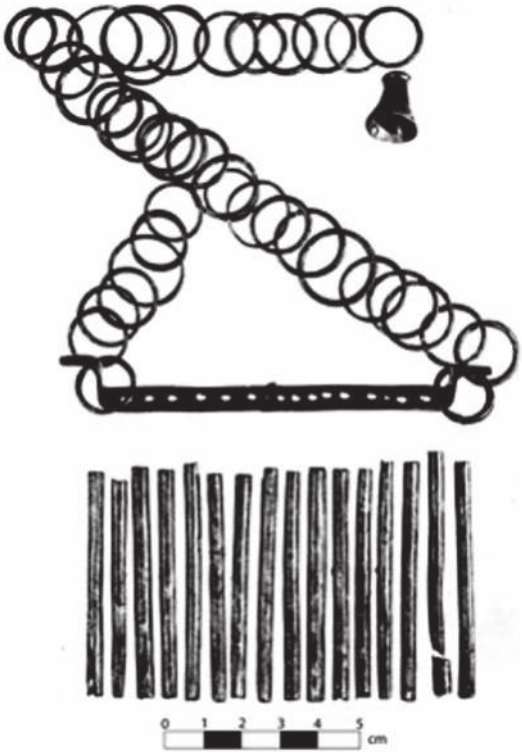


Fig. v. Sicily, Molino della Badia. Chime in bronze. After Saltini Semerari 2019, 16, fig. 3.

Presentation of the book

Given the importance and the variety of dress for dance that existed in the ancient world, a publication was needed to unravel its peculiarities. Moreover, focusing on dress for dance contributes to a better understanding of ancient dance as well, and allows the different interactions that occurred during rituals to be understood from a different angle. In this regard, this publication aims to gather articles that give new perspectives and insights on ancient dances and their ancient textiles. Comprehension of ancient dance will benefit from investigations undertaken through the lens of dress. Furthermore, research on ancient dress will be understood through its relation to body movement and performative rituals, thus reinforcing the progressive integration of an anthropological and sociological dimension into historical analysis of ancient textiles. For the first time, the two-way transfer of knowledge between dance studies and costume studies will be connected via an innovative approach. Moreover, the various backgrounds of the different authors in this book contribute to widen the discussion and the perspectives for future research. The chronological range of this publication is limited to the ancient world (5000 BC to 5th century AD). And, in order to maintain a comparative approach, to promote cross-cultural dialogue and to encourage and ensure discourse between fields and disciplines, this ancient world is intended as a broad geographical definition.

This book, divided in six parts, questions various aspects of dress for dance: movement design, sensory experience, gender and identity, representations and modern reception.

Part 1 ('Practicalities') is thought as an introductory section that offers practical perspectives on dress specifically designed for motion, and on how dance and dress affected each other. It questions and emphasizes facts, circumstances, uses. In this regard, the first chapter by Elizabeth J. W. Barber gives some insights on how the form of dress for dance and its function work tightly together. More particularly, it considers how traditional dance ('folk dance') and apparel have affected each other in certain circumstances (Hungary, the Balkans, etc.). It questions as well the issues involved in the cross-influences of apparel and dance in 'traditional' societies, and the approaches to study them.

Part 2 ('Movement and design') aims to present examples of dress specifically designed and arranged for movement. The structure of the dress is thought to respond to body motion. In this regard, the chapter by Ulrike Beck discusses some woollen skirts from Shampula, Xinjiang, western China, dating mostly from the 1st millennium BC, and tailored from various fabrics. Based on a combination of textile craft and tapestry pictorial motifs, the skirts investigated in this chapter are designed to follow, expand and magnify the body in motion. The dress makers particularly draw their attention to the combination of material properties, textile technologies, concepts of colours and textures, taking motion as the inherent parameter. While the chapter by Ulrike Beck is based on direct sources such as textile remains, the two following chapters show to what extent ancient literature and iconography can also be considered valuable sources. In the first one, Elena Miramontes Seijas investigates the *baukismós*, Greek dance from the

Hellenistic period and presumably performed by women dressed in heavy and long veils. The author proposes to shed a new light on the sources available and to question several aspects, such as: the presence of both male and female dancers in the dance and the differences of movement that it implied; the form of the dance; the use of dress and its impact on the dancer's body, and the dance. The following chapter, by Evangelia Keramari, explores one of the most known comedies of Menander, *Theophoroumene*. More particularly, it investigates the impact of dress on comedy, and to what extent it gives it a metatheatrical dimension at a very specific moment.

Part 3 ('Embodiment and communication') focuses on the capacities of dress to express, manifest, represent, incorporate, incarnate and personify. Dress in dance engages a powerful non-verbal communication. It exchanges and embodies various information. In this regard, the chapter by Leonidas Papadopoulos takes ancient Greek tragedy as its subject of investigation, where costume provides a profusion of symbols with multiple sociopolitical, ideological and aesthetic interpretations. More specifically, Greek tragedians manipulated garment imagery when evoking images of 'otherness'. In this regard, this chapter explores the attire of non-Greek choruses, its impact in the plays, and to what extent it constituted polysemous communication. Alexandra Sofroniew focuses on the Roman Lares, twin youths wearing the same attire – a short tunic, a mantle knotted around the chest and high boots. They are always depicted in motion, dancing. Her aim is to understand the meaning of the dress consistently worn by the Lares, the information communicated in terms of identity and gender, and the impact of such figures in Roman religious practices, while the type of dance they refer to is usually not associated with such practices. The chapter by Heidi Köpp-Junk, based on the earliest iconographical evidence in Egypt dated from 3000–1000 BC, discusses the variations in dress practices for dance during this period and the contexts in which they were used and worn. The differences that appear between male and female dancers are questioned and understood through the extent of eroticism.

Part 4 ('Cognition and sensory experience') gathers chapters that investigate the sensory dimension of dress in dance. It focuses on aspects of dress that engage both the dancer and the spectator in a sensory process through smell, sound, touch. And it explores the results, responses and effects of such an experience. The chapter by Karina Grömer and Beate Maria Pomberger on sounding jewellery in Eastern Hallstatt culture explores the importance of sounds in dance, especially those produced by brooches with rattling pendants, jingles, bells attached to the cloth worn by a moving person. The authors focus attention on the acoustic code of upper-class Iron Age women and the extent to which the sound produced impacted the surrounding people. Aikaterini-Iliana Rassia discusses the sensory experience in dance through dress during the ancient mystery cults. Based on iconography and literary sources, the author explores the sensorial impact of dress, its colours, adornment and movement, on dancers specifically during their initiations. It also questions the importance of light, vision, touch and sound, and to what extent it impacted the process, as well as the dancers. Finally, the chapter by Jordan Galczynski and Robyn Price highlights the fact ancient Egyptian dance functioned within a ritual system that used sensory stimulation to facilitate interactions between humans, and between the humane and divine worlds. In this regard, the smell, sound and visual effects produced by the motion of dress in ritual dances delineated a ritual space and made ancient dance in particular functional and transformative.

Part 5 ('Images and metaphors') gathers works on the visual representations and metaphors of textiles. Indeed, how much did images and metaphors of textiles through various kinds of representations inform about the performative rituals such as dance? Angela Bellia investigates dance and musical performances that are represented on the dress worn by some female deities from Magna Grecia. The approach, and the textile perspective, contributes to enrich our understanding of ritual performances that took place in sacred spaces on the occasion of the epiphany of deities. Vittoria Rapisarda offers new perspectives of study for representations of textiles by focusing on textile-inspired tattoos worn by some dancers in ancient Egypt. Those tattoos seem to have replaced on some occasions the dress commonly used. Thus, the aim of this contribution is to understand the form and function of those textile-inspired tattoos, how they were involved in ritual performance, to what extent nudity contributed to free the dancers and, in the end, to understand how dress for dance and its decorative ornaments were perceived by Egyptian dancers.

Finally, Part 6 of this book ('Modern reception') is dedicated to the latest discoveries in the modern reception of ancient dance and dress. Indeed, beside famous figures such as Isadora Duncan or Loïe Fuller who impacted and renewed dress practices in modern dance, along with the movements, other decisive dancers and choreographers are being rediscovered, shedding new light on the reception of ancient dance by modern dancers. The chapter by Gerrit Berenike Heiter contributes to this rediscovery by analysing the work and experiences of the German-Swedish Sent M'Ahesa, the French Nyota Inyoka and the Czech Irena Lexová at the beginning of the 20th century. Those three figures transposed in their dances and costumes the knowledge they gathered from original ancient Egyptian artefacts. And, in doing so, they conceived unique choreographic creations in which a close relationship was established between gestures, movements and costumes, and crucial importance was given to the visual impact of costumes.

Notes

1 Etruscan dress and textiles were firstly analysed thoroughly in the fundamental work of Larissa Bonfante (see Bonfante 1975, 1989a, 1989b, 2009 and 2012), recently updated by Margarita Gleba, PI of the ERC research project 'PROCON' at the University of Cambridge (see Gleba 2008; 2017; Gleba *et al.* 2013). Also, some aspects of the use of textiles in ritual and religious environments in the ancient Mediterranean have been investigated very recently by Cecilie Brøns and Marie Louise Nosch (Brøns and Nosch 2017), and Glenys Davies (Davies 2018) for Roman art and social practices primarily.

2 This book has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement no. 839799 and is part of the project 'TEXDANCE. Textiles in Etruscan Dance'. See https://texdance.eu.

Bibliography

Barber, E. J. W. (2013) *The Dancing Goddesses: Folklore, Archaeology, and the Origins of European Dance*. New York, W. W. Norton.

Bergerbrant, S. (2007) *Bronze Age Identities: Costume, Conflict and Contact in Northern Europe 1600–1300 BC*. Lindome, Bricoleur Press.

Bergerbrant, S. (2014) Ordinary or extraordinary? Redressing the Problem of the Bronze Age Corded Skirt. *Current Swedish Archaeology* 22, 73–96.

Besques, S. (1963) *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre cuite grecs et romains. II, Myrina*. Paris, Éditions des Musées Nationaux.

Bonfante, L. (2012) Luxury in Funerary Rituals in Ancient Italy: The Dress. In P. Amann (ed.) *Kulte – Riten – religiöse Vorstellungen bei den Etruskern und ihr Verhältnis zu Politik und Gesellschaft Akten der 1. Internationalen Tagung der Sektion Wien/Österreich des Istituto Nazionale di Studi Etruschi ed Italici (Wien, 4.–6. 12. 2008)*, 335–344. Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Bonfante, L. (2009) Ritual Dress. In M. Gleba and H. Becker (ed.) *Votives, Places and Rituals in Etruscan Religion: Studies in Honor of Jean MacIntosh Turfa*, 183–191. Leiden, Brill.

Bonfante, L. (1989a) Aggiornamento: il costume etrusco. In *Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale Etrusco. Firenze 26 maggio–2 giugno 1985. Istituto di Studi Etruschi e Italici*, 1373–1393. Rome, G. Bretschneider.

Bonfante, L. (1989b) Nudity as a Costume. *American Journal of Archaeology* 93, 543–570.

Bonfante, L. (1975) *Etruscan Dress*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.

Brøns, C. and Nosch, M. L. (ed.) (2017) *Textiles and Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Davies, G. (2018) *Gender and Body Language in Roman Art*. Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press.

Delavaud-Roux, M.-H. (2014) Voile et danse (?) chez les déesses grecques. In V. Huet and F. Gherchanoc (ed.) *De la théâtralité des corps au corps des dieux dans l'Antiquité*, 107–124. Brest, Centre de recherche bretonne et celtique, Université de Bretagne occidentale.

Delavaud-Roux, M.-H. (1994) *Les danses pacifiques en Grèce antique*. Aix-en-Provence, Publications de l'Université de Provence.

Demant, I. (2017) Making a Reconstruction of the Egtved Clothing. *Archaeological Textiles Review* 59, 33–43.

Fossøy, S. and Bergerbrant, S. (2013) Creativity and Corded Skirts from Bronze Age Scandinavia. *Textiles. The Journal of Cloth and Culture* 11/1, 20–37.

Friesländer, E. (2001) The Mantle Dancer in the Hellenistic Period: Glorification of the Himation. *Assaph* 6, 1–30.

Gadaleta, G. (2002) *La Tomba delle Danzatrici di Ruvo di Puglia.* Naples, Loffredo.

Gherchanoc, F. (2006) Le(s) voile(s) de marriage dans le monde grec: se voiler, se dévoiler. La question particulière des anakaluptêria. *Metis* 4, 239–267.

Gleba, M. (2017) Textiles in Pre-Roman Italy: From Qualitative to Quantitative Approach. In M. Gleba and R. Laurito (ed.) *Origini. Prehistory and Protohistory of Ancient Civilizations. Contextualising Textile Production in Italy, 1st Millenium BC*, 9–28. Rome, Gangemi Editore.

Gleba, M. and Pasztokai-Szeöke, J. (2013) *Making Textiles in Pre-Roman and Roman Times: People, Places, Identities.* Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Gleba, M. (2008) *Textile Production in Pre-Roman Italy*. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Gouy, A. (forthcoming) Gender Adornment, Rattling Jewels and Dress Soundscape in Etruscan Dance. In C. Ward (ed.) *Adornment as Expression of Everyday Identity in Ancient and Medieval Life*. Rome, ACTA ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia.

Harris, S. (2019) The Sensory Archaeology of Textiles. In R. Skeates and J. Day (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of Sensory Archaeology*, 210–232. London, Routledge.

Jeanmet, V. (ed.) (2003) *Tanagra: mythe et archéologie*. Paris, Réunion des Musées Nationaux.

Kolotourou, K. (2007) Rattling Jewellery and the Cypriot Coroplast. *Archaeologia Cypria* 5, 79–99.

Llewellyn-Jones, L. (2003) *Aphrodite's Tortoise. The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece*. Swansea, The Classical Press of Wales.

Martin, N. (2019) Terracotta Veiled Women: A Symbol of Transition from Nymphe to Gyne. In G. Papantoniou, D. Michaelides and M. Dikomitou-Eliadou (ed.) *Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas*, 223–236. Leiden, Brill.

Martin, N. (2007) Historiographie et réception d'un motif, la danseuse et la femme voilées en Grèce. In *Images et imagerie. Recueil des résumés des communications: 132e congrès national des sociétés historiques et scientifiques, Arles, du 16 au 21 avril 2007*, 249–259. Paris, CTHS.

Matamoros, E. (2021) *Dance & Costumes. A History of Dressing Movement*. Berlin, Alexander Verlag.

Olsen, S. (2017) Les danseuses en Grèce antique. Performance, capacité d'agir et divertissement. *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire* 46, 19–42.

Pisani, M. (2006) The Collection of Terracotta Figurines in the British School at Athens. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 101, 269–368.

Ragazzi, G. (2015) Interpreting the Prehistoric Visual Sources for Dance. *Music in Art* 40/1–2, 311–327.

Randsborg, K. (2011) *Bronze Age Textiles: Men, Women and Wealth*. Bristol, Classical Press.

Saltini Semerari, G. (2019) Calcophones in Context. Gender, Ritual and Rhythm in Early Iron Age Southern Italy. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung* 125, 13–47.

Scheid, J. and Svenbro, J. (2003) *Le Métier de Zeus. Mythe du tissage et du tissu dans le monde gréco-romain*. Paris, Errance.

Spantidaki, S. (2014) Embellishment Techniques of Classical Greek Textiles. In M. L. Nosch (ed.) *Interdisciplinary Studies in Textiles and Dress in Antiquity,* 34–45. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Steingräber, S. (1985) *Catalogo ragionato della pittura etrusca*. Milan, Jaca Book.

Steingräber, S. (2006) *Les Fresques étrusques*. Paris, Citadelles and Mazenod.

Wild, J.-P. (1988) *Textiles in Archaeology*. Princes Risborough, Shire Publications.

Zancani Montuoro, P. (1974–1976) Tre notobili enotri dell'VIII sec. a.C. *Atti e memorie della società Magna Grecia* n. s. 15–17, 9–82.

Zarcone, T. (2015) L'habit de symboles des derviches tourneurs. *Journal of the History of Sufism* 6, 47–76.

Part 1

Practicalities

1

Practical perspectives on dance and clothing

Elizabeth J. W. Barber

Because ancient clothing and dances have both been preserved very poorly, when at all, a practical assessment of their relationship in our current, directly observable world is a helpful way to begin. The question of how dance and costume have affected each other involves two very practical issues: how clothing and footwear affect the forms of the dancing, and how dance and its objectives influence clothing and footwear. It can go both ways. Based on the problems of staging dances and on the study of traditional ('folk') and historical dances, this introductory chapter opens the discussion by questioning clothing in general and footwear in particular that can restrict or enhance body movement. Indeed, and as so often in this world, form and function work tightly together, such that observable ancient forms can sometimes give us clues to original functions. Not only can what you wear enhance or restrict the movements of the body, but, conversely, the way in which a culture wants the body to move has effects on the way people dress it. The dance-related examples discussed in this chapter indicate four main sources of influence, which run in both directions between dance and clothing: 1) the enhancement or restriction of range and type of movement*; 2) problems of* fastening *clothing and footwear for dancing; 3) using apparel to affect the* sound *of the dance; and 4) the desire to* show off *(or otherwise send a specific message to the onlookers). Other sensory stimuli may be present and even manipulated during dance (such as light, colour, smell, temperature), but these four observations offer a useful scaffold for studying the direct interplay of dance with costume in an all too evanescent past.*

Because ancient clothing and dances have both been preserved very poorly, when at all, a practical assessment of their relationship in our current, directly observable world is a helpful way to begin. The question of how dance and costume have affected each other involves two very practical issues: how clothing and footwear affect the forms of the dancing, and how dance and its objectives influence clothing and footwear. It can go both ways. During more than fifty years of staging traditional ('folk') and historical dances, I have wrestled with both these processes in the real physical world, where clothing in general and footwear in particular can restrict or enhance body movement to a remarkable degree. As so often in this world, form and function work tightly together, such that observable ancient forms can sometimes give us clues to original functions. Let us start with an actual example.

'Five minutes till we have to get out of the Dance Studio!' someone calls out at rehearsal. 'Can we go through the Hungarian girls' dance once more?' 'No,' replies the director, 'we'd have to change shoes! There's no way we can dance that thing in these Serbian *opanci*!' No more could we have done the Serbian dances in Hungarian boots.

Serbian *opanci* are absolutely flat, moccasin-like shoes, made of fairly stiff leather that turns up sharply at the toe (Fig. 1.1). This peculiar toe-box is particularly good at protecting toes against stubbing on rocks in rough terrain, and we find evidence of this design being used in Turkey and Greece for nearly 4,000 years (Fig. 1.2).[1] Serbian dances tend toward steps that are very quick, small and close to the ground.

Hungarian villagers, on the other hand, prided themselves if they had enough money to wear leather boots when they

Fig. 1.1. Typical Serbian and Macedonian opanci *(traditional leather shoes), with very flat soles and strongly turned-up toes. Author's collection.*

went out – boots with handsome high tops and a good sturdy heel. Dance occasions were among the best times to shop for a mate, so the girls wanted to look their most attractive, swishing their skirts (fully petticoated and so tightly pleated that they bounced) to attract the attention of the boys (Fig. 1.3). The most effective way to swish those skirts is to rock back on the thick, solid boot heels, swinging your toes to one side as you go. The effect is spectacular – and quite impossible to accomplish in totally flat moccasins/*opanci*/ballet slippers.

Not only can what you wear enhance or restrict the movements of the body, but conversely, the way in which a culture wants the body to move has effects on the way people dress it. The dance-related examples I have wrestled with indicate four main sources of influence, which run in both directions between dance and clothing: 1) the enhancement or restriction of range and type of ***movement***; 2) problems of ***fastening*** clothing and footwear for dancing; 3) using apparel to affect the ***sound*** of the dance; and, not least, 4) the desire to ***show off*** (or otherwise send a specific message to the onlookers). Other sensory stimuli may be present and even manipulated during dance (such as light, colour, smell, temperature), but these four observations offer a useful scaffold for studying the direct interplay of dance with costume in an all too evanescent past.

Sound

Dance long preceded real body-clothing among human beings – both archaeology and physiology/genetics assure us of that (Barber 2013, chapters 21–22). So, choosing to don sound-producing objects seems to be the start of the symbiosis. Long before cloth was invented, humans formed strings of clinking shells, animal teeth and the like.[2] As clothing evolved, more and more opportunities arose to exploit wearable sound, from heavy fringes that swish to slappable leather surfaces and jingling shell, stone and metal pendants. (A number of interesting essays in this volume explore evidence for this effect.) In recent times, Dalmatian peasants beleaguered by Ottoman persecution would flee to clearings in the woods to dance 'silent *kolos*' timed by the rhythmic clinking of the women's coin jewellery as they danced. And slapping leather is fun: Russians and Hungarians alike loved to slap their boot-tops in intricate rhythms, while the famous Austrian/Bavarian *Schuhplattler* slaps out the dance on short leather pants, taking its cue from the mating display of a large bird, the *Auerhahn*. Leather soles, too, produce much better sound than stamping barefoot, an effect enhanceable with various forms of heels, taps and even spurs made of yet harder substances.

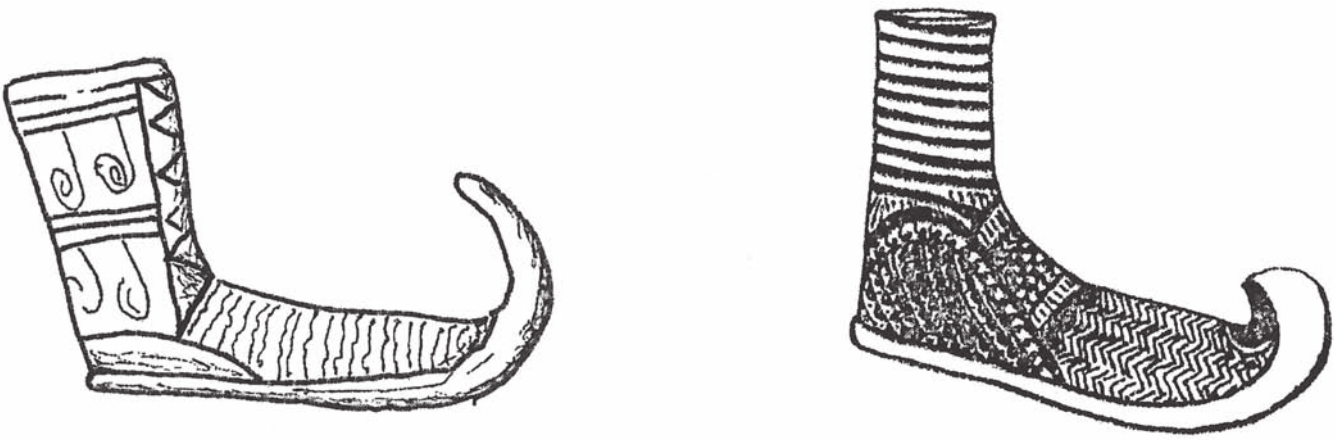


Fig. 1.2. Clay depictions of shoes with strongly turned-up toes, from Bronze Age Turkey and Greece. (Left) Hittite, 19th century BC, from Kültepe, Turkey (after Akurgal and Hirmer 1962, pl. 33); (right) Mycenaean Greek, 14th century BC, from Voula, Attica, Greece (after Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, pl. 236).

Fig. 1.3. Girl from western Hungary with block-heeled leather boots and a tightly pleated skirt puffed out with multiple petticoats.

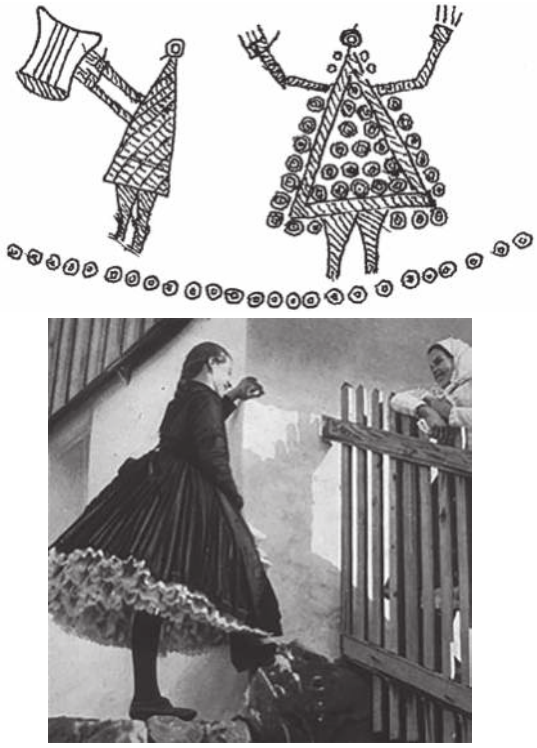


Fig. 1.4. Triangular silhouette of a dancing woman on a vase from Sopron, Hungary (Hallstatt culture, early 1st millennium BC; from vase in the Naturhistorisches Museum, Vienna). Compare the silhouette of a Hungarian village girl chatting over a fence, ca. 1950 (note the intense pleating of the skirt and layered petticoats).

Movement

Once clothing developed, perhaps the biggest influences between dance and clothing came from the problem of movement itself. Does the clothing enhance or restrict the movement? Can dance motions enhance the effect of the clothing on the body? Or do the culturally desired dance movements, including imitating animals, force a change in the clothing to make such motions possible? Because the feet *carry* the body, we will have to ask these questions regarding movement all over again with respect to footwear, with different answers. But first, some examples concerning clothing.

Imagine restrictive clothing. Long and/or tight skirts, tight trousers, tight sleeves, tights, corsets, wrap-arounds – all restrict movement of at least part of the body and hence the range of dance movements. When I attended a workshop on Baroque dancing, the teacher was always criticizing us for bending our torsos too much, but it was not until, years later, someone laced me up into a Baroque-style corset that I really understood. You simply cannot bend anywhere between the pelvis and the shoulders. So, to 'bow' (do a *reverence*) you can only nod your head as you bend your knees in a slight dip. (Same for men, by the way.) It makes for an elegantly upright carriage as you dance – but, laced in, you cannot move any other way.

In Croatia, Hungary and Western Europe generally, the desired silhouette for a woman is hourglass-shaped, with full skirts (whether long or short) and a tight waist, as in Fig. 1.3, or even, with minimal waist, triangular in shape, something strikingly visible in ancient Hallstatt depictions (Fig. 1.4). On the other hand, in Serbia, Macedonia, and many other parts of the Balkans, as well as in the far north of Russia and Scandinavia, the desired silhouette is roughly columnar, with the woman's cloth-frugal chemise falling unpetticoated down to calf or ankle as a tube. So, in Hungary and Germany you can kick all you like, but in Serbia and Greece you must remember not to try to lift your knees much at all – certainly not the way the men do, with their baggy trousers or pleated *fustanellas*. To enable a greater range of movements, one must adjust the clothing, generally shortening, widening or loosening the skirts, sleeves, trouser legs, etc. Once, however, in reconstructing a 12th-century Russian fertility dance performed by a girl with sleeves twice as long as her arms (Barber 1999b), we quickly discovered what motions were impossible. She could wave her arms to the sides, as depicted in the medieval sources (Fig. 1.5), but if she ever crossed them, the sleeves wrapped around each other so tightly we had to run and untangle her!

Fig. 1.5. Women's fertility dance with ultra-long white sleeves, imitating the wings of the great white migratory birds (swans, geese), which were viewed as containing concentrated fertility. Figures from various 12th-century Slavic (Kievan Rus') wedding bracelets and (2nd from right) from a medieval Russian chronicle (after Barber 2013, Fig. 13.8, 2.1).

Then there is weight. Traditional bridal outfits among Slavs and Vlachs in northern Greece and Slavic Macedonia could weigh anywhere from 30 to 110 pounds. Try dancing in that.

The clothing itself, however, may provide 'props' (as it were) that suggest or enable unusual dance movements. Thus, the Slavic ultralong sleeves could be waved to resemble the wings of swans and geese (birds long thought to bring fertility; see Barber 2013a, chapters 13–14, 299–302), while the floor-length, slightly stiff, A-line skirts of women in parts of the Caucasus and northern Russia inspired the dancers, by bending their knees slightly and treading evenly or off-beat, to appear to be gliding as if on skates – somehow moving without stepping. More commonly, sleeves, skirts, capes, veils and scarves may get drafted for all manner of waving, flipping, extending, swishing and shimmering, not to mention hiding for peekaboo. Most swishable of all are long fringes worn on the body, attested as women's wear from the Palaeolithic at 20,000 BC, through the ages (Barber 1994; 1999a; Barber and Sloan, 20–39 *et passim*), to Roaring 1920s flappers and Dallas Cowboy cheerleaders.

Footwear, too, can suggest nifty moves, as when their boots allow the Hungarian girls to rock and swing on their block heels to make their skirts fly. My favourite example, however, comes from the girls of Kalocsa, in central Hungary, who wear not boots but backless embroidered slippers with small rockable heels. Their dances include, at frequent intervals, an unusual step consisting of a short jab forward onto the ground – the main purpose of which is to jam their toes firmly back into their backless shoes!

Here is a case of refusing to let 'inadequate' footwear impede the dancing. On the other hand, *poulaines* or pointy-toed 'Polish' shoes, which began in Krakow around 1340, by the 15th century had developed fashionably pointed toes so long that men could hardly even walk, let alone dance in them (Fig. 1.6). Concerned citizens finally felt obliged to legislate them out of existence.

Fastenings

Fastenings – or lack of them, as with the Kalocsa slippers – also affect dance. Appendages such as awkwardly large and/or floppy headgear may require extra attachments. Some people even tried using little chains stretched from the tips of their *poulaine* shoes to their ankles to hold the ends up for easier walking. On the other hand, customary belts and straps may get in the way of dance movements that go beyond ordinary motions. This practical problem is much more evident to the dancer than to anyone else.

Showing off

What is most evident to the onlooker, however, is our last category: the effects of wanting to show off (especially to the opposite sex), since historically dance occurred among

Fig. 1.6. Long-toed European poulaines*, ultra-fashionable in 14th- and 15th-century Europe. Below: one of many such, pulled out of the mud of the River Thames in London (example now in the Museum of London). Above: men wearing them, as depicted in various 15th-century manuscripts.*

social groups. Given the particular dances, one may try to adjust the clothing to show off the body in motion.

This could entail making the body shape more eye-catching, as with form-fitting bodices, belts and tights, or the scintillating coin-laden silk scarves that 'belly-dancers' wrap tightly around their hips. In the heyday of the Minuet, men in particular cultivated the elegant leg: tight stockings running from a well-heeled and bow-tied shoe up to slim knee-breeches, in turn contrastively set off by the gently flaring skirts of the coat above.

Fig. 1.7. Karagouna bride from about a century ago, standing 'on display' before the wedding, wearing probably 20 to 30 kilos of finery and a suitably modest expression. The dances required of brides in the Balkan peninsula involved far less movement than other village dances. From Hatzimichali 1984, Fig. 138.

Or one can make the clothing more eye-catching when it is caught up in characteristic moves. Shininess, noise, colour and pleating will all do the trick. For example, a particularly popular type of Croatian dance is done by circles of inward-facing dancers in a tight basket-hold. All you see is backsides. The women wear long, full skirts of heavy linen gathered to the waist with wide box-pleats, and the visible surfaces – the top sides of the pleats in the back and the apron in front (but not the skirt-front, always hidden by the apron) – are heavily embroidered in red. As the turning circle speeds up, these heavy skirts begin to billow out at the back, gradually spreading and displaying the embroidery in an ever-enlarging fan. Most Balkan women's costumes, in fact, have much or most of their best decoration on the back, where it can be judged by potential mothers-in-law, hunting through the Sunday afternoon dance-line for a skilled and hard-working girl to marry her precious son.

If, however, the clothing is so strongly traditional that only the dance can be adjusted (almost universally true with bridal costumes), we would have to adjust our motions to show off the costume and body better. We mentioned Hungarian girls managing their boots in ways that made their tightly pleated skirts swing, but the eye-catching motion actually starts at a more basic level. When I was taught to walk in high heels, I was told to tuck my rear end under, but Hungarian girls learn to stand slightly swaybacked in their heeled boots (which may be as much as 5 cm [2 inches] high). From this position, simply bending one's knees and straightening them abruptly (as many of their dance-steps

Fig. 1.8. Bulgarian male dancers performing a flat-footed slap on the ground with their flat leather sandals, a move quite characteristic of Bulgarian dances.

require), without any other change of posture, will send the skirts flying in back. At the other extreme, brides' dances may be greatly toned down not only because the costume is heavy and form-hiding but because the bride is supposed to exude an air of sedateness and modesty (Fig. 1.7).

Finally, dancers can adjust their steps to show off their footwear. Balkan curly-toed *opanci* look wonderful doing fast scissor-kicks and steps that curl behind your ankle, and they positively invite the flatfooted slap that punctuates so many Bulgarian dances (Fig. 1.8). And how many Russian and Hungarian dances allow the dancers, male or female, to place their boots elegantly side by side, even snapping them smartly together? Dance is a prime place for show-offs. And probably always has been.

Notes

1 Archaeological illustrator Kelvin Wilson informs me that, even earlier, there are similar Neolithic clay models from Croatia, though the toes do not turn upwards so dramatically. Croats, too, wore *opanci* until quite recently.

2 Wilson also directs my attention to a new study of 8,000-year-old elks' teeth found in Karelia, which, according to detailed experimental study, must have been used for dance, possibly ecstatic dance. See Rainio *et al.* 2021.

Bibliography

Akurgal, E. and M. Hirmer (1962) *The Art of the Hittites*. New York, Harry Abrams.

Barber, E. J. W. (1994) On the Antiquity of East European Bridal Clothing. *Dress* 21, 17–29.

Barber, E. J. W. (1999a) On the Antiquity of East European Bridal Clothing. In Welters 1999, 13–31.

Barber, E. J. W. (1999b) The Curious Tale of the Ultra-long Sleeve. In Welters 1999, 111–134.

Barber, E. J. W. (2013) *The Dancing Goddesses: Folklore, Archaeology, and the Origins of European Dance*. New York, W. W. Norton.

Barber, E. J. W. and Sloan, B. B. (2013) *Resplendent Dress from Southeastern Europe: A History in Layers*. Los Angeles, UCLA Fowler Museum.

Hatzimichali, A. (1984) *The Greek Folk Costume*, vol. 2. Athens, Melissa.

Marinatos, S. and Hirmer, M. (1960) *Crete and Mycenae*. New York, Harry Abrams.

Rainio, R., Gerasimov, D., Girya, E., and Mannermaa, K. (2021) Prehistoric Pendants as Instigators of Sound and Body Movements: A Traceological Case Study from Northeast Europe, ca 8200 cal. bp. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 314, 639–660.

Welters, L. (1999) *Folk Dress in Europe and Anatolia*. Oxford and New York, Berg.

Part 2

Movement and design

2

Dancing in flames – fabulous designs from the desert sands. Reconstructing the east Central Asian skirt's construction secret

Ulrike Beck

The artfully crafted tapestry bands of the colourful woollen skirts from Shampula, from the 2nd century BC to the 2nd century AD, have already been the focus of textile studies. Their fabulous patterns and exquisite craft are the most appealing of the well-preserved textiles and their comparable finds in the Abegg-Stiftung, Switzerland. The woollen skirts seem to be designed around the precious tapestry. However, concerning their specific construction, the skirts are masterpieces themselves. They are tailored from varied fabrics, which are artfully combined. Their hemlines are heavy deep red woollen braids folded in hundreds of delicate pleats. In total length, the hems measure more than 11 m. However, the reason for the enormous investment of fabric and the unusual construction refuses to unveil at first glance.

Scientific functional tests of the skirt designs reveal an unexpected result. The construction of the Shampula skirts is explicitly designed for movement: the skirts float in slow undulations around the body and change direction with every step of their wearer. Simultaneously, the flaming textile waves flow steadily around the body and draw attention to the fabulous patterns on the tapestry. This exceptional and strictly maintained design of the Shampula skirts is due to a specific construction strategy, which is crucial for the remarkable behaviour of the skirts when worn. Obviously, this particular effect was worth the investment of enormous quantities of material and the commitment to time-consuming craftsmanship. Technical strategies and functionality of the clothes are still preserved in the textile finds. Like data archives, they contain the concepts of their design within themselves, even after several thousand years.

Based on a new method, which combines reverse engineering techniques with forensic studies, the article reveals the specific design of the Shampula skirts and their remarkable behaviour in motion. It demonstrates in detail how the skirts were constructed and highlights the required technological knowledge and the understanding of motor function, which were both crucial to creating this masterful design. These clothing finds were left behind thousands of years ago. We still need to learn about their behaviour in motion. If we combine both: the consistent logic of their construction and their functionality and aesthetic expression through scientific functional tests, thus, we can explore their behaviour in motion.

The artfully crafted tapestry bands of the colourful woollen skirts from Shampula (Fig. 2.1) have already been the focus of textile studies (Bunker 2001, 23–34; Schorta 2001, 81–86). Their fabulous patterns and exquisite craft are the most appealing of the well-preserved textile finds from Xinjiang, western China and their counterparts in the Abegg-Stiftung, Switzerland (Schorta 2001, 81).

The woollen skirts seem to be designed around the precious tapestry. However, concerning their specific construction, the skirts are masterpieces themselves. The different skirt parts are tailored from various fabrics and artfully combined. Their hemline is made of a heavy deep red woollen braid folded in hundreds of delicate pleats. In total length, the hemlines of the skirts reach from 11 to more than 15 m. However, the reason for the enormous

Fig. 2.1a. Striped woollen skirt with pleats. The tapestry band and the braided flounce should be imagined at the lower end of the skirt. Abegg Foundation, inv. no. 5162. Photo: © Abegg Foundation, CH-3132 Riggisberg, 2001 (Christoph von Viràg).

Fig. 2.1b. Fragment of a woollen skirt. The braided hemline underneath the tapestry is consequently folded into tight pleats. Abegg Foundation, inv. no. 5157. Photo: © Abegg Foundation, CH-3132 Riggisberg, 2001 (Christoph von Viràg).

investment of fabric and the unusual construction refuses to unveil at first glance.

Scientific functional tests of the skirt designs reveal an unexpected result. The construction of the Shampula skirts is explicitly designed for motion: the skirts float in slow undulations around the body and change direction with every step of their wearer (Beck 2018, 192–195). Simultaneously, the flaming textile waves flow steadily around the body and draw attention to the artfully crafted patterns and fabulous creatures displayed on the tapestry bands. This exceptional and strictly maintained design of the skirts is due to a specific construction strategy, which is crucial for the unusual behaviour of the skirts when worn. Apparently, this particular effect was worth investing in enormous quantities of material and committing to time-consuming craftsmanship.

Technical strategies and the skirt's functional behaviour are both still preserved in the compelling logic of their construction. Like data archives, the textile finds still contain their design concepts within themselves, even after several thousand years. Based on a new method, which combines reverse engineering techniques with those of forensic studies, this article reveals the specific design of the East Central Asian skirts and their remarkable behaviour in motion. It will demonstrate how the skirts were constructed to create the specific effect of the particular slow waves around the body and highlight the required technological knowledge as well as the understanding of motor function, which were both crucial to create this masterful design.

The methodology: textile finds as data archives

Clothing production is a complex task, which is solved by converting creative ideas into a mathematical concept and applying it to a specific problem (Beck and Jess 2021). Clothes are data archives. Even after several thousand years, they still contain the concepts of their designs within themselves. The specific strategies of their creators are still preserved in the compelling logic of their construction (Beck 2018, 26). Based on a new method, which combines reverse engineering techniques with those of forensic studies (Beck 2018, 26–60), and on a specific case study, the unique concept of the remarkable skirts was examined and reconstructed in detail. Indeed, the construction and manufacturing process of the textile finds, their functional and aesthetic behaviour, the production and design strategies, as well as the integrated technological knowledge and understanding of motor function, can be scientifically reconstructed (Beck 2018, 26–60). Therefore, the collected measurement data are mapped and analysed in six consecutive phases (Fig. 2.2) in a mathematical system. Through the systematization according to constructional, anatomical and functional aspects of the clothing within a mathematical structure, the various textile finds can be investigated and related to each other. This methodical approach allows new insights beyond the data of an individual textile find (Beck 2018, 58–60).

For a case study, the methodology was applied to a woollen skirt (Urumqi, Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology, inv. no. 92LSIIM3:cA-1) from Shampula from the 1st century AD (Beck 2018, 189–195). The data were reconstructed in six consecutive phases. With the scientific reconstruction of the find, functional and wearing tests were undertaken. Subsequently, the reconstructed data sets were evaluated in connection with comparative finds and secondary sources. Thus, the exceptional construction of the skirts and the production and design strategies used during the manufacturing were scientifically examined.

Production concepts: combining techniques

Clothing fulfils practical, communicative and social functions (Mentges 2005, 11–39; North 2006, 5). As a result, it has to meet various requirements simultaneously. The strategies of clothing production depend on the available resources and trading opportunities, technological and cultural knowledge, and the understanding of anatomy and motor function. The various characteristics of clothing are achieved through the different aspects of textile and clothing production and their consistent interaction: starting with the fibres, through the material properties of the fabrics, to the three-dimensional construction and fashioning of the clothes.

The well-preserved woollen textiles from Shampula, which also include the group of woollen skirts, feature a wide variability of different weaves and structures (Wang and Xiao 2001, 73), which have been skilfully combined. Also, the Shampula skirts show a consistent interaction between material properties and manufacturing. Therefore, the construction, the materials and the production manner are crucial for their specific design. Based on the analysis of available C-14 dates and grave goods, the tombs at Shampula have been divided into two periods, dated about 100 BC to mid-AD 300 and AD 300 to late AD 400 (Bunker 2001, 45).

However, it is not only the manufacturing of the Shampula textiles that is remarkable. Their design is unique in various aspects, such as colour and style (Keller 2001, 11). Furthermore, the amount of textiles suggests a very well-developed local textile production at that time (Wang and Xiao 2001, 77).

Particularly noticeable among these textiles are the artfully designed and colourful tapestry bands, which also form the characteristic centre of the woollen skirts. The consistency of their details and their weave suggests that they have been produced locally at Shampula or come from the narrow surrounding area (Bunker 2001, 33; Schorta 2001, 86). In addition, Schorta points out that the abstract modernism of their design contrasts with how little we know about their creators (2001, 79).

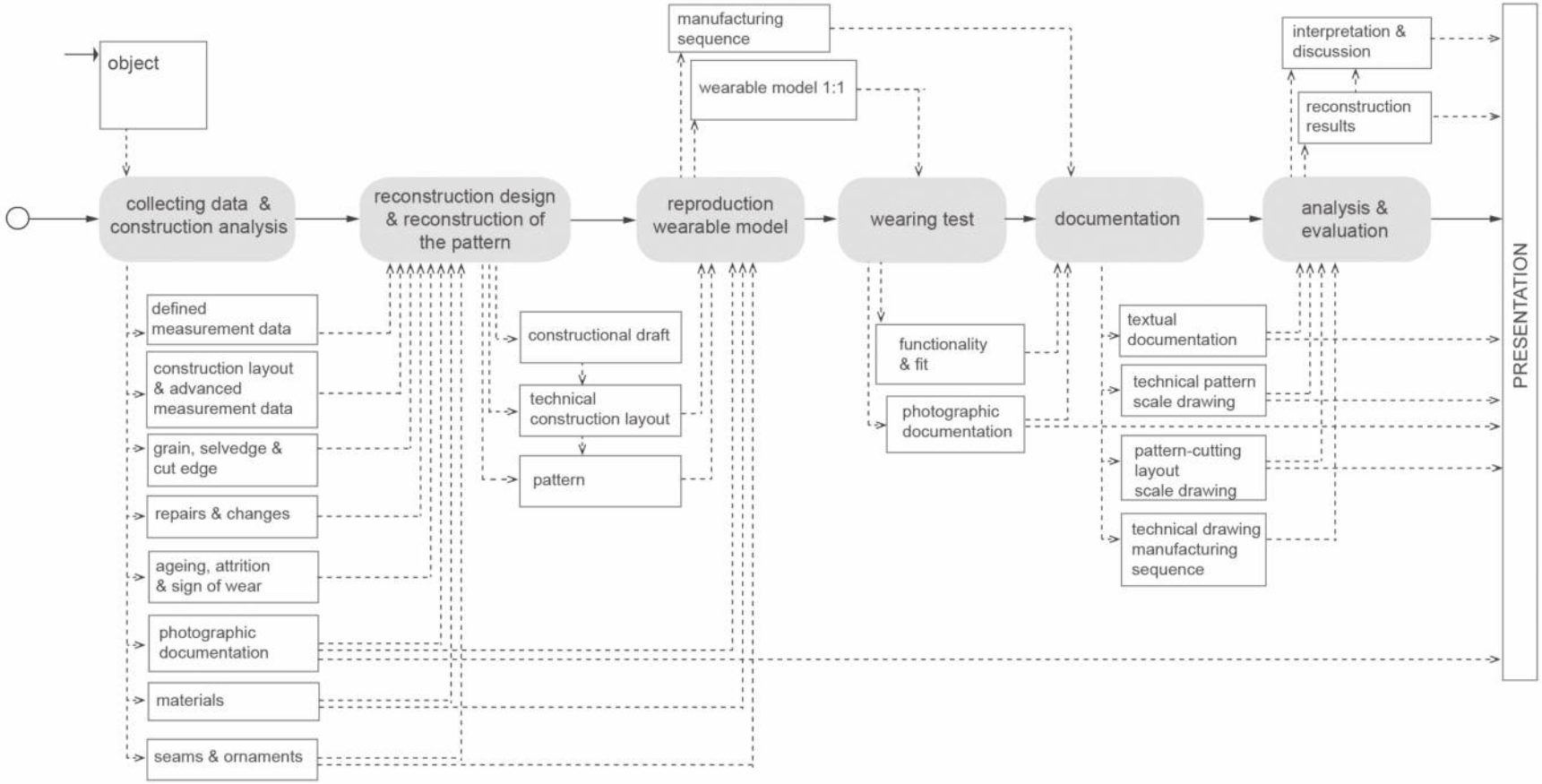


Fig. 2.2. Diagram of the reconstruction methodology and overview of the different steps: grey areas reveal research and reconstruction actions. The framed boxes represent the acquired knowledge and research results. Method and diagram: Ulrike Beck.

Also, the woollen skirts raise many questions: why was this enormous amount of material, artistry and time-consuming processing invested in the production of the skirts? How does their unusual construction work? What were the skirts used for, and what strategies are behind their exceptional design?

How clothing is produced and used is distinctive for a society. The skirts from Shampula seem to be constructed around their colourful tapestry bands. Technical analysis, reconstruction and functional tests of the remarkable design and the unusual construction of the skirts allow us to learn more about their manufacturing strategies and might help to characterize a part of the culture that has created them.

Unusual dimensions: measurements and construction of the skirts

The particular large and heavy skirts are constructed according to a recurring principle from different horizontal bands of usually plain fabric (Schorta 2001, 87; Beck 2018, 189–195), each with specific material properties. The exceptional principle of the skirt construction is due to the particular arrangement of the different skirt parts and their characteristic processing: in each case, the upper band of the skirt construction forms a waistband. The second band from above forms the skirt part as such and defines the length of the skirt. It consists of either one wider band or several compound narrow bands. Up to the waistband, it lies in deep pleats for an extra width of the skirt. Below the main skirt part, a tapestry band featuring complex, colourful, varied motifs is inserted in the construction. It is the only pictorial decoration of the skirts (Schorta 2001, 87). Finally, the lower ending of the skirt is formed by a tightly pleated, extra-large hem constructed of heavy woollen braiding.

The length of the fully preserved skirts varies from 95 to 125 cm (Urumqi, Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology, inv. nos 92M6:204, 92M6:197A, 92M6:168 and 92M3:E; see Schorta 2001, 87), and a partly preserved skirt in the collection of the Abegg-Stiftung had initially presumably even a length of 135 cm (Abegg-Stiftung, inv. no. 5162; Schorta 2001, 87). However, the width of the skirts, in particular, reveals their extraordinary dimensions: laid in deep pleats below the waistband, it only opens fully at the level of the decorative tapestry bands. There, it varies from 182 to 350 cm (Urumqi, Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology, inv. nos 92LSIIM3:cA-1, 92M6:204, 92M6:168 and 92M3:E; see Schorta 2001, 87; Beck 2018, 192) to even 502.5 cm by a skirt from the collection of the Abegg-Stiftung (Schorta 2001, 87). In addition to the enormous skirt width, tightly pleated skirt hems constructed of heavy woollen braiding are attached at the lower edge of the tapestry band. As a rule, they are composed of two to three separately manufactured woollen bands and are 15 to 21 cm wide (Schorta 2001, 89; Beck 2018, 192). Unfolded, they can reach up to six times the length (Urumqi, Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology, inv. no. 92LSIIM3:cA-1; see Beck 2018, 192) of the skirt's width.

The results of the reconstruction of the Shampula skirt (Urumqi, Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology, inv. no. 92LSIIM3:cA-1) demonstrate a more detailed picture of the general construction principle of the skirts. The Shampula skirt consists of the same basic principle of the waistband, main skirt part, decorative tapestry band and a heavy braided hem, whereas in this case the main skirt part is constructed of only one wider fabric (Fig. 2.3). The waistband has a height of 15 cm and initially a total width of about 92 cm. The waistband very likely consisted of three parts, of which only the middle has been preserved. It is trimmed on both sides with a doubled seam allowance and has a width of 22 cm. To the top of the waistband, it ends with a selvedge. On its lower edge, it is trimmed with a seam allowance. The main skirt part has a length of 51 cm and a width of 182 cm (Beck 2018, 192). Thus, the reconstructed Shampula skirt belongs to the narrower constructed versions in the group of the woollen skirts.

The weaving direction of the fabric that forms the skirt part runs across the three-dimensional construction of the skirt. Consequently, the fabric ends on both sides of the waistband and the tapestry band with a selvedge. Its additional width was laid in 4 to 5 cm deep pleats below the waistband. The tapestry band is folded lengthwise in this skirt before being integrated into the construction. Unfolded, it is 19 cm wide and 182 cm long. Only the motifs of its upper half of 9.5 cm can be seen in the skirt's construction. Its lower half is hidden in the inner part of the skirt (Beck 2018, 189–193). However, this is an exception. Usually, the tapestry bands have been incorporated in their full width, and their colourful decorative figures and motifs are presented entirely in the design of the skirts.

The hem of the skirt is constructed of two separately manufactured and lengthways sewn bands of woollen braiding. The upper band is 15.5 cm wide, and the lower 6 cm (Beck 2018, 192–193). In total length, the tightly pleated hem reaches about 11 m, six times the skirt's width.

Woven structures: the colours and weaves of the skirts

The fabrics that form the waistband and the main skirt part are either produced in balanced tabby or warp-faced tabby, extended tabby 2/2 or 2/2 twill and are generally woven rather tightly (Schorta 2001, 88). In particular, the bands that form the waistband seem to be worked in a generally firm and tight fabric. The remaining weaving widths of the individual bands range from 10.5 and 12.5 cm (Abegg-Stiftung, inv. nos 5156, 5157, 5165, 5161 and 5160) to 58 cm (Urumqi, Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology, inv. no. 92M6:197B; see Schorta 2001, 88) and up to 91

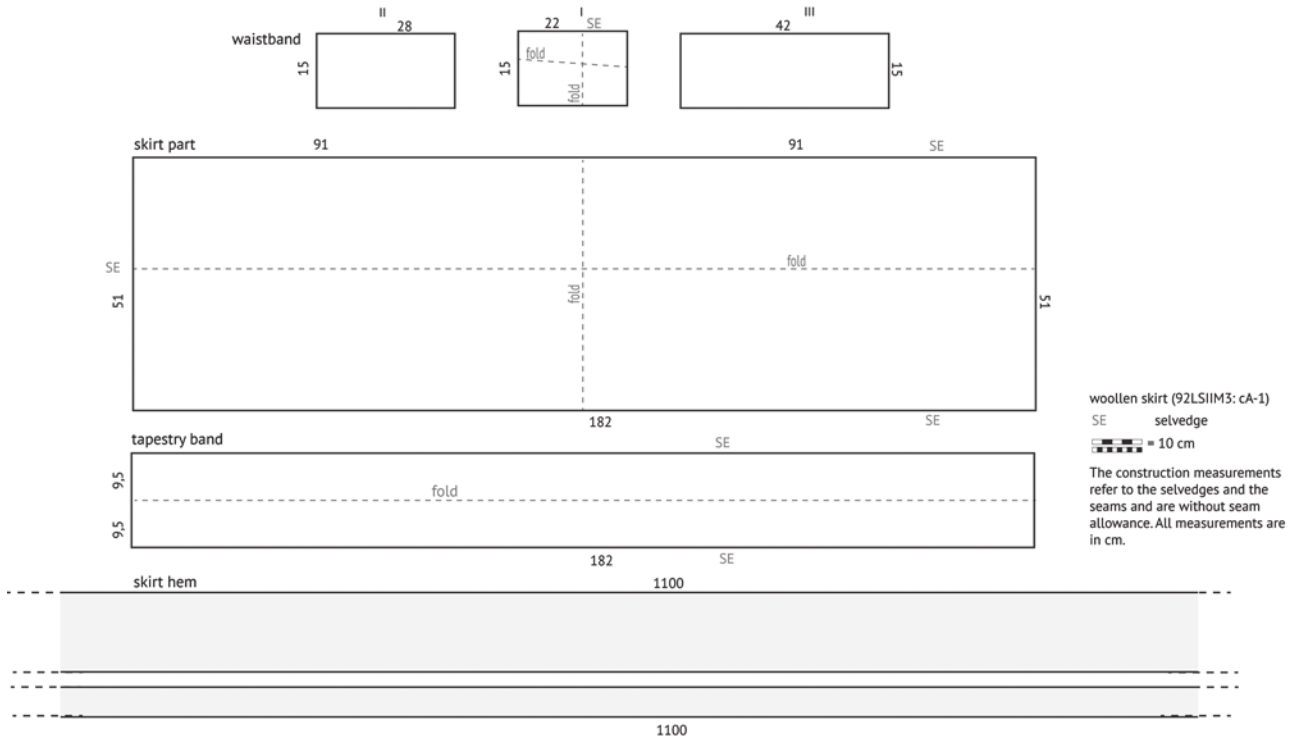


Fig. 2.3. Construction layout and measurements of a woollen skirt from Shampula (Urumqi, Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology, inv. no. 92LSIIM3:cA-1). The skirt hem reaches about 11 m, six times the skirt's width. Reconstruction and technical drawing: Ulrike Beck.

cm (Urumqi, Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology, inv. no. 92LSIIM3:cA-1; see Beck 2018, 192).

However, many of the narrower fabrics of about 12 to 15 cm (Schorta 2001, 88; Beck 2018, 192) used for the skirts show a selvedge on one side and a trimmed cut edge on the other. They are most likely cut from wider fabrics to fit into the construction. The technically outstanding 5 to 25 cm wide tapestry bands of the skirts are woven in tapestry technique and show a wide variety of motifs. They consist of radiant-coloured weft threads, mostly Z-spun and various warp threads in natural browns, mainly in S two-ply, Z-spun (Schorta 2001, 81). They are decorated with pictorial scenes or geometric motifs and show reindeer, camels, horses, goats, butterflies and birds in stylized mountains, trees and flowers, but also mythological creatures (Bunker 2001, 24). Thus, they form the centrepiece in the design of the colourful skirts.

The woollen bands in various widths that build the hem of the skirt were made of firmly Z-spun woollen threads, which, with a few exceptions, were always taken triple, making the fabric very thick and heavy (Schorta 2001, 89). The structure of the braided bands is built of balanced flat oblique interlacing with longitudinal ridges, which were made with up to 179 elements, whereby the braiding achieves unusual dimensions (Schorta 2001, 89–90). Together with the technical analysis of the weaves, the general construction principle of the skirts demonstrates that the different fabrics and their specific structures and material properties were always used for certain positions in the three-dimensional construction of the skirts.

Seams and decorations

The specific use and combination of the different seams are crucial for the three-dimensional design of the skirts. First, the various construction parts of the skirts are joined, in which the edges are abutted and sewn together by an overcast stitch or exposed seam (Fig. 2.4) with yellow, brown or red woollen sewing thread (Beck 2018, 170). For the horizontal seams, a yellow S-ply cord was fastened as decoration while stitching the seam (Schorta 2001, 87; Beck 2018, 189, 193). As a general rule, the existing cutting edges were already trimmed with a double inward-laid seam allowance and a fine, overcast stitch before the fabrics were sewn together. This technique was also used by other garments in Shampula Xinjiang (Beck 2018, 140–141).

The deep pleats below the waistband are generally held in place by a narrow running stitch (Beck 2018, 192–193), in some cases also by a more noticeable, wide chain stitch with a particularly thick decorative thread (Abegg-Stiftung, inv. no. 5162; see Knaller and Schorta 2001, 121). The overlong skirt hems are made of different seams according

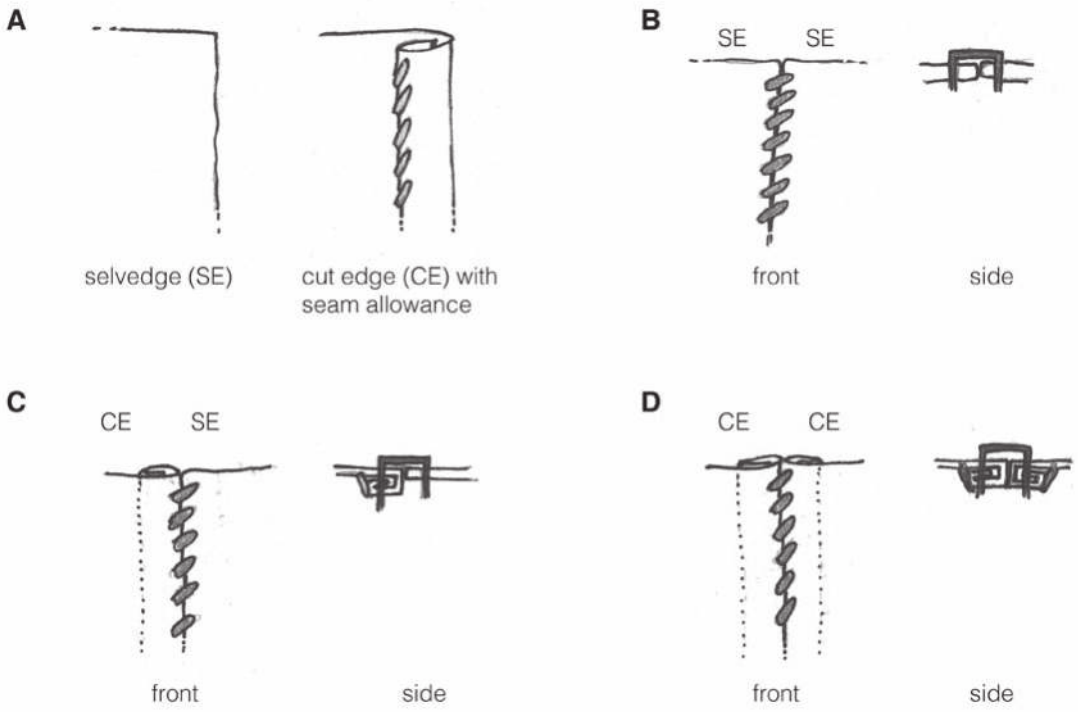


Fig. 2.4. The different seams of the skirts: the existing cutting edges of the different skirt parts were trimmed before sewing with doubled seam allowances, and then the construction parts were stitched together with an overcast seam. Technical drawing: Ulrike Beck.

to a general principle: a tight and regular overcast seam joins the individual elements of the skirt hems. A combination of parallel running stitches and an overcast seam creates the narrow pleats. Finally, the skirt hems are sewn to the tapestry bands with tight and regular overcast stitches, holding a yellow S-ply woollen cord as decoration (Schorta 2001, 87; Beck 2018, 189, 193).

Interweaving techniques: the manufacturing method of the skirts

The reconstruction of the manufacturing method of the skirts illustrates that the fashioning of the individual construction parts involves specific pleating and sewing techniques to process the enormous volume of the skirt hems steadily and create a three-dimensional flexible structure. As well as the construction of the skirts, the manufacturing method follows a general principle:

1. The individual construction parts of the skirt (Fig. 2.5.A) were trimmed before sewing. Therefore, the cutting edges of the fabrics were folded inwards twice on the left side of the fabric, and the doubled seam allowances were stitched with an overcast seam (Fig. 2.5.B).
2. Then, the different construction parts were sewn together: in the case of the reconstructed Shampula skirt (Urumqi, Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology, inv. no. 92LSIIM3:cA-1), the tapestry band was folded lengthways (Fig. 2.5.B) and then attached with the fold downwards to the main skirt part in an overcast stitch (Fig. 2.5.C). While stitching, a yellow woollen cord was fastened along the seam line. Likewise, the three separate waistband parts were joined with an overcast stitch to form the waistband of the skirt (Fig. 2.5.C).
3. The width of the main skirt part was placed in 4 to 5 cm deep pleats at the upper edge of the fabric, and the pleats were stitched with a running stitch parallel to the selvedge. Then, the pleated edge was joined to the waistband by a tight overcast seam (Fig. 2.5.D).
4. The processing technology of the overlong woollen hems is remarkable. First, the individual elements of the skirt hems were sewn together with a tight and regular overcast stitch (Fig. 2.5.D), then the full hem was piece-dyed together with the seams.
5. To create the tight pleats of the heavy skirt hems, two parallel seams were stitched into the braiding just below the upper selvedge in a running stitch with a broad, uniform seam pattern (Fig. 2.5.E–F). Afterwards, the fabric was gathered at the double running seams (Fig. 2.5.G–H). After the fabric has been gathered, the hundreds of tight pleats at the upper selvedge remain in the depth of their folds and form a three-dimensional

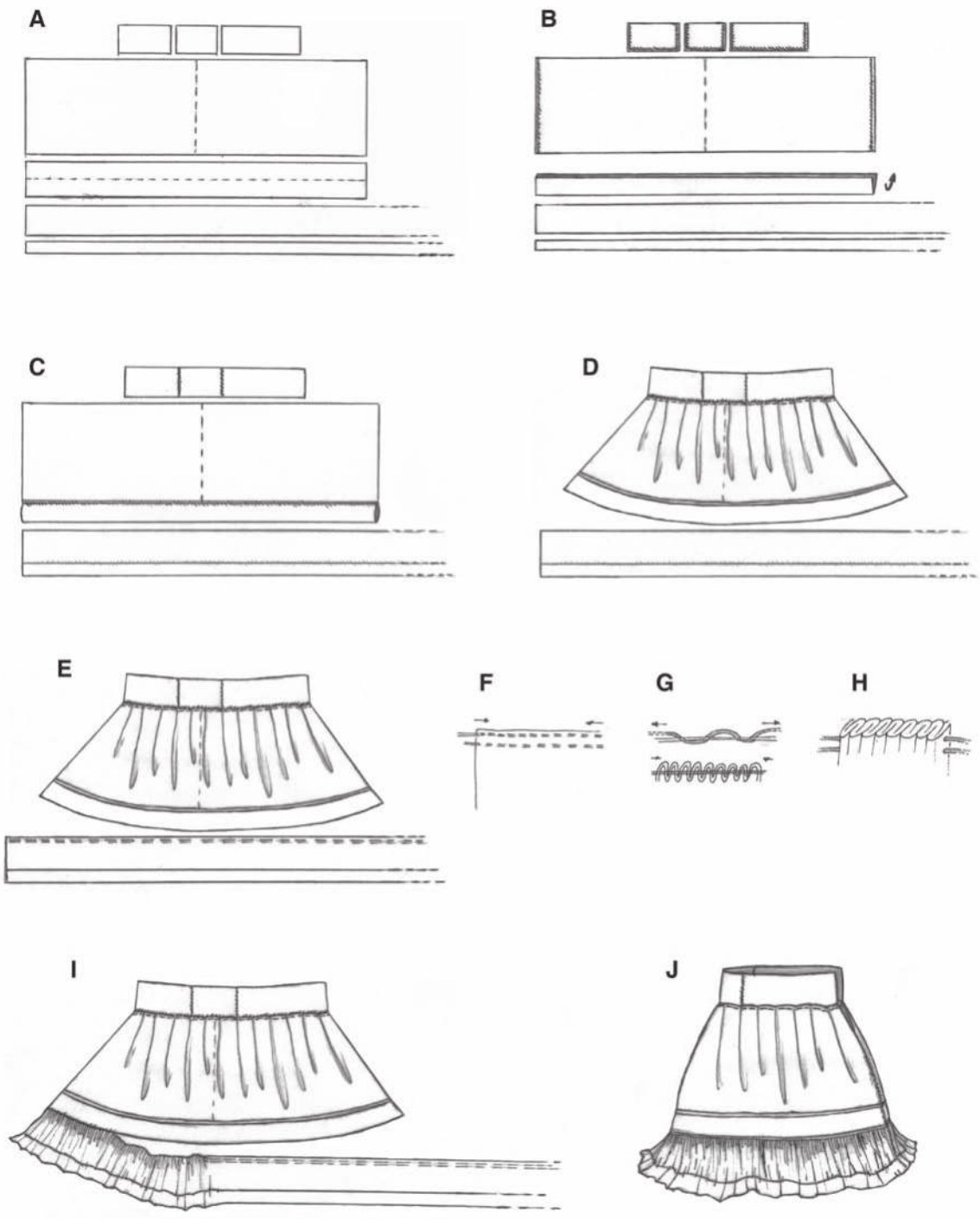


Fig. 2.5. The manufacturing method of the skirts illustrates that the fashioning of the individual construction parts involves specific pleating and sewing techniques to manufacture the enormous volume of the skirt hems steadily and create a three-dimensional flexible structure. Technical drawing: Ulrike Beck.

edge of about 10 mm depth (Fig. 2.5.H). This voluminous, tightly pleated edge was then connected to the tapestry band above with a tight and regular overcast stitch in which a yellow woollen cord was fastened while stitching (Fig. 2.5.I).

6. Finally, the skirt was closed at the side with an overcast seam (Fig. 2.5.J).

Textile architects: the skirt's design and the interrelation of their components

The extraordinary design of the skirts consistently combines material properties, processing technologies and concepts of colour and texture with the three-dimensional construction. The different materials used for the skirts were explicitly coordinated for their respective function as part of the construction. The tightly woven bands building the waistband and the main skirt part, together with the strong assembly seams, ensure sufficient stability to hold the heavy, voluminous skirts. The reconstructed skirt (Urumqi, Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology, inv. no. 92LSIIM3:cA-1) features even differentiated material properties from the waistband to the skirt part. The waistband is particularly robust and tightly woven, as it holds the entire weight of the skirt when worn, whereas the skirt part is woven slightly more loosely, which gives the construction sufficient stability, but at the same time allows softer movements of the overall skirt length.

When the main parts of the skirts were built from several bands, the coloured fabrics were consistently composed of alternating shades. The colour change of the bands is usually designed rich in contrast and alternates, for example, between a deep red and a dark brown (Urumqi, Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology, inv. no. 92LSIIM6:168, Sampula in Xinjiang 2001, 210), or it is designed even in complementary colours, such as a bright deep red and light yellow-green (Abegg-Stiftung, inv. no. 5162). Thus, it is almost impossible to match the colour of the assembly seams to the alternating shades of the bands. Due to the consistent colour change, the seam is always noticeable, at least on one of the two colour shades of the fabrics. Instead, yellow, dark brown and sometimes even red sewing thread was used, and a yellow decorative cord consistently covered the seams. The cord-accentuated seams create an additional contrast between the alternating-coloured fabrics and contrast the shifting colours in the skirts even more.

As the only pictorial decoration, the tapestry bands are incorporated directly above the heavy hems in the construction of the skirts. Their colourful motifs do not display a centralized structure. Instead, as a rule, the motifs run from the left to the right (Keller 2001, 11). Therefore, the tapestry bands are perfectly suitable design elements for these opulent skirts. The specific arrangement of the motifs implies that they either have been explicitly designed and produced as a significant part of the skirts to be used in the construction of the garments and the three-dimensionality. Alternatively, they have been very skilfully integrated into the design of the skirts.

In the case of the reconstructed skirt from Shampula (Urumqi, Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology, inv. no. 92LSIIM3:cA-1), the tapestry band was folded in and filled with various scraps of fabric. Apparently, the functionality of the construction was of more concern than the motifs. The tapestry band may have been folded and doubled to give the heavy garment sufficient stability because the different weaving qualities of the tapestry bands described by Schorta (2001, 81) also influenced the stability of the finished garment. It may have been folded to intentionally hide the lower part of the images or, instead, to fill the tapestry with scraps of fabric, thereby giving it additional volume so that its motifs could be better seen when worn.

The specific material properties of the overlong skirt hems are crucial for the functioning of the hems in the finished garments. In contrast to the waistband and the main skirt part, they are made of braided material. Due to the quality of their textile structure, they are remarkably flexible and allow wildly flowing movements. Their volume, instead, supports the significant nature of their characteristic folds. This intentionally differentiated use of weave and braiding for specific parts and their particular functioning in the finished garments were also used in other clothes from the same graves at the Shampula site. For example, similarly manufactured flexible braided bands were used as close-fitting standing collars or sleeve cuffs in tunics to significantly improve their functionality and fit (Beck 2018, 146, 182–184). Therefore, it must be assumed that the choice of the braiding, its specific material properties and the consistent construction of the hems were intentionally chosen for their specific function in the skirts.

The core component of this unusual concept is to lay the pleats of the overlong hems exceptionally tightly to the point that they form a three-dimensional structure in the finished garment. As a result, the depth of the folds remains three-dimensional thanks to the voluminous braiding and thus forms a 10 mm wide upper edge of the hem, which was joined to the tapestry band. The doubled running seam hidden inside the folds allows a vast number of pleats to be evenly distributed over a narrow length while keeping the pleats' structure steady when moving. While the pleats are kept tight on the hem's upper edge, they open to their full width due to the cross-seams below. This complex manufacture and the almost sculptural use of the various seams create a tremendous weight, especially in the lower part of the skirts, and opens the silhouette of the skirts in the lower 20 cm to the entire width of their overlong deep red hems.

This extraordinary and consequently maintained construction of the skirts features a consistent and reoccurring

Fig. 2.6. Reconstruction and wearing test of a woollen skirt from Shampula (Urumqi, Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology, inv. no. 92LSIIM3:cA-1) manufactured in the 1st century AD in Xinjiang. The unique design of the artfully crafted skirt is revealed when worn and in motion. The skirt floats in slow undulations around the body and changes direction with every step. The hems' textile waves flow especially slow and steady around the body and draw attention to the artfully crafted tapestry bands. Photographs: Ulrike Beck; model: Deva Schubert.

Fig. 2.7. Reconstruction and functional test of a woollen skirt from Shampula (Urumqi, Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology, inv. no. 92LSIIM3:cA-1) manufactured in the 1st century AD in Xinjiang. The functional test reveals that the three-dimensional structured, tight pleats of the Shampula skirt's hems stabilize and reveal the artistic tapestry bands. Simultaneously, the upper part of the skirt remains flexible. Therefore, the tapestry motifs were exceptionally well presented when worn. Photo: Ulrike Beck; model: Deva Schubert.

material and colour concept. It is complex, time-consuming and requires extraordinary craftsmanship, technological knowledge and the use of enormous amounts of material. The consistent commitment to these different qualities can be explained by the specific behaviour of the skirts when worn and in motion.

Functional wearing test: design for motion and the magic of the pleats

The skirts were worn with woollen ribbons as belts, which are partly still preserved (Urumqi, Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology, inv. no. 92LSIIM6:204; see Wang and Xiao 2001, 68; Sampula in Xinjiang 2001, 217). The traces and deep folded edges in the remaining part of the reconstructed waistband of the Shampula skirt (Urumqi, Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology, inv. no. 92LSIIM3:cA-1) imply that the waistband was worn initially folded inwards, and the belt was carried through the inside. In other cases, the belt was girdled, most likely around the outside (Wang and Xiao 2001, 68). The large opening in the side seam of the reconstructed skirt (Urumqi, Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology, inv. no. 92LSIIM3:cA-1) from the waist downwards implies that the waistband of the wider skirts could be worn overlapped (Beck 2018, 189–195).

The unique design of the artfully crafted skirts is only revealed when worn. Their different skilfully combined construction elements interrelate in motion: the skirts float in slow undulations around the body (Fig. 2.6) and change direction with every step of their wearer (Beck 2018, 192–195). Simultaneously, the flaming textile waves flow especially slowly and steadily around the body and draw attention to the artfully crafted designs displayed on the tapestry bands.

The skirt's exceptionally steady and bell-bottomed motions are created by their sophisticatedly combined weight, length and enormous width, specific construction and specifically manufactured hems. As a result, the main part of their enormous weight lies explicitly in the lower part of their construction and, thus, strongly influences their balance and behaviour in motion. In their combination, these design and construction elements create an extraordinary momentum, a particularly slow floating movement and a change of direction with every move. The vast and heavy hem sets in motion and swings in a wavelike manner around the entire skirt with every step. With each new step, the undulated movement changes direction and the hem swings back in the opposite direction.

Due to the unique structure of the hem, which holds the pleats tight on the upper edge and simultaneously opens them to the lower hemline, the undulating effect even intensifies. At the same time, the tight folds of the hem stabilize the tapestry bands above, revealing them when worn (Fig. 2.7), whereby their motifs and designs are highlighted. Combined with the vividly coloured tapestry bands, the skirt hems appear worn like a sea of flaming deep but brilliant red pleats, whose waves dance across the ground and set the colourful designs, fabulous creatures and abstract plant motifs in motion.

The skirt's creators' strategies

The distinguished construction concept of the skirt's creators elaborately combine the pictorial presentations and the textile arts and crafts of the unique tapestry bands with the three-dimensional design of the garments to accomplish the remarkable effect of the skirts when worn. The creators of the skirts have obviously artfully integrated the movement of the garments as a crucial design element and, based on their knowledge and technical skills, strategically developed and skilfully combined different techniques. As a result, they could implement this extraordinary effect of the skirts exclusively with woollen fabrics of different quality and structures in combination with various processing technologies.

The design of the skirts implies that the craftspeople had a very good understanding of the motor function and skilfully used the principles of balance between tight-fitting and freely swinging elements in clothing construction to achieve the desired effect of the skirts when worn. The design concept of the skirts is beyond mere fabric decoration or proper functionality. The specific selection of the material properties for certain skirt parts, the manufacture of the enormous amount of material in the hem, the quality of the pleats and the intentional distribution of the enormous weight of the skirts in their lower part are all together in their combination a strategically, technically and intellectually distinguished accomplishment.

Opulent designs and efficient material use

The sublime effect of the garments was worth using an enormous amount of elaborated hand-woven fabric. However, the reconstruction of the opulent designed wide and heavy skirts reveals that the craftsman skilfully and efficiently used their materials. Furthermore, the manufacture of the fabrics, their cutting edges and selvedges imply that the three-dimensional construction of the skirts was dynamically adapted to the existing materials and their weaving widths and lengths according to certain principles.

Today, the construction of a garment is typically designed first, and only then the necessary fabrics are chosen accordingly. In contrast, in Shampula, the concept of these skirts has been dynamically adapted to the available fabrics. Either the entire weaving widths were integrated into the skirt's construction or, instead, different coloured fabrics were cut precisely to build in combination the desired alternating coloured bands of the main skirt part, probably without any

waste at all – even producing these overlong hems; if the various bands of the hem were not the same length, they were not cut but instead integrated into the construction by gathering the longer pieces (Beck 2018, 198). These dynamic constructing principles for garments, which could be efficiently and variably adapted to available fabrics, and weaving widths, can also be observed on various other garments from the second half of the 1st millennium BC in Xinjiang (Beck 2018, 198–204).

The traces of wear on the materials, existing patches and repairs (Bunker 2001, 23) and the sometimes very different seam patterns imply that the skirts have been intensively repaired and reworked. Even fabrics with previous other functions were certainly efficiently integrated and recycled into these opulent constructions.

This construction concept indicates that even though the skirts were opulently and artistically designed, the required material was used efficiently, and the available fabrics were skilfully integrated into the skirt's construction.

The tapestry, the striped skirt fashion and the pleats

Such colourful skirts built from different bands were worn not only in Shampula but also over larger areas in Xinjiang and even in the Altai Mountains in southern Siberia (Bunker 2001, 32; Polos'mak 2001, 104–105). In Xinjiang, similarly, striped skirts have been found on various sites, such as Subeshi (Wang 1999, 102; Mallory and Mair 2000, 220, pl. VI, ill. 132), Quiemo (Bunker 2001, 32) and Cherchen (Barber 1999, 61, pl. 5b). However, skirts found on sites other than Shampula are always without the pictorial design of the tapestry bands, as is typical for the Shampula skirts. Nevertheless, the artistic tapestry bands are not the only distinguishing feature of the Shampula skirts that all other skirts of that fashion seem to be missing. In addition, the overlong hems with hundreds of tight pleats are a particular detail of the skirts from Shampula. Therefore, the assumption that the unusual hem construction of the Shampula skirts is directly linked to the artistically crafted tapestry bands is obvious.

The scientific functional tests reveal that the three-dimensional structured, tight pleats of the Shampula skirt's hems stabilize and unfold the artistic tapestry bands. At the same time, the upper part of the skirt remains flexible (Fig. 2.7). Therefore, the motifs of the tapestry are exceptionally well presented when worn.

It seems that the design of the overlong tightly pleated hems and their unusual manufacture was developed for precisely this purpose: to invest this tremendous amount of material and time to skilfully draw attention to the motifs of the artistic tapestry bands. Thereby, the Shampula skirts would indeed have been constructed around the artful tapestry bands that form their colourful centrepiece.

Conclusion

Concerning their specific construction and design, the woollen skirts from Shampula are technical masterpieces. The outstanding concept of the skirts artfully combines the textile craft and the pictorial motifs of the tapestry with their three-dimensional construction.

The skirts are explicitly designed for motion: when worn, they flow in slow undulations around the body and change direction with every step. Their flaming deep but brilliant red textile waves swing particularly slowly around the body and draw attention to the artfully crafted tapestry.

The particular large and heavy skirts are constructed according to a recurring principle from different horizontal bands of fabric. Their extraordinary design consistently combines material properties, processing technologies and concepts of colour and texture. Furthermore, the different materials used for the skirts were explicitly coordinated for their respective function as part of the overall construction.

Thus, the creators of the skirts have artfully integrated the specific motion of the garments as a crucial design element. Furthermore, the design of the skirts implies that their creators had a very good understanding of motor function and skilfully used the principles of balance between tight-fitting and freely swinging elements in the clothing construction to achieve the desired effect of the skirts when worn. Accordingly, they not only created vivid colours and produced elaborate fabrics, but also artfully mastered the three-dimensional construction of their garments.

For what reason the skirts might have been used remains vague. We know little about their creators; apparently, the skirts as objects remain the only clue. However, the fashionable and vivid design of the skirts, their sea of flaming deep but brilliant red pleats, whose waves dance across the ground and set the colourful motifs in motion, illustrate their creators' creative drive and ingenious use of technologies, resources and knowledge.

Acknowledgements

This study is a contribution to the InnoTexGes research project. Without the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (Grant 01UL1917X), it would not have been possible. I also express my warm gratitude to Gesche Joost, Professor of Design Research at the Berlin University of the Arts, for providing the project with kind support and the necessary infrastructure for the research. Furthermore, I heartfully thank the Abegg-Stiftung in Riggisberg, Switzerland, for kindly providing excellent photographs of the exceptional textile finds from their collection for this publication.

Bibliography

Barber, E. W. (1999) *The Mummies of Ürümchi*. New York and London, W. W. Norton.

Beck, U. (2018) *Kleidung des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. in Xinjiang. Schnittentwicklung zwischen Funktionalität, Ästhetik und Kommunikation*. Regensburg, Schnell and Steiner.

Beck, U. and Martin Jess, M. (2021) How a Technical Innovation in Ancient Textile Industry Pioneered a New Way of Thinking. *Interface Critique* 3, 151–169.

Bunker, E. C. (2001) The Cementery at Shanpula Xinjiang. Simple Burials, Complex Textiles. *Fabulous Creatures from the Desert Sands. Central Asien Woolen Textiles from the Second Century BC to the Second Century AD. Riggisberger Berichte* 10, 15–46. Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung.

Hofenk de Graaf, J. H. and van Bommel, M. R. (2001) Dyestuff Analysis of the Central Asien Woolen Textiles. A Contribution of Dyestuff Analysis to the Study and Knowledge of the Textile Fragments. *Fabulous Creatures from the Desert Sands. Central Asien Woolen Textiles from the Second Century BC to the Second Century AD. Riggisberger Berichte* 10, 137–148. Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung.

Keller, D. (2001) Fabulous Creatures from the Desert Sands. *Fabulous Creatures from the Desert Sands. Central Asien Woolen Textiles from the Second Century BC to the Second Century AD. Riggisberger Berichte* 10, 9–13. Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung.

Knaller, R. and Schorta, R. (2001) Catalogue. *Fabulous Creatures from the Desert Sands. Central Asien Woolen Textiles from the Second Century BC to the Second Century AD. Riggisberger Berichte* 10, 115–135. Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung.

Mallory, J. P. and Mair, V. H. (2000) *The Tarim Mummies. Ancient China and the Mystery of the Earliest Peoples from the West*. London, Thames and Hudson.

Mentges, G. (2005) Für eine Kulturanthropologie des Textilen. Einige Überlegungen. In *Kulturanthropologie des Textilen*, 11–39. Bamberg, Ebersbach and Simon.

North, S. (2006) *The Tudor Tailor. Reconstructing Sixteenth-Century Dress*. London, Batsford.

Polos'mak, N. V. (2001) Zur Kleidung der Pazyryk-Bevölkerung aus Ukok, Südaltaj. In R. Eichmann and H. Parzinger (ed.) *Migration und Kulturtransfer. Der Wandel vorder- und zentralasiatischer Kulturen im Umbruch vom 2. zum 1. vorchristlichen Jahrtausend. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte Band 6, Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums 23.–26. Nov 1999*, 101–126. Bonn, Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH.

Schorta, R. (2001) A Group of Central Asien Woollen Textiles in the Abegg-Stiftung Collection. *Fabulous Creatures from the Desert Sands. Central Asien Woolen Textiles from the Second Century BC to the Second Century AD. Riggisberger Berichte* 10, 79–114. Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung.

Wang, B. H. (1999) *The Ancient Corpses of Xinjiang*. Ürümqi, Xinjiang Renmin.

Wang Bo and Xiao Xiaoyong (2001) A General Introduction to the Ancient Tombs at Shampula, Xinjiang, China. *Fabulous Creatures from the Desert Sands. Central Asien Woolen Textiles from the Second Century BC to the Second Century AD. Riggisberger Berichte* 10, 47–78. Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung.

Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Museum (ed.) (2001) *Sampula in Xinjiang of China. Revelation and Study of Ancient Khotan Civilization*. Xinjiang, Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology.

3

The whirling dance of Baukis: reinterpreting our sources

Elena Miramontes Seijas

Among Greek dances, several figurines of heavily veiled women dancers from the Hellenistic period have been traditionally identified by scholars as performing the baukismós *or Ionian dance, with little justification. The aim of this chapter is to revisit all sources available in order to reach different conclusions, trying to answer the following questions:*

1. From the textual sources: how are the baukismós *and Ionian dances described? According to Pollux it was performed by men, something that Plautus seems to corroborate. What are the implications of this? Taking into account Horace's description of a girl learning the Ionian dance, is it possible that women learnt it, too? If so, what are the main features of the dance and what differences are to be assumed between male and female dancers? Can the figurines represent these dancers?*

2. From visual remains: what type of dance and movements are shown? Most of them seem to be spinning with their clothes closely attached to their body, either because of the material used (be it silk, sea-silk or thin linen) or because of the high speed of the whirling dance. Their veil determines their movements, avoiding the use of hands, which are occupied in manipulating the veil, but this also offers a specific image of the woman, so heavily dressed in society.

3. The 'Baker dancer': she does not seem to be spinning, but she is playing with a veil to delineate the shape of her body. Can she be performing a different dance? And why is she hiding her identity behind a veil over the face? Could that be part of a ritual or is it because of her status and the context of where she is dancing? Whatever the case, the veil complicates the spinning, not allowing her to fix her sight on one position.

Given the important role that poetry plaid in Greek culture, that Plato describes *mousiké* as the combination of playing an instrument (usually the lyra), singing and dancing (*Alcib.* I 108 c–d) and that Muses are usually depicted as both singing and dancing, it is probable that dancing itself played a relevant role in Hellenic society (Fitton 1973). This may explain the presence of a figure like Sappho's: women from the higher classes in the archaic period were supposed to be able to perform a series of religious rituals, which sometimes would require singing and dancing. Aside from this, they may have been asked to be able to compose poetry and perhaps play music, always appropriate for each ritual and context. Provided the complexity of Greek rhythms and metres, there is little doubt that they would need a deep knowledge on a variety of dances, songs and rituals, which required a wide preparation.

On the other side, there are not many texts referring to and describing dances in order to help us understand how they were performed, and some visual remains offer more doubts than answers. This reality, however, may have an explanation related to the religious sphere of dance: in a polytheist society, not only was the participation of all citizens essential to keep gods favourable, but writing and offering detailed visual representations of these rituals could be dangerous for the city. Offering too much information about how the favour of gods was attracted to the village

could have been perceived as a dangerous practice, similar to giving state secrets, providing the enemies the advantage of gaining divine help through the same rituals they had been conducting.

On the contrary, popular dances have been traditionally regarded as vulgar or without importance; as such, authors did not find the need to describe them.

The common acceptance of Greek dance as mimetic, trying to imitate the movement of different animals, and with the dancers even dressed with skins made from the represented animals, lets us understand its ritual dimension (Fitton 1973; Kowalzig 2007; Piccioni 2018; Lynch and Rocconi 2020). This evolved into a more complicated cult system and so dance changed into, for instance, a choral performance where girls and boys danced in a circle.

Among the visual remains we preserve, there is a series of figurines, showing female dancers which have attracted the attention of scholars, in part because of the captivating example that the so-called 'Baker dancer' has given us. After Thompson's article (1950), describing the aforementioned figurine, this and other similar statuettes, depicting heavily cloaked female dancers, are sometimes labelled either as 'Ionian' or as performing the '*baukismós*' dance mentioned in a few texts, but little explanation is given to this identification. Although it is nearly impossible to answer all questions with the material we have nowadays, this study tries to reconsider the implications of the sources accessible to us, to clarify the data and to draw some conclusions on them.

Textual remains

The *baukismós* dance is only mentioned in half a dozen passages:

1. Pollux, *Gramm. Onomasticon* 4.100 'καὶ βαυκισμὸς Βαύκου ὀρχηστοῦ κῶμος ἐπώνυμος, ἁβρά τις ὄρχησις καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐξυγραίνουσα καὶ στρόβιλος'
   '*and the baukismós, eponymous ode of Baukis the dancer, a certain dance, graceful, moistening the body and whirling-based*'
2. Hesychius, *Lexicon*, 367. 'βαυκισμός · Ἰωνικὴ ὄρχησις. καὶ εἶδος ᾠδῆς πρὸς ὄρχησιν πεποιημένον'
   '*baukismós: an Ionian dance. Also, a similar ode made for the dance.*'
3. Photius Lexicogr. et Scr. Eccl. Lexicon (A—Δ), Alphabetic letter beta entry 105. 'Βαυκισμός· Ἰωνικὴ ὄρχησις. οὕτως Ἀμειψίας'
   '*Baukismós: Ionian dance, similarly Ameipsias*'
4. Lexicogr. Etymologicum magnum, Kallierges, page 192 line 19. 'βαυκισμὸς, ὄρχησις'
   '*baukismós, a dance*'
5. Scholia in Aristophanem, in *Equites* (scholia vetera et recentiora Triclinii) verse-column 20a line 2. 'πόκινον: φυγήν, ποχώρησιν· ἔστι δὲ καὶ εἶδος ὀρχήσεως φορτικῆς ὡς ὁ βαυκισμός· οἱ δὲ μέλος'
   '*(a)pókinon: a flight, a progression: it is also a kind of vulgar dance such as the baukismós: and the melody*'
6. Scholia in Homerum, in *Iliadem* (scholia vetera) XXII.319b line of scholion 14. 'ἡ δὲ ἁπαλὴ ὄρχησις, μόθων καὶ βαυκισμὸς καὶ ποδισμός, ἅπαντα τοῖς μαλακοῖς δέδοται'
   '*the tender dance, the mothōn and the baukismós and the podismós, all having been offered by licentious people'*

Although the first four texts come from the Roman period or later, it is possible that at least Julius Pollux and the scholiasts could have seen this dance live in Alexandria. Both scholiasts classify this dance as proper of licentious people and vulgar. According to Pollux, it would have been based on the spinning of the dancer and it would have been created after a renowned male dancer called Baukis. Hesychius and Photius go further, situating its origins in Ionia, whereas the *Etymologicum Magnum* says nothing else rather than it is dance.

Both Pollux and Hesychius agree on a basic aspect of the dance: as other musical performances in Classical times, this particular dance was attached to a specific type of 'ode', implying that a particular genre of melody and song was created for it.

Even though the description is minimal, from Pollux it may be inferred that this was a vivid and energetic dance, provoking the exudation of the performer. He also describes it as 'graceful' or 'elegant', perhaps eliminating nakedness and vulgar movements from it.

On its Ionian origins, it is worth mentioning that Roman authors only mention dances from this region to mock their poor taste:

> Plautus, *Stichus*, 769 'Qui Ionicus aut cinaedicus<t>, qui hoc tale facere possiet?'
> '*Who is Ionian or inmodest, who could perform in such a way?*'
> Horatius, *Carmina*, 3.6.21. 'motus doceri gaudet Ionicos innupta virgo'
> '*The unmarried girl is happy being taught the Ionian moves*'

Both authors describe an immodest dance. This can be understood in a context where Romans disregarded Greek culture; although Greeks were not to be imitated in, for example, their ease at being naked in public, their culture was usually admired by Roman authors, particularly Horace, who, in his *Epistula* 1. 156–157, stated that 'Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis intulit in agresti Latio' ('*Conquered Greece took captive her savage conqueror and brought her arts into the rustic Latium*'). Plautus describes this dance as proper of '*cinaedi*' or homosexual men, which could find an explanation if we accept that this dance was first performed by a man. Nonetheless, Horace clearly states that it is a girl who is being introduced in this art and she is described as incestuous, implying that the Ionian was an indecent dance for both sexes.

Since many references to this dance are late, it is possible, on the one hand, that it had changed and evolved into something different by the time Horace or Pollux mentioned it. Since both Plautus and Pollux imply that the Ionian and the *baukismós* was a male dance, it is possible that this was originally performed by men and, perhaps, by the time of Horace, girls were also taught this art.

It is interesting to note that only the scholiasts and Roman authors understand this to be an indecent dance, whereas later authors never describe it as such. One could argue that they had not seen the dance themselves; however, the detail they provide on the spinning performed by dancers implies either that they had indeed seen it, or that they had access to a more detailed description than that which we preserve. Assuming that they were relying only on textual references, it is improbable that they would disregard the authority of the old scholiasts and Horatius regarding its morality. On the other hand, if they knew the dance, as mentioned above, it may have evolved into something different, eliminating some of its controversial features.

So, what was indecent in this dance that was not regarded as such by later authors? That is difficult to determine with the scarce sources we have. The most common theory is that the cloth used by the dancer was too thin, nearly transparent (Thompson 1950). Greeks would probably not approve such diaphanous cloths being worn by honest women, but the objections may have disappeared if a man was to wear it in an all-male context, something that Romans would certainly disapprove. Two words, however, point to the character of the dance itself, not to the clothing: together with '*cinaedicus*' in Plautus, we read the term 'ἁπαλὴ', '*tender, gentle*' in the *scholia* in Homer. The last may apply to feminine movements which, if performed by men, could be understood as improper and vulgar, explaining Plautus' perception.

To this we may add Pollux's description of the *baukismós* as 'στρόβιλος', whirling. If the dancer was wearing a long, wide robe made out of a thin material, not necessarily transparent, it would rise up to the belt or to the fastening device when whirling the body at a high and constant speed, thus showing the legs of the performer. It may be assumed that these dancers would not wear trousers, for they are a 'barbaric' creation, not entering Greek and Roman cities before the Late Roman Empire, although contact with Persian and Parthian peoples after Alexander's conquests may have allowed their use (perhaps they were later added, worn by dances by Pollux's times). However, the Ionian origins of the dance should not be forgotten: Ionia had been under Persian influence for centuries, accepting Eastern influences in many fields, and so it is possible that a male dancer would wear some kind of undergarment, hiding his *pudenda* and creating a non-offensive effect which, on the contrary, could also be understood as effeminate, for Roman and especially Greek men would only wear such garments on very limited occasions (on Eastern influences in the Hellenistic world, see Hall 2002).

If women began, at some point in history, to perform the *baukismós* dance, the use of several garments and veils would help prevent their *chitones* to rise too much and show more than was acceptable (even though a small portion of the leg was, indeed, shown). If we accept this theory, it is possible that the Hellenistic figurines of heavily veiled dancers represent them performing this dance, or a similar one (note that whirling seems to have been a basic step in Greek dances; Fitton 1973), although the sources are too vague to be able to assure that this is certainly true.

The figurines

The terracotta figurines that come from several parts of Greece show us heavily dressed women, wearing a *chiton* or other similar garment, hidden under a long veil which covers the head and the whole body down to the knees. They sometimes show their face and even uncover their head, perhaps due to the high motion of the dance, which is suggested by the folds of the cloth, which rise, separate from the body at the sides but stick to it at the front, due to its manipulation by the dancer, who tries to make her body-shape visible (Besques 1963; Friesländer 2001; Pisani 2006) (Fig. 3.1).

Even though the remains do not clarify whether these dancers were professionals, nor what type of material they were dressing (as is argued in Naerebout 2002), the detail in these statuettes seems to show actual movements, possible and realistic when dancing.

Several aspects are worth noting on them: on the one hand, the superimposition of several layers of cloth do not seem to be an impediment for the shape of the body to be perceived underneath. This, of course, could be an artistic licence, but, given the statuette's great detail, it does not seem unlikely that it does represent reality. If so, the thin material of the garments could explain why they stick to the body with movement. However, if we accept that these dancers are whirling at high speed, as the movement of their clothes seems to suggest, this movement in particular certainly creates the effect shown in the picture, whether the material is thin and transparent or thick and opaque (although the thicker the fabric, the less it would show of the body, even in motion).

On the other hand, the use of hands that the dancer shows is also interesting: her arms and hands are fully covered by the veil and seem to be moved in order to manipulate the drapery. If Greek dances were usually based on mimicry, as scholars suggest, the impossibility of using the hands makes this aspect of dance quite difficult to achieve.

Furthermore, the movement of arms beneath the veil implies that this was pinned to the *chiton* and even to the hair to prevent it from slipping and falling, showing more than

Fig. 3.1. Veiled dancer from Myrina, Louvre, Myr 660. After https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010282378 © 2006 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre / Hervé Lewandowski).

Fig. 3.2. Bronze, veiled dancer from Tanagra, MET Museum, 1972.118.95. https://www.metmuseum.org/fr/art/collection/search/255408. Part of the the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Open Access Policy.

what was desired and complicating even more its manipulation. Still, arms would have to be moved carefully, so that the fastening device, perhaps concealed over the shoulders, would not get loose and fail in its objective. Thus, with the upper body almost static or moving slowly, this dance in particular had to be based on quick movements preferably done with the lower body, as the motion of clothes suggests, which seems to corroborate the idea that this dance in particular would be based on whirling.

In addition, the specific position of both arms as shown by the figure seems to be carefully rehearsed to make the veil cling to the body. By doing this, the cloth not only adheres to the body, showing its shape better, but the dancer prevents the veil from lifting too much while spinning, thus keeping her modesty, creating the visually pleasant effect of clothes shown in the image and helping control the undergarment, which does not lift much, again, thanks to the weight of the veil. This also suggests that any fastening device for the veil must be placed over the shoulders, for this use of hands would not be needed if the veil was pinned by the hips and it would not open and raise if fastened to the *chiton* by the legs.

Mention must be made of the so-called 'Baker dancer', a bronze figurine of another female dancer which became greatly prized as a unique piece, even if we preserve some others, of similar quality and value (Martin 2007; Kiang 2008) (Fig. 3.2). The dancer is also concealing her arms, which move under the veil; although here she is actually hiding her upper body under her left arm and her right hand is shown, fastening the veil over the hips.

There are a few differences between this dancer and the previous one: first of all, her movements are slower, her clothes are barely moving. Perhaps a different type of dance is shown here, or perhaps this is a different moment of a similar dance, a quiet moment, maybe at the beginning or the end of the performance. It is worth noting that the foot we can see appearing from under her robe shows the dancer to be wearing a low kind of closed shoe, probably different from sandals, tighter and more comfortable for dance.

Besides, unlike the other figurine, the 'Baker dancer' hides her face under another piece of clothing, which falls from the forehead and only leaves two holes for the eyes (on the implications for the veiled dancer wearing this particular piece of fabric over her face, see Gherchanoc 2006 and Llewellyn-Jones 2003). If we accept, due to the great similarities in dress, that this dance is similar to the previous one, the main question regarding this particular figure is why she is hiding her face. The most obvious conclusion is that the dancer did not want to be recognized. Perhaps she was a courtesan performing for a wide audience and she decided to be anonymous, in order to avoid scandals among honest women.

However, since dance in Greece was closely related to sacred rituals, it is also possible that a high-status woman

performed the dance and decided to hide her face as an attempt to keep her virtue, being invisible for her audience even in the middle of her dance. The length and weight of her dress, together with the upper veil, as seen in the previous image, would also help to keep her legs hidden, even if spinning lifted it a little.

Nonetheless, covering her face also implied an extra restriction to her movements. It is well known that dancers of all countries, eras and disciplines have to strictly follow some basic guidelines when whirling several consecutive times at high speed: to keep balance and avoid dizziness, the dancer's body has to be perfectly straight, especially the back and neck, and her sight must focus on one point, keeping the head looking at it until a quick spin is necessary before returning the eyes to gaze at the same point.

The sole use of a veil over the head can make it difficult to look at the chosen point, but a veil over the face with eye-holes as small as the ones shown in the 'Baker dancer' figure makes it extremely hard, for unless one hand helps keep it perfectly in place, it will move and even the slightest separation from the face will cause the eyes to look at the fabric during the movement. This may explain why her left arm is placed over the chest, probably fastening the face covering, but it also brings a new level of difficulty to her performance that must be considered: whether her intention was to hide her identity or not, the addition of this piece of cloth makes her performance more complicated and so she shows a great mastery of the technique.

Final considerations

Even though figurines without a context are always difficult to interpret and it is not possible to eliminate all doubts on the reality they represent and their accuracy, comparing them with our written sources can provide more information.

Regarding the *baukismós*, if we accept Pollux's description, it would be based on the body spinning and would have a type of song and music composed specifically for it. The main problem with the ancient sources is the acceptance of Latin authors' description of this dance as immodest. However, the interpreter must consider the cultural differences between Rome and Greece (where male nudity, for instance, was socially accepted), but also the antique conception of modesty common to both cultures, which seems to eliminate female nudity as equally acceptable.

When looking at the statuettes, the motion of their clothes and the movement of their body, as it is perceived under their dress, show them performing a vivid dance, based on spinning, at least in part. Whether they represent the dance of Baukis or a similar one, they are depicted as very skilled dancers, capable of manipulating their veils so that they are girded around the body, both outlining its shape and securing the entire outfit, while whirling at high speed. To this, the 'Baker dancer' adds a new degree of difficulty by incorporating a veil over the face, impeding the sight and making the mastery of the spinning technique more complex.

Bibliography

Besques, S. (1954) *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre cuite grecs et romains. I, Époques préhellénique, géométrique, archaïque et classique*. Paris, Éditions des Musées Nationaux.

Besques, S. (1963) *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre cuite grecs et romains. II, Myrina*. Paris, Éditions des Musées Nationaux.

Besques, S. (1972) *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre cuite grecs et romains. III, Époques hellénistique et romaine, Grèce et Asie Mineure*. Paris, Éditions des Musées Nationaux.

Besques, S. (1986) *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre cuite grecs et romains. IV-I, Époques hellénistique et romaine. I, Italie méridionale, Sicile, Sardaigne*. Paris, Éditions des Musées Nationaux.

Busana, M. S., Gleba, M. and Meo, F. (ed.) (2018) *Textiles and Dyes in the Mediterranean Economy and Society: Proceedings of the VIth International Symposium on Textiles and Dyes in the Ancient Mediterranean World (Padova – Este – Altino, Italy, 17–20 October, 2016)*. Zaragoza, Libros Pórtico.

Bustamante-Álvarez, M., Sánchez López, E. H. and Jiménez Ávila, J. (ed.) (2020) *Redefining Ancient Textile Handcraft: Structures, Tools and Production Processes: Proceedings of the VIIth International Symposium on Textiles and Dyes in the Ancient Mediterranean World (Granada, Spain, 2–4 October 2019)*. Granada, Universidad de Granada.

Fitton, J. W. (1973) Greek Dance. *The Classical Quarterly* 23/2, 254–274.

Friesländer, E. (2001) The Mantle Dancer in the Hellenistic Period: Glorification of the Himation. *Assaph* 6, 1–30.

Gherchanoc, F. (2006) Le(s) voile(s) de mariage dans le monde grec: se voiler, se dévoiler. La question particulière des anakaluptêria. *Metis* 4, 239–267.

Hall, J. (2002) *Hellenicity. Between Ethnicity and Culture*. London and Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Jeammet, V. (ed.) (2003) *Tanagra: mythe et archéologuie*. Paris, Éditions des Musées Nationaux.

Kiang, D. (2008) The Baker Dancer. *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 15/4, 61–617.

Kowalzig, B. (2007) *Singing for the Gods. Performances of Myth and Ritual in Archaic and Classical Greece*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Llewellyn-Jones, L. (2003) *Aphrodite's Tortoise. The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece*. Swansea, Classical Press of Wales.

Lynch, T. and Rocconi, E. (2020) *A Companion to Ancient Greek and Roman Music. Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World*. New Jersey, Wiley.

Martin, N. (2007) Historiographie et réception d'un motif, la danseuse et la femme voilées en Grèce. In *Images et imagerie. Images militantes, images de propaganda. Actes du 132e Congrès national des sociétés historiques et scientifiques, Arles*, 249–259. Paris, Éditions du CTHS.

Médard, F., Brun, J.-P., Béal, J.-C., Borgard, P. and Maeder, F. (ed.) (2020) *L'artisanat du textile au Ier siècle après J.C.: vestiges textiles et outillages*. Naples, Centre Jean Bérard.

Naerebout, F. G. (2002) The Baker Dancer and Other Hellenistic Statuettes of Dancers. *Imago musicae. International Yearbook of Musical Iconography* 18–19, 39–63.

Olsen, S. (translated by Heudre, A.) (2017) Les danseuses en Grèce antique. Performance, capacité d'agir et divertissement. *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire* 46, 19–42.

Piccioni, A. (2018) Mimesis for a Cult: The Case of Western Greek Clay Figurines of Female Dancers. In H. L. Reid and J. C. DeLong (ed.) *The Many Faces of Mimesis*, 339–355. Sioux City, Iowa, Parnassos Press.

Pisani, M. (2006) The Collection of Terracotta Figurines in the British School at Athens. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 101, 269–368.

Siennicka, M., Pahmstorf, L. and Ulanowska, A. (ed.) (2018) *First Textiles: The Beginnings of Textile Manufacture in Europe and the Mediterranean: Proceedings of the EAA Session Held in Istanbul (2014) and the 'First Textiles' Conference in Copenhagen (2015)*. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Thompson, D. B. (1950) A Bronze Dancer from Alexandria. *American Journal of Archaeology* 54/4, 371–385.

4

Dance and metatheatre in Menander's *Theophoroumene*

Evangelia Keramari

Manuscripts and papyri of the surviving comedies of Menander do not include the choral songs played between the acts of the drama, even though they must have been present during the performances. Dance, however, is attested in one of the most known comedies of Menander, Theophoroumene*, performed not by the Chorus but by the actors themselves. Despite the popularity of this comedy, little light has been shed on these dance movements and the clothes worn by the characters in* Theophoroumene*. The aim of this chapter is to investigate various research questions that arise from this aspect of the play: how is dance depicted on the illustrations of this Greek comedy? What are the clothes and the colours used for this purpose? What is the role of the costume in this theatrical dance?*

The meagre textual evidence of Θεοφορουμένη *is supplemented by the numerous visual representations of this comedy on mosaics, wall paintings and figurines. A common feature of these illustrations is the theme of ecstatic dancing: two male youths and one young girl (*θεοφορουμένη*) play the instruments while dancing. Looking at the most prominent depictions of this play,* i.e., *the Dioskourides mosaic from Pompei (150–50 BC), Mytilene (3rd century AD) and Antioch (2nd–3rd century AD), it is clear that the youths, who have garlands on their heads, wear* chitons *without belts and lift their legs to dance. Dancing, it seems, requires freedom of movement and this is why their* chitons *are not girded – unlike the usual costume of the comic actors – but they follow the movement of their body. All the actors shown dancing also don a long narrow* himation*, like a scarf, which hangs from their shoulders and twirls around following the body movements.*

This type of ecstatic dance alludes to Corybantic dance rituals, surely known to the audience. As it would not be appropriate for young male citizens and girls to publicly dance in such a frantic way, even in the context of a play, the actors have adapted new roles within the play. In order for them to signify these changes of role and become dancers of the god, they have made an improvised costume by adding or changing garments (loose himations*, scarves, garlands etc.) over their usual comic attire. This gives a metatheatrical dimension to the comedy, as the actors temporarily step out of their usual role and costume and free their bodies and clothes with dance.*

Brief introduction to dance and metatheatre in New Comedy

At the end of the 5th century and the beginning of the 4th, the role of the choral dances has been significantly reduced during the performances of New Comedy. This is evident even in the last two extant comedies of Aristophanes, where the Chorus does not play as relevant a role to the plot of comic comedies as in the 5th century.[1] Manuscripts and papyri of the surviving comedies of Menander do not include the choral songs played between the acts of the drama, even though they must have been present during the performances. Usually, manuscripts bear the word XOPOY in the margins to indicate musical interludes. Evidence of dance, however, is not altogether lost to us in these plays of New Comedy. In fact, it is attested in one of the most well-known comedies of Menander, *Theophoroumene*.

Despite the popularity of this comedy, little light has been shed on these dance movements and the clothes worn

by the characters in *Theophoroumene*. The nature of this dance, however, is that it is not an ordinary one, but rather a ritual dance incorporated in a play and presented on the comic stage. This particularity means that the dance has a metatheatrical aspect. According to Abel (1963), who first defined the term 'metatheatre', when the characters of a comedy (or a tragedy) are aware that they are characters in a play or they refer to the theatre in general, then this is 'metatheatre'. Slater's (2000, 10) definition is also similar: 'I shall define metatheatre as a theatrically self–conscious theatre, *i.e.* theatre that demonstrates an awareness of its own theatricality'. Hornby (1986, 32) defines five categories of metatheatre or metadrama: 1. The play within the play; 2. The ceremony within a play; 3. Role playing withing the role; 4. Literary and real-life reference; 5. Self-reference.

As will be shown, the dance attested in *Theophoroumene* is actually a ritual dance and belongs to the second category of metatheatre, the ceremony within the play.[2] The aim of this chapter is to investigate how dance is depicted in the visual illustrations of this Greek comedy and the role of the costume in this theatrical-ritual dance. Hopefully this analysis will demonstrate that the clothes, and the manner in which they are worn, enable the actors to step out of their comic roles and give themselves to dance. This change of roles creates a play within the play and gives a metatheatrical tone to the comedy.

Dance in Θεοφορουμένη

The surviving fragments reveal that the plot involved two men and a young respectable girl who is (or pretends to be) possessed by god. The males decide to put her to test by playing corybantic music. The faith of one or the two in her suggests that he is probably in love with her. The meagre textual evidence of Θεοφορουμένη is supplemented by the numerous visual representations of this comedy on mosaics, wall paintings and figurines: a) mosaic in the 'House of Menander' in Mytilene, 3rd century AD (Fig. 4.1);[3] b) mosaic by Dioscourides of Samos, Pompeii, 'Villa de Cicero', 150–50 BC;[4] c) Napoli 'Villa in Campo Varano', AD 50–130;[5] d) mosaic (damaged) from Pompeii (Ufficio Scavi di Pompeii), no. 17735;[6] e) mosaic (damaged) from Pompeii, Ufficio Scavi di Pompeii no. 20545, 1st century BC–1st century AD;[7] f) mosaic from Crete (Kissamos), 4th century AD;[8] g) mosaic from Antioch (Daphne), 2nd to 3rd century AD.[9] Lastly, various Athenian coins have been found inscribed ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΥΜΕΝΗ, who depict three figures (young *kore*, servant, young man) and are dated around the 3rd century AD.[10]

The common feature of mostly all the visual depictions is that they show actors dancing to the sound of musical instruments. The mosaic from Mytilene depicts two youths (Lysias and Klenias), a slave (Parmenon) and a mute piper boy. Lysias is on the left, dressed in a long-belted white tunic and a green *himation* diagonally placed from the elbow to his waist; he holds a musical instrument and raises his right foot as in a dance step. There is no consensus on the nature of the instrument. Supposedly, it is a cymbal, but Nervegna (2010, 36) assumes it is a 'cymbal–shaped *tympanon*' and Gutzwiller and Çelik (2012, 608) identify a pair of cymbals. Kleinias on the far-right wears also a white tunic and a crimson *himation* that covers most of his body and holds a *tympanon*. The two figures take part in some kind of musical performance, as the instruments indicate. Lysias' foot movement is making the long tunic stretch, indicating the motion. The appearance of Klenias is very similar with another depiction on the mosaic from Daphne. In this mosaic, he is depicted at the centre of the scene wearing a white tunic decorated with two red vertical stripes which reaches his calves (his feet are white to indicate the comic costume underneath). He has no belt and, instead of the usual mantle, he has a blue scarf which hangs from his shoulder from the back to the front (Gutzwiller and Çelik 2012, 611–612).

The same male youths are also depicted in the mosaic of Dioscourides from Pompeii, presumably (as they are not inscribed) illustrating *Theophoroumene*: they are comic

Fig. 4.1. Scene from Θεοφορουμένη, mosaic from the triclinium of House of Menander (MM30319) in Mytilene. Ephorate of Antiquities of Lesbos © Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development (H.O.C.RE.D.)

actors, as their masks and comic undergarment indicate. On the left, a musician wears a yellow tunic and his white himation around his waist. He is playing cymbals and his body leans forward following the rhythm. On the right, another youth is dancing (his left foot is raised) holding with both his hands a *tympanon*. Both are garlanded on their heads and wear the mantle around their waist. The same scene is also depicted in the newly found mosaic in Kissamos, where two male youths play their instruments and lean towards each other (Markoulaki *et al.* 2004, 370–371).

According to Charitonidis (1970, 78), the costume of the two males is not worn in the usual way in comparison to other comic actors found in various comic scenes from mosaics: the crossing of the mantles is different (pinned on the left shoulder and not on the right) as well as their vivid colours (instead of the usual white). Charitonidis adds that this difference cannot be explained by their social class or the comic types in which they belong, but can only be interpreted by the circumstances of the comedy. Our hypothesis is that this altered appearance can be explained by the presence of the ritual dance. They have stripped down in order to free their movements. This is why they do not wear their usual belts and the mantle above the tunic, as it is customary of the comic actors. Instead, they have wrapped it around their waist or, in the case of Klenias, as depicted in the mosaic from Daphne, he has abandoned the *himation* altogether and he is dancing with only his tunic.

The addition of the colourful mantles on top of the customary (in theatre as well as in ritual) white tunic worn by the actors may have been chosen to denote the ritual element of the comedy. According to Cleland's (2002, 232–276) investigation of colours in ancient Greek cults, the majority of the inscriptions concerning appropriate clothing in ritual ceremonies testify to white tunic and brightly coloured mantles or mantles with decorations (woven or with flowers). Although it is not possible to know why the specific colours were used, it can be assumed that the choice of the costume in this comedy is related to the dance, an essential element of the play which guides the dramatic actions of the characters. Difficult as it may be to fully reconstruct the actual comic scene, the presence of the musical instruments, the rigorous dance of the men and the bright colours all add to a full sensory experience which includes sounds of the feet, music and movement.

Furthermore, the mosaic from Daphne is the only one that preserves the depiction of the young girl who gives the title of the comedy, the theophoroumene. The young actor (she has the mask of the young *kore* according to Pollux's description)[11] leans forward with only one foot touching the ground, her body is curved and she plays the cymbals. She wears a simple white *chiton* and a dark blue scarf, similar to that of Klenias in the same scene, leggings and sandals. The identity of the young girl is unknown, but the only surviving textual fragment (papyrus roll PSI 1280) of this comedy by Menander can shed some light on the painted scene: the central figure, a young girl (pretending to be) possessed by a god,[12] is being discussed, because she walks about outside wreathed, whereas she should be modestly staying home (lines 16–30):

[…] 'τἀμὰ δῶρ'', ἀκούεις; ἡ κόρη
'τὰ δῶρά' φησι 'τἀμά μ' ἐξείλονθ''. ὁ δὲ
'τί [δ'] ἔλαβες, ἱππόπο[ρ]νε; τὸν δὲ δόν[τα σοι
πόθεν οἶσθα τοῦτον; τί δὲ νεανίσκο.[ν κόρη;
ἢ σὺ τί λαβοῦσα στέφανον ἔξω περιπα[τεῖς;
μαίνει; τί οὖν οὐκ ἔνδον ἐγκεκλειμένη
μαίνει;'
(ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ) φλυαρεῖς. τοῦτό γ' αὐτό, Λυσία, οὐ προσποεῖται.
(ΛΥΣΙΑΣ) πεῖραν ἔξεστιν λαβεῖν.
εἰ θεοφορεῖται ταῖς ἀληθείαισι γάρ,
νῦν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐνθάδ' ἐκπηδή[σεται.
μητρὸς θεῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ κορυβάντ[ων
αὔλει. παράστα δ' ἐνθαδὶ πρὸς τὰς θύρας
τοῦ πανδοκείου.
(Κλ.)} νὴ Δί', εὖ γε, Λυσία,
ὑπέρευγε· τοῦτο βούλομαι. καλὴ θέα.

The two males, Lysias and Klenias, discuss the young girl with whom Klenias has probably fallen in love. The first interlocutor believes that the girl feigns possession of the god so he suggests a test: if the girl is indeed possessed, she will dance to the corybantic music. Although some researchers suggested that choral dance must follow after this scene (Handley 1969, 94–95; Gomme and Sandbach 1973, 404), there was no evidence until the discovery of the wall painting. It is noteworthy that the girl in the mosaic is garlanded as the fragment mentions (*λαβοῦσα στέφανον*) and she dances in an ecstatic way, as her body and scarf movement show (Ioannidou 2017, 138–243).

It seems that the dramatization of the corybantic ritual was a memorable scene of the comedy. Gutzwiller and Çelik (2012, 612) compare the body movement of the young girl to other depictions of dancing *korae* and they determine that her dance resembles the manic dance of the maenads or *bacchae*. For example, a dancing maenad with cymbals is depicted in the right panel to the Drinking Contest mosaic in the Atrium House at Antioch.[13] The body stance of the girl also resembles the ritual dance of women as it is depicted on a vase painting by Polygnotos Painter: women holding a *tympanon* dance in the presence of Dionysus and Cybele.[14] According to later sources, Corybantes were priests of Rhea or attendants to Cybele, worshipped in Phrygia.[15] In their festivals they were dancing to the accompanying music of cymbals, flutes and drums (Eur. *Bacchae* 125).[16] They were associated with deities of Olympus and, according to sources as early as the 5th century BC, they were associated with madness (Eur. *Hip*. 141–144; Ar. *Wasps* 8). Euripides in *Bacchae* identifies them with Couretes, as they are both dancing

ecstatically.[17] The frenetic character of the dance must have been very similar to the maenadic ritual. The instruments involved such as cymbals, tambourine and pipes created a type of frenzy to the initiators.[18] The ecstatic state of the corybantic ritual has transcended into Menander's comedy as well: the men in all the visual depictions either play the cymbals or the *tympanon*, and the girl, according to the literary fragment and her dancing, *θεοφορεῖται* (15), is being possessed by the god. Due to the nature of the ritual dance, as it is seen on the mosaic, the girl's movements are wild and spread out. Hence, she would be in the orchestra so that she has enough space for her dance.

This social status of the *kore*, a young and unmarried girl, is liminal and restricted to strict social rules. She was not allowed to be publicly exposed, and this is the reason why in Menander's comedies the young virgin *kore* rarely appears on stage. In the rare cases that she does appear and therefore she is depicted on mosaics, she is modestly dressed and standing still, as for instance on the mosaic from Mytilene depicting a scene from *Φάσμα* (Charitonidis 1970, 8, pl. 2). The poet either presents them as pseudo-*kore* or *hetaira* who at the end of the play turn out to be lawful daughters of citizens or they are being placed in a sacred or ritual environment, such as the *kore* from *Φάσμα* and *Δύσκολος* (for an analysis of this topic, see Keramari 2020). This is the case for *Theophoroumene* too. The girl appears in her customary white dress and not in a special dance outfit, as the ritual dance is part of the comic plot. The garments allow for body mobility and flexibility for body exposure, as her mantle leaves her white arms uncovered. In comparison to her male counterparts, the girl's movement is much more rigorous and bent and the clothes seem to underline her body and follow its movements. The nature of the ancient Greek dress, a layering of garments, allows ample body movement. The clothing of the males, maybe heavier, is perhaps the reason behind the tying.

This kind of dance allowed the initiates, especially in the case of women, to step out of their ordinary role even for a day and free themselves (Parker 1983, 244–248).[19] It has to be noted that the dancing is staged and looked upon through the scope of comedy. We may not know the kind of clothing and dance moves suitable for the corybantic rites, only what is projected in the play. It is therefore evident that the actors kept the comic costume underneath, the leggings and the comic masks and donned the usual clothes of comedy. However, in the case of the men, Lysias and Klenias, there is a departure from the usual colouring. The white tunics are contrasted with the vivid colours of the *himation* and it is this difference that points to the dancing. In some cases, as shown, *himation* is tightened around the waist, so that the dancer is free to move his hands without being afraid of losing the clothes. Apparently, when the dance has progressed and the devotee is in a state of ecstatic dance, the actors loosen or lose their belts and get rid of the *himations* altogether: such is the case of theophoroumene and the youth in the mosaic of Daphne.

As it would not be appropriate for young male citizens and girls to publicly dance in such a frantic way, even in the context of a play, the actors have adopted new roles within the play as worshippers of the Corybantes. In order for them to signify this change of roles and become dancers of the god, they have made an improvised costume by adding or changing garments (loose *himations*, scarves, garlands etc.) over their usual comic attire. The rigorous dance, the loud sound of the music produced by the cymbals and the tymbals and the (possible) singing of hymns (in lines 50, 52, 56 lyric hexameters are attested and not the iambics of comedy) all serve as introduction to the ritual dance in the play. This gives a metatheatrical dimension to the comedy, as the actors temporarily step out of their comic role and costume and free their bodies and clothes with dance. This staged dance is part of the performance and, as a result, this sensory experience transcends to the audience too and becomes collective.

The ritual dance blurs the gender identity and unites the males and the females to devote themselves to dance and free themselves from the ordinary social and theatrical roles (Lonsdale 1993, 99–101). Although the comedy is very fragmentary, the visual depictions reveal that this dance is not isolated but a collective experience. In all the wall paintings, there are musicians who perform and dancers who dance at the sound of the music. In ancient Greek comedy either the Chorus dances together or the actors start dancing on stage while simultaneously calling the Chorus to join them.[20]

The instances of isolated solo dance are rare and out of the ordinary. For example, Philocleon in the end of the *Wasps* is described as drunk and awkwardly dancing alone during the symposium (1474–1482), and when he emerges on stage, he embarrasses himself as he continues his performance (for an analysis of this solo dance, see Olsen 2020, 111–117). The bacchic dance of Agave in Euripides' *Bacchae* (1129–1143) isolates her from the choral group and signifies the distance from her social ties (Olsen 2020, chapter 5). At first sight, the rigorous solo dance of Menander's *kore* depicts her momentary madness (feigned or real) and her socially unstable position as a *parthenos*; nevertheless, she remains member of the choral group and part of a ritual performance. For dancing to be truly experienced it should not be isolated and should be felt through ritual movement and music. Clothing is as essential part of this experience, as the image of the flying scarves or the twirling of *himations* creates a mystical sight. It is a performance within a performance and urges the audience to ponder upon the role of dance, theatre and ritual at the same time.

Notes

1 For the reduction of the comic Chorus, see Hunter 1979, 23–38; Rothwell 1995, 99–118; Konstantakos 2011, 31–38.
2 For an in-depth analysis of the role of ceremony and ritual in drama, see Hornby 1986, 49–66.
3 It is inscribed ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΥΜΕΝΗΣΜ(ΕΡΟΣ) Β (*Theophoroumene*, Act III). Published in *MINC*[3] II, 470, no. 6DM 2.5.
4 *MINC*[3] II, 186, no. 3DM 2.
5 *MINC*[3] II, 409, no. 5NP 1.
6 Nervegna 2010, 31, Fig. 5.
7 Mastroroberto 1997 and Nervegna 2010, 24–28, 36–37, Fig. 1.
8 Markoulaki *et al.* 2004, 370–371.
9 Çelik 2009; Gutzwiller and Çelik 2012, 606–617. See Charitonidis 1970, pl. 25, 6–8, and *MINC*[3] II, 459, no. 6AC 1.
10 See Charitonidis 1970, pl. 25, 6–8 and *MINC*[3] II, 459, no. 6AC 1.
11 Pollux 4.152.4: *ἡ δὲ κόρη διάκρισιν ἔχει παρεψησμένων τῶν τριχῶν, καὶ ὀφρῦς ὀρθὰς μελαίνας, καὶ λευκότητα ὕπωχρον ἐν τῇ χροιᾷ.* Mask 33 in *MINC.*[3]
12 Text by Sandbach 1990. See Arnott 1996, 50–58.
13 For illustrations, see Kondoleon 1994, 56–57, Fig. 30 and Jones 1981, 6, Fig. 8.
14 Volute crater from Attica, 440–430 BC, see *A.R.V*[2] 1052.25, 1680.
15 Strabo 10.3.19. The bibliography concerning Cybele and Corybantes is extensive but for a short introduction see Burkert 1985, 177–179; Gantz 1993, 147–148; Bowden 2010, 83–104. For the epigraphic evidence concerning Corybantes, see Voutiras 1996, 243.
16 For the musical instrument, see Landels 1999, 81–83.
17 For the connection of Couretes with the dionysiac sphere, see also: Eur. *Cretans* fr. 472, ap. Porph, *De abst.* 4, 19.
18 See Ar. *Wasps* 119–120, Men. *Sic.* 273, Plato *Symposiun* 215d and *Phaedrus* 228c. These instruments are mentioned in a much-damaged (dubium) fragment from a second unnumbered Florence papyrus of *Theophoroumene* (lines 41, 51).
19 Another plausible cathartic function of the ritual was healing from mental illnesses. The frantic dance offered a kind of cure to the disturbed mind of the women. For full discussion, see Dodds 1951, 78–79.
20 See Carion in *Wealth*, 253–321; Dicaeopolis in the *Acharnians*, 1535–1536. Female solo dancers who are still members of the *choreia* are, for example, Io in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* and Cassandra in Euripides' *Trojan Women.*

Abbreviations

IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*, 1877−, Berlin.
MINC[3] Webster, T. B. L., Green, J. R. and Seeberg, A. (1995) *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy*, vol. I, London.[3]
MINC[3] II Webster, T. B. L., Green, J. R. and Seeberg, A. (1995) *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy*, vol. II, London.[3]
MMC[3] Webster, T. B. L. 1978. *Monuments Illustrating Old and Middle Comedy,* London.[3]
PhV Trendall, A. D. 1967. *Phlyax Vases,* London.[2]
RVAp Trendall, A. D. and Cambitoglou, A. 1978. *The Red–Figured Vases of Apulia,* Oxford [with Supplements i (*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* Suppl. 42; 1983) and ii (60; 1991)].
SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, 1923–, Leiden and Amsterdam.
A.R.V[2] Beazley, J. D. 1963. *Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters*, vol. I, Oxford.[2]

Bibliography

Abel, L. (1963) *Metatheatre: A New View of Dramatic Form*. New York, Hill and Wang.
Arnott, W. G. (1996) Notes on Menander's Kolax, Koneiazomenai, Leukadia, Misoumenos and Perinthia. *Zeitschrift* für *Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 111, 21–25.
Bowden, H. (2010) *Mystery Cults of the Ancient World*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
Bremmer, J. N. (2014) *Initiation into the Mysteries of the Ancient World. Münchner Vorlesungen zu antiken Welten*, Bd 1. Berlin, De Gruyter.
Burkert, W. (1985) *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*. Oxford, Blackwell.
Çelik, Ö. (2009) Yukarı Harbiye mozaik kurtarma kazısı (Perikeiromene, Philadelphoi, Syaristosai, Theophorosmene). *Müze Çalışmaları ve Kurtarma Kazıları Sempozyumu (28 Nisan–1 Mayis 2008, Side)*, 17, 41–52.
Charitonidis, S. *et al.* (1970) *Les mosaïques de la maison du Ménandre à Mytilène*. Bern, Francke Verlag.
Cleland, L. (2002) *Colour in Ancient Greek Clothing: A Methodological Investigation*, PhD thesis. Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh.
Csapo, E. (1999) Performance and Iconographic Tradition in the Illustrations of Menander. *Syllecta Classica* 10, 154–188.
Csapo, E. *et al.* (ed.) (2014) *Greek Theatre in the Fourth Century BC*. Berlin, De Gruyter.
Dodds, E. R. (1951) *The Greeks and the Irrational*. Berkeley, University of California Press.
Gantz, T. (1993) *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*. London, Johns Hopkins University Press.
Gomme, A. W. and Sandbach, F. H. (1973) *Menander: A Commentary*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
Green, R. and Handley, E. (1995) *Images of the Greek Theatre*. London, University of Texas Press.
Gutzwiller, K. (2000) The Tragic Mask of Comedy: Metatheatricality in Menander. *Classical Antiquity* 19/1, 102–137.
Gutzwiller, K. and Çelik, Ö. (2012) New Menander Mosaics from Antioch. *American Journal of Archaeology* 116/4, 573–623.
Handley, E. (2002) Acting, Action and Words in New Comedy. In P. Easterling and E. Hall (ed.) *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, 165–188. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Handley, E. W. (1965) *The Dyskolos of Menander*. London, Methuen.

Handley, E. W. (1969) Notes on the *Theophoroumene* of Menander. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 16, 88–101.

Handley, E. W. (1985) Comedy. In P. E. Easterling and B. M. W. Knox (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature, vol. I. Greek Literature*, 355–425. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Hornby, R. (1986) *Drama, Metadrama and Perception*. London and Toronto, Associated University Presses.

Hunter, R. L. (1979) The Comic Chorus in the Fourth Century. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 36, 23–38.

Ioannidou, K. (2017) *A Commentary on* The Heros *and* Theophoroumene *of Menander,* PhD thesis. London, University College London.

Jones, F. F. (1981) Antioch Mosaics in Princeton. *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 40/2, 2–26.

Kannicht, R. (ed.) (2004) *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, *vol. 5.1*. Göttingen, Euripides.

Keramari, E. (2020) *Costume in Greek Comedy: Evolution, Comic Use and Stage Function: A Stock Character Approach*. Athens, Grigori Publications.

Kondoleon, C. (1994) *Domestic and Divine: Roman Mosaics in the House of Dionysos*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press.

Konstantakos, I. M. (2011) Conditions of Playwriting and the Comic Dramatist's Craft in the Fourth Century. *Logeion* 1, 145–183.

Landels, J. G. (1999) *Music in Ancient Greece and Rome*. London, Routledge.

Llewellyn-Jones, L. (ed.) (2002) *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*. London, Classical Press of Wales.

Lonsdale, S. H. (1993) *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion*. Baltimore and London, Johns Hopkins University Press.

Markoulaki, S., Christoudoulakos, Y. and Phragkonikolaki, C. (2004) Η ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΚΙΣΑΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ Η ΠΟΛΕΟΔΟΜΙΚΗ ΤΗΣ ΟΡΓΑΝΩΣΗ. In M. Livadiotti and I. Simiakaki (ed.) *Creta romana e protobizantina: Atti del congresso internazionale (Iraklion, 23–30 settembre 2000)*, 355–373. Padua, Bottega d'Erasmo.

Mastroroberto, M. (1997) Musici ambulanti. In P. G. Guzzo (ed.) *Pompeii: Pictafragmenta. Decorazioni parietali dale città sepolte*, 107–108. Turin, Umberto Allemandi.

Nervegna, S. (2010) Menander's *Theophoroumene* between Greece and Rome. *The American Journal of Philology* 131/1, 23–68.

Nervegna, S. (2013) *Menander in Antiquity: The Contexts of Reception*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Olsen, S. (2020) *Solo Dance in Archaic and Classical Greek Literature. Representing the Unruly Body*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Papaioannou, C., Mouratidou, K., Mouratidis, G. and Douka, S. (2011) Association of Dance with Sacred Rituals in Ancient Greece: The Case of Eleusinian Mysteries. *Studies in Physical Culture and Tourism* 18, 233–239.

Parker, R. (1983) *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Petrides, A. (2014) *Menander, New Comedy and the Visual*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Revermann, M. (ed.) (2014) *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Comedy*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Rothwell, K. S. (1995) The Continuity of the Chorus in Fourth-Century Attic Comedy. In G. W. Dobrov (ed.) *Beyond Aristophanes. Transition and Diversity in Greek Comedy*, 99–118. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Sandbach, F. H. (ed.) (1990) *Menandri reliquiae selectae*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Slater, N. W. (2000) *Plautus in Performance: The Theatre of the Mind*. Amsterdam, Taylor and Francis.

Stillwell, R. (1961) Houses of Antioch. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 15, 45–57.

Tralau, J. (2017) Cannibalism, Vegetarianism, and the Community of Sacrifice: Rediscovering Euripides' *Cretans* and the Beginnings of Political Philosophy. *Classical Philology* 112/4, 435–455.

Voutiras, E. (2011) Un culte domestique des Corybantes. *Kernos* [Online], 9, 1996. http://journals.openedition.org/kernos/1173.

Webster, T. B. L. (1960) *Studies in Menander*. Manchester, Manchester University Press.

Webster, T. B. L. (1969) *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy.* BICS Suppl. 24 (2nd ed.). London, Institute of Classical Studies.

Part 3

Embodiment and communication

5

The *unhellenic* attire of choruses as image of the 'other' in ancient Greek tragedy

Leonidas Papadopoulos

In ancient Greek tragedy, costumes, on both a verbal and a visual level, reveal a perception of myth and history within the theatrical stage. They provide a network of symbols with multiple sociopolitical, ideological and aesthetic interpretations. Greek tragedians manipulate garment imagery in order, not only to challenge the imagination and to stimulate the spectators' fantasy, but also to generate a complex web of multidimensional symbolism, connotations and dynamics. This paper aims to explore how textiles and garments contribute to the conceptualization of the ethnic 'other' and, in many cases, challenge the definition of identity, providing the audience with thought-provoking issues concerning imperialistic strategies, ethnocentric beliefs and sociocultural prejudices. Moreover, taking into consideration the choral identity, the setting of the play and the chorus' intimate and hostile relationships with gods, ghosts and other mortals, this study will also focus on the relationship between the dress and the body's performative presence. The source material for this chapter consists of a selection of plays where choral costumes represent the image of a mythic, ethnic, gendered and faraway 'other'. More specifically, the essay will investigate the prominent role of costumes and their semiotic perception by studying the presence of barbarian choruses in Aeschylus' Persians *and* Suppliant Women *as well as Euripides'* Phoenician Women*. The dynamic of costumes will also be examined in Euripides'* Trojan Women *and* Hecuba *where chorus* opsis *is associated not only with their enslaved status but also with their desire for revenge and protection.*

In ancient Greek tragedy, costumes, on both a verbal and a visual level, reveal a perception of myth and history within the theatrical stage. They provide a network of symbols with multiple sociopolitical, ideological and aesthetic interpretations. Greek tragedians manipulate garment imagery in order not only to challenge the imagination and to stimulate the spectators' fantasy, but also to generate a complex web of multidimensional symbolism, connotations and dynamics. We could define garment imagery as the narrative function of the various clothing items and the associated acts of dressing as far as its possible representations on stage. Therefore, the perception of clothing among this multicultural audience offers to them not only the conceptualization of the mythic world constructed on stage, but also the realization of the differences concerning status, origin and wealth between them. We should bear in mind that the audience of the ancient Great Dionysia festival were not only indigenous Athenian citizens but also *metics* and probably individuals with a barbarian upbringing, including slaves or ex-slaves (Hall 2006, 196–206). Besides their aesthetic and artistic qualities, garments, as elements of *opsis*, play a distinctive role evoking images of 'otherness'. Moreover, garments' semiotic dynamic emphasizes their value as signs of ethnicity, gender identities, means of threat and ways of manipulation. Tragic *unhellenic* choruses with their exotic, alien and effeminate costumes indicate the cultural polarity between Greeks and barbarians and, at the same time, generate the inextricably interwoven relationships among them. Garments are what the dramatic characters wear, whereas textiles refer to the fabrics or weaving.

This paper aims to explore how textile and garments contribute to the conceptualization of the ethnic 'other' and,

in many cases, challenge the definition of identity providing the audience with thought-provoking issues concerning imperialistic strategies, ethnocentric beliefs and sociocultural prejudices. Moreover, the analysis will demonstrate that the attire of non-Greek choruses provides polysemous information to the audience as a form of communication, and how clothes engage in underscoring the chorus' thoughts, emotions and desires. Moreover, taking into consideration the choral identity, the setting of the play and the chorus' intimate and hostile relationships with gods, ghosts and other mortals, this study will also focus on the relationship between the dress and the body's performative presence.

The source material for this chapter consists of a selection of plays where choral costumes represent the image of a mythic, ethnic, gendered and faraway 'other'. More specifically, the essay will investigate the prominent role of costumes and their semiotic perception by studying the presence of barbarian choruses in Aeschylus' *Persians* and *Suppliant Women*, as well as Euripides' *Phoenician Women*. The dynamic of costumes will also be examined in Euripides' *Trojan Women* and *Hecuba*, where the chorus' *opsis* is associated not only with their enslaved status but also with their desire for revenge and protection.

Aeschylus' *Persians*

Costumes, as a distinctive sign of theatre semiotics, offer directions to the audience in order to help them make assumptions about characters' status, ethnicity and emotions. In Aeschylus' *Persians*, the semiotic power of costumes plays a fundamental role not only as a means of communication between the performance and its audience, but also as a representation of the oriental 'other' in the spectators' imagination. Building a barbarian scenic space in the theatre of Dionysus, a cultural mirror of democratic Athens (Hall 1997; Wiles 2000), Aeschylus uses various forms of criteria to establish a system of signifiers for both the luxury of the Persian Empire and its devastation (Thalmann 1980; Hall 1996).

The visual dimension in Aeschylus' *Persians* embodies the verbal imagery of an ethnically other world which is defined by excessive luxury, numerical superiority and materialism. The portrayal of cultural differentiation between Greeks and barbarians is sketched by dramatic techniques derived from textual evidence and references in the play which provide a wide range of evidence with multiple meanings and interpretations. The attire of the exclusively barbarian cast of the play is sufficient to establish its dramatic effect through its semiotic analysis. Textiles in motion, both as visual and verbal signs, are inevitably interwoven in the audience's reception of the performance. Garments and words inspired by foreign ways of life, textile technology and effeminate lavishness are frequently distinctive visual markers of orientalism throughout the text. The references to the excessive luxury of the Lydians (*ἁβροδιαίτων δ' ἔπεται Λυδῶν ὄχλος*, *Persians* 41), the honorific announcement of Atossa as the highest Queen of the deep-girdled women of Persia (*ὦ βαθυζώνων ἄνασσα Περσίδων ὑπερτάτη*, *Persians 155*) which 'probably implies the extravagant amount of fabric' (Hall 1996, 121) and the soft sheets of their empty nuptial beds (*λέκτρων εὐνὰς ἁβροχίτωνας*, *Persians* 543) are just a few examples which create an oriental atmosphere with multiple symbolisms and connotations.

The Chorus of the play consists of the so-called 'faithful' (*πιστὰ καλεῖται*, *Persians* 2) guardians of an empty kingdom, chosen 'by virtue' of their seniority (*ἑδράνων φύλακες, κατὰ πρεσβείαν*, *Persians* 4) to oversee the vast territory of the Persian Empire. They were warriors in victories of a glorious past and now, as representatives of the political and social body of the whole empire, are said to be thoughtful and good advisors of the Queen (*συμβούλους*, *Persians* 175). The greyed and bearded Persian councillors (*γενείου πέρθε λευκήρη τρίχα*, *Persians* 1056) must have been dressed as oriental nobles of high rank (Thalmann 1980, 267). In the *parodos*, the Chorus of Elders describes the martial superiority of the great and countless army, which acquires a significant identity as invincible, mighty and heavily equipped. The 'departed' Asian-born soldiers (*Ἀσιατογενὴς*, *Persians* 12) are led by the godlike Xerxes whose race is sprung from gold (*χρυσογόνου γενεᾶς*, *Persians* 79–80). The gold of Asia becomes synonymous with wealth and power and is one of the typical poetic signifiers of the barbarians throughout the play (Hall 1996, 107). The text's emphasis is on the luxury of the army (*πολυχρύσου στρατιᾶς*, *Persians* 9) and on the opulence of the cities of the Persian Empire (*Persians* 45, 52–53). The gold and its splendour reflect the power of King Darius as equal to god and daimon (*Persians* 856, 634), as far as the voluminous armour of the invincible Persian army. The image of the sumptuous palace (*Persians* 3–4, 159) identifies, at the very start of the play, the polysemous dynamic of *opsis*, expressing indirectly the imminent insult of man against nature and the gods. The image is reversed when the once mighty young soldiers end up experiencing poverty, harsh physical conditions and death. At Salamis, the flood of the surfaced corpses with their colourful robes wandering around them (*ἁλίδονα μέλεα πολυβαφῆ/ κατθανόντα λέγεις φέρε/ σθαι πλάγκτ' ἐν διπλάκεσσιν*, *Persians* 277) look like islands, and the sun shining on their armour recalls the luxury of the once gold-bedecked army.

The Chorus' clothing is mentioned only once in the play. Xerxes directs the Persian royal advisers to tear the robe on their breast with their fingernails (*πέπλον δ' ἔρεικε κολπίαν ἀκμῇ χερῶν*, *Persians* 1060). Their lamentation, which is expressed by self-mutilation and garment tearing, recalls the emotion of fear and anxiety for the emptiness of Asia, an image that tears the black robes of the Elders' hearts in the *parodos* (*ταῦτά μοι μελαγχίτων/φρὴν ἀμύσσεται φόβῳ*,

Persians 114–115). The black garments, in a moment of self-referentiality, foreshadow the national grief and loss for the outcome of the Persians' expedition in Greece. At the final *pompe* of the defeated Xerxes towards the palace, the distressed figures of the Chorus with their tattered robes become the reverse mirror image of the absent young troops. Xerxes commands the remaining aged Persians to groan for his sake, rowing with their arms like oars (*ἔρεσσ' ἔρεσσε καὶ στέναζ' ἐμὴν χάριν*, *Persians* 1046). The movement of the threnodic bodies, probably, assumes literal tearing of Chorus' costumes during the performance, stunning the audience with a splendid visual effect (Taplin 1977; 2003). The virtual litany of antiphonal lament can be seen as an implicit reference to the drowning corpses in the dark blue waters at Salamis.

The costumes' semiotic coding through the characters' manipulation and descriptions activates specific meanings which are crucial to the development of the plot. The tragic costumes in Aeschylus' *Persians* seem to have come to define primarily the aversion of fate reflecting the procedure of a ritual rite of passage from prosperity to destruction. The tattered clothes of the Persian king Xerxes are contradicted with the embroidered robes he wore on his departure (Thalmann 1980). The arrival of the almost naked king in an empty city (*κένανδρον*) is an 'alienating' image of his royal identity. The ghost of King Darius during his epiphany wearing his kingly insignia urges the Queen to bring the most glorious clothing to cover their son's nudity after his return. However, it is ambiguous whether the royal attire, after the end of the play, could semiotically succeed in imposing a new identity on the regretful king.

Although references to the clothing of the Elders' Chorus are limited in Aeschylus' Persians, we can recognize the significant influence of the descriptions of the 'absent Chorus' of invincible generals and soldiers that haunt the play. The image is reinforced by the final appearance of the king Xerxes dressed in rags at the end of the play, who symbolically rationalizes the defeat. A permanent discount of luxury is obvious during the evolution of the plot. The once mighty army dressed in luxurious armour is finally lost in the abyss of death, the Queen Mother returns in modest dress offering libations to her dead husband, and King Xerxes enters the stage defeated and almost naked. Only King Darius appears with all his royal insignia as a sign of an oriental splendour recalling the majesty of the fall.

Aeschylus' *Suppliants*

While in the *Persians* Aeschylus connects the contradictory excessive luxury with the army's defeat and total destruction, in the *Suppliants* the issue of the Danaids' 'barbaric' appearance is highlighted in contrast to their Greek origin. In order to avoid being part of Egypt's social codes and controversial moral laws, as revealed by the Egyptians' abhorrent behaviour, the vulnerable group of fifty Danaids, accompanied by their father Danaus, disembark on the shores of Lerna, near Argos. They appeal to the gods and make a petition to the king of Argos, Pelasgus, to protect them and grant their plea for asylum. Creating and directing a meta-theatrical dramatic setting of sea persecutions and horrifying suicides, the Danaids organize and performs actions in order to achieve their goal. Although these female intruders present trustworthy evidence of their origins as descendants of Io, their physical appearance creates a remarkable juxtaposition (Mitchell 2006, 206) which evokes an image of strangeness, foreignness and ethnic 'otherness' in the audience's perspective.

Even though clothing in ancient Greek drama is obviously one of the safest signs of ethnicity, both the Danaids and Pelasgus, through their speeches, describe many times in the play the young maidens' appearance as a distinctive feature of their origin (Sandin 2005, 146–157). Following many brilliant existing interpretations and theories that thoroughly discuss the evident foreignness of the Danaids, the semiotics and the language of their costume play a crucial factor in the evolution of the plot, which goes beyond its visual aspect (see the excellent analysis by Wyles 2011, 48–50, 51–52). The 'un-Hellenic attire' of the Danaids' presence (*ἀνελληνόστολον, Suppliants* 234), although it initially promotes a colourful and oriented image of the other (McCall 1976, 128), very soon reveals a hazardous threat for the prosperity of the *polis* of Argos (Bakewell 1997, 217). Danaus' daughters are often, and not accidentally, identified as a *stolos* (στόλος) in the play. This nautical term can refer to both an expedition by sea as well as a fleet, but first and foremost encourages the audience to examine, whether literally or metaphorically, their un-Greek *stoli* (*στολή*), providing them with thought-provoking issues concerning ethnocentric beliefs and socio-cultural prejudices. Johansen and Whittle (1980, 127) provide a challenging interpretation emphasizing the connection between the darkness of the Danaids' complexion (*μελανθὲς*, *Suppliants* 154) and that of Hades. This may justify the suggestion that identifies the dark-skinned maidens as brides of death through their threat of suicide and their murderous act of killing their husbands in the progression of the trilogy.

The system of visual communication does not support either the Greekness of the Danaids or the Argive king's search for sufficient data in order to prove the maidens' claims. Words give him the information he needs to prove their Greek origin which is contradicted by their barbarian appearance. On the other hand, the Danaids are also unable to interpret Pelasgus' identity from his costume. They question whether he is there as a private citizen, a bearer of the sacred ward or the city's ruler, implying their uncertainty about his identity (*Suppliants,* 245–247). The audience is bound to glance back at both the Danaids' and Pelasgus'

costumes, reconsidering their meaning in a system of multiple interconnected symbolisms and metaphors.

The 'black skin' (μελανθὲς, Suppliants 154), which is attributed to the 'burning heat of the sun' (ἡλιόκτυπον, *Suppliants* 155) in oriental regions (Herodotus 2.22.3), is another bipolar motif of light and darkness. The Danaids' masks might be painted darker than the usual white painted masks for Greek female characters and choruses who spent most of their lives indoors. As a symbol of domestic interior, the nubile women play a prominent role in *oikos*' everyday life (O'Neal 1993). According to Xenophon (*Oeconomicus*, Books VII–X) the province of the wife is the house. The nubile girls' procession, carrying boughs decked with white wool as a token of supplication, is an image standing in contrast to this darkness, which probably attempts to explore the right of taking up a new civic identity as a private decision and not as a predefined status. Aeschylus, in the parodos of the play, refers to the foreignness of the Danaids two more times (*ephymnion* at 129–131, and its repetition at 154–155), drawing attention to their Sidonian veils. The maidens fall upon their 'Sidonian veils and tear its linen fabric to shreds' (*πολλάκι δ' ἐμπίτνω ξὺν λακίδι λινοσινεῖ Σιδονίᾳ καλύπτρᾳ*). Linen is a comfortable fabric to wear in hot weather. The semiotic process is heightened further if we bear in mind that Clotho, one of the three Fates, spins the thread of humans' life destiny (*Od*. 7.197). The Danaids break the traditional model that their destiny (Clotho) imposes on them, tearing their veils by threatening and manipulating divine powers and political authorities.

The band of reluctant brides seeking to ensure their protection threatens to transform the altar of the Gods Assembled to a space of religious pollution. The faces of the standing gods, in contrast to the black-skinned masks of the Danaids, is a visually skilful sign that illustrates within the theatrical *skene*, two different aspects of the exotic and unpredictable 'other'. The Danaids warn that they will hang themselves from the statues of gods. The boughs, decked with wool, not only imply a means of supplication as a pure intention for salvation, but also become useful weapons that may ironically reflect their murderous instinct (σὺν τοῖσδ' ἱκετῶν ἐγχειριδίοις / ἐριοστέπτοισι κλάδοισιν, *Suppliants* 21–22). The use of the ancient Greek word ἐγχειριδίοις, which means dagger, is perhaps not incidental, as it is etymologically derived from the verb *εγχειρίζω* which means, among other interpretations, I trust, and is related to the adjective *εγχειρητικός*, which means somebody who takes risks. It is therefore possible to construe a hypothesis explaining this act of supplication as an act which, in case of failure, will be transformed into an act of risk for both the city of Argos and the Danaids' future.

Besides the boughs, their breast-bands and belts are another useful device in order to complete the 'decoration' of the setting (νέοις πίναξι βρέτεα κοσμῆσαι τάδε, *Suppliants* 463) if their supplication is to be rejected (Wyles 2011, 73). The votive tablets would be a commemorating sign of pollution able to transform the holy sanctuary into a space of sacrilege; another 'visual' image of the Danaids' lifeless bodies hanged disrespectfully by their divine 'observers'. The macabre image also reveals a permanent inanimate yoking with Hades which is contrasted symbolically with their desperate desire for independence.

The Danaids' manipulative threat of hanging themselves, putting their belts as improvised nooses around their necks (*Suppliants* 463), could also be interpreted as a violent 'denial of breath' under circumstances that do not satisfy them (Scodel 1998). One of the most prominent pictorial languages of such a threat could be a strange union that could identify them not only as brides of death but also as 'brides of the divine'. A symbolic meaning is also connected with the moment when a girl loosens her belt in order to surrender her virginity (Zeitlin 1996, 157). This use of their belts could establish a new type of imagery where the visible union between the hanged Danaids and the soulless status may illustrate a reversed image of the union between Io and Zeus.

The Danaids' final incorporation into the political and social life of Argos, although it is a risk for the Argives (Bakewell 1997, 211), could be another piece of supporting evidence for the divine's dynamic presence and superiority over the destiny of mortals. The community, in this sense, adopts a resolution that prevents its land from committing the impending sacrilege.

In Aeschylus' *Suppliants* costumes operate in multiple levels. Danaids' *un-Hellenic* attire, in accordance with their physical appearance, acquires a deceptive dynamic as an indication of their origin. In addition, Danaids' parts of their costume are used as means of threat and ways of manipulation playing a decisive role in the development of their plea for asylum and the outcome of their actions.

Euripides' *Phoenician Women*

Almost half a century had passed since the performance of Aeschylus' *Suppliants* when Euripides wrote *Phoenician Women*. In this tragedy the Chorus is consisted of an exotic and colourful band of maiden women from Phoenicia. Although the Chorus' exotic appearance may resemble that of the Danaids in Aeschylus' *Suppliants* whose oriental costumes imply their foreign status, the Phoenician women are not self-exiled, and the reason for their journey is not a story of supplication. But how are issues of origin and identity manifested in the context of the dramatic narrative through *Phoenician Women*'s costume?

Phoenician Women's origin ties in with the origins of Cadmus who leaves the Phoenician coastal country and, in the course of his wanderings to Delphi, founds the city of Thebes and becomes its first king. In the *parodos* (202–260), the Phoenician women provide the audience with all the

necessary information about their route, their current presence in a city which is ready to be ravaged by war and their ultimate destination at Delphi. Their maiden status recalls that of Antigone whose maiden modesty is expressed with 'the dark red' beneath her eyes and the blush upon her face (*ὑπὸ παρθενί / ας τὸν ὑπὸ βλεφάροις φοίνικ', ἐρύθημα προσώπου*, Euripides, *Phoenician Women* 1486–1487). The maidens are chosen as offerings of the greatest beauty to Loxias, though the reasons for this dedication are not specified (Euripides, *Phoenician Women* 214–216). Nevertheless, they seem to be proud of their holy servitude to the oracle and the altars of Apollo at Delphi. Their distinguished beauty is equal to the golden statues of Phoebus, and their hair-washing in the waters of Castalia is metaphorically conceptualized as maidens' luxurious adornment (Euripides, *Phoenician Women* 221–224).

The Phoenicians' barbaric status directs Polynices' attention who identifies them as foreigners and his question about their origins is evoked presumably by their un-Hellenic attire (Euripides, *Phoenician Women* 278–279). The question is reminiscent of Pelasgus' response to the Danaids' exotic appearance and his attempt to establish the suppliants' ethnicity. The Phoenician women's self-representation to Polynices focuses again on their origins, identity and destination as a dedication to Phoebus. The Chorus' oriental attitude is also determined by their prostration before Polynices. The text implies a dynamic piece of stage action where the maidens show their obeisance towards Polynices, a Greek mortal superior, honouring him as similar to a barbarian king (*γονυπετεῖς ἕδρας προσπίτνω σ', ἄναξ*, Euripides, *Phoenician Women* 293). This stage action reinforces the un-Hellenic lens on the costume.

The textual evidence concerning the tragic costume of the Phoenician women throughout the play is limited, but specific words acquire a fundamental value, enabling their costume to have a symbolic meaning. The verbal dynamics of the terms could have multiple connotations in the audience's vivid imagination and their level of poetic perception. The name Phoenician possibly derived from the verb *φοινίσσω* (make red), signifying the discovery and the use of the colour crimson. This word corresponds admirably with the dynamic use of the word *φόνος* (slaughter) which is mentioned many times in the play, characterizing murders and bloody conflicts throughout the Thebans' history (Craik 1988, 257). Furthermore, the aural connection of the word *φόνος* with the sound of the word *φθόνος* which means envy may have been a simple and obvious one to the ears of the contemporary spectator. Therefore, murder as an act of viciousness, in many cases, could be caused because of jealousy among human beings. A more obscure connotation would have been made with the word *φθόρος* which means devastation and is correlated with Oedipus' curses which haunt Thebes and become the cause of civil strife, fratricide and suffering.

Although it is difficult to trace specific evidence concerning the costume of the Phoenician women, their oriental appearance and attitude throughout the play contribute to the conceptualization of the 'ethinc' other. Furthermore, the verbal dynamics of the word *φοινίσσω*, directly connected with the production of a highly prized purple dye, through its various aural connections, provide the audience's perceptions with a web of multidimensional symbolism.

The Trojan Choruses (Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Trojan Women*)

In *Hecuba* and *Trojan Women*, Euripides presents on stage Choruses of captive women which express emotions of loss and despair. Their costumes, in both tragedies, literally or figuratively, are closely associated with their enslaved gender and origin status as these women oscillate between homeland and exile. The Athenian audience was already familiar with these images of otherness through the reciprocal influences between the visual and dramatic arts and the interplay between illusion and reality. For example, in the time of Cimon, Polygnotus, a famous Greek painter of the first half of the 5th century BC, provides the Athenians with a painted illustration of events that was inspired by the destruction of Troy and its aftermath. His large, monumental wall paintings in the *Painted Stoa* (*Stoa Poikile*) in Athens and his frescoes in the hall of the *Cnidian Lesche* in Delphi have not survived. Nevertheless, Pausanias, a Greek traveller and geographer of the 2nd century AD, gives a detailed description, reviving these two versions of the story, which concern, among other mythical and historical themes, the *Iliupersis* and particularly the suffering and lamentation of the Trojan women (Pausanias, *Descriptions of Greece* 1.15.1–3, 10.25.4, 10.25.9, 10.26.1). The presented image portrays this significant moment in the lives of the Trojan women as verging on the past and an ambivalent future in exile. It is essential to consider the active engagement of Euripides' audience with these visual images of art (Zeitlin 1994). The prominent aesthetic and artistic creativity of this period becomes not only part of cultural and communal memory but also another visual perception of myth and history in everyday life.

Euripides' *Hecuba* (423 BC) and *Trojan Women* (415 BC) dramatize the aftermath of the Trojan War and the journey of the Greek army and Trojan female population from Troy to Greece. The Chorus in both plays consists of captive Trojan women who are waiting in a liminal space. Encamped near the sea, they await their departure with new masters on a one-way journey to Greece. The setting of the two tragedies is geographically different, yet both present images of desolation, remoteness and cruelty (Zeitlin 1991; 1996; Gregory 1999; Rehm 2002). In the case of *Trojan Women*, the theatrical locus of action is the military camp of the Greeks near Troy. In *Hecuba*, Euripides shifts the

events to a barbarian territory, creating temporal and spatial distance. The trip has already begun, and both the Greek army and the Trojan women camp on the shores of the Thracian Chersonese.

In Euripides' *Hecuba* the textile imagery acquires a significant ambiguity. The symbolic manipulation of garments and the technique of encoding precious metals laden with meaning for human arrogance and greed can define and substantiate characters' thoughts, emotions and behaviour. As evidence of wealth and luxury, the analysis of gold imagery in the play is closely connected with the understanding of the Chorus' costumes. Gold dominates the whole tragedy not only as a symbol of oriental luxury but also as a motive of betrayal, proof of authority and synecdoche of blood, sacrifice and death. Moreover, gold represents the grandeur of the past and contrasts with the destruction which is visually depicted through the captive women's presence. Although the spectre of Achilles is continuously involved in the dramatic field of the play, it remains in an extra-scenic space. Achilles' ghost, through the Chorus' narration, 'appeared in his golden armour' standing above his tomb, demanding his prize of honour (*τύμβου δ' ἐπιβὰς / οἶσθ' ὅτε χρυσέοις ἐφάνη σὺν ὅπλοις*, Euripides, *Hecuba* 109–110). The Chorus informs Hecuba of the Greeks' decision to satisfy Achilles' desire to 'crown' his tomb with Polyxena's blood flowing from her 'gold-decked throat' (*ἐκ χρυσοφόρου / δειρῆς νασμῷ μελαναυγεῖ*, Euripides, *Hecuba* 152–153). The narration metaphorically associates the luxury of once mighty Troy with the Trojan women's current state of loss and suffering. The blood, like a gold necklace, shapes a pattern of violent union among Achilles and Polyxena; a permanent inanimate yoking in Hades which is contrasted with the brightness of gold and grant the Greeks with Achilles' leave to cast off the mooring cables from their sterns (*λῦσαί τε πρύμνας καὶ χαλινωτήρια*, Euripides, *Hecuba* 539). Neoptolemos first offers libations to his father from a cup of solid gold filled to the brim (*πάγχρυσον αἴρει χειρὶ παῖς Ἀχιλλέως / χοὰς θανόντι πατρί*, *Hecuba* 528) and then slits her throat with his gold-trimmed sword (*εἶτ' ἀμφίχρυσον φάσγανον κώπης λαβὼν*, *Hecuba* 543), causing the maiden's dark and diluted blood to gush from her throat.

As the gold of Asia provides a recurrent representative of barbarian luxury and wealth, its references as part of Greek armour and equipment may denote the gold spoils the Greeks took from Troy, providing an exceptional paradigm of the reversal of fortune. The unpredictable turn of events is reflected in the Trojan women's gaze into the bottomless depths of their golden mirror (*χρυσέων ἐνόπτρων λεύσ-/σουσ' ἀτέρμονας εἰς αὐγάς*, *Hecuba* 925–926) just before the cloud of Greeks (*Ἑλλάνων νέφος*, *Hecuba* 907) covered the whole city and their lives. It recurs in *Trojan Women*'s third stasimon, when, in their farewell to Troy, the chorus refer to the god's betrayal of Troy, resulting in their images of carven gold (*χρυσέων τε ξοάνων*) being no more.

The suggestion that golden spoils of war could function as synecdoche of an imminent death is supported in Athena's sudden decision to destroy the Greeks for their impiety, after their departure from Troy, demonstrating that suffering is the destiny of all mortals. In *Trojan Women*, Poseidon, in his prologue speech, states that the ships of the Greeks carry 'the massy gold and Trojan spoils' (*πολὺς δὲ χρυσὸς Φρύγιά τε σκυλεύματα*, Euripides' *Trojan Women* 19). If we connect this information with Polydorus' speech, in which he announces that gold is the reason for his violent murder (*κτείνει με χρυσοῦ τὸν ταλαίπωρον χάριν*, *Hecuba* 25), we may imagine the sea passage as a symbolic Acheron (Papadopoulos 2016), where the ships that transport the spoils of victory and hubris, symbolized by gold, become the boats that lead the Greek army to its demise.

In Euripides' *Hecuba*, garments and their accessories are imbued with multiple connotations. Throughout the tragedy, costumes are intimately associated with protection and revenge or help characters to decode their manipulative use and semiotic power (Jenkins 1983; Marshall 2001). When Hecuba asks her daughter Polyxena to make a plea to Odysseus in order to save her life, the Greek commander turns his face away and hides his right hand under his cloak avoiding the maiden's supplication (*ὁρῶ σ', Ὀδυσσεῦ, δεξιὰν ὑφ' εἵματος/ κρύπτοντα χεῖρα καὶ πρόσωπον ἔμπαλιν / στρέφοντα*, *Hecuba* 342–344). This gesture of Odysseus demonstrates his final decision to sacrifice the daughter of Hecuba, avoiding any form of communication which, according to the laws of supplication, would signal his obligation to accept it.

The Chorus' changing fortune and their allocation as slaves and sexual partners of the Greeks who killed their husbands may be reflected in their costume. As the *peplos* is open at one side, it threatens to expose part of the Trojan women's bodies, visualizing their reference when they describe the sack of Troy. The women clad in only a single garment, leaving their marriage bed like a Spartan girl (*λέχη δὲ φίλια μονόπεπλος / λιποῦσα, Δωρὶς ὡς κόρα, Hecuba* 933–934), enhance the costume's implication of sexuality (Marshall 2001, 128–129). Furthermore, displacing luxury and sexuality onto Trojan women, and in many other tragedies onto Spartan ones, Euripides strengthens the differentiation of the modest Athenian women to them (Battezzato 2000). In Euripides' *Trojan Women*, Cassandra identifies the Chorus as maids of Phrygia in fair raiment (*ὦ καλλίπεπλοι Φρυγῶν / κόραι*, *Trojan Women* 345) emphasizing the beauty of their clothes and calling them to sing with her the bridal song. Costumes bear the meaning of the imminent death as these Phrygian veils will symbolically be the shrouds of Astyanax at the end of the tragedy when Hecuba adorns his dead body with a Phrygian robe of honour (*Φρύγια πέπλων ἀγάλματ' ἐξάπτω χροός*, Euripides, *Trojan*

Women 1220). Thus, the luxurious Phrygian veils, once symbols of eroticism and femininity, are transformed into fatal textiles covering the corpse of Astyanax, the last and the only hope and consolation for Hecuba.

In Euripides' *Hecuba*, the Trojan women's garments are transformed into a successful instrument of feminine revenge. At the end of the play, when the attendants of Hecuba attack Polymestor and his sons, it is this anger that transforms these women into 'hellish Bacchae' (*Βάκχαις Ἅιδου*, Euripides, *Hecuba* 1076). Segal (1989, 18) observes the resemblance of this deed to the Dionysiac *sparagmos*. To succeed in this macabre plan, Trojan women use the dress pins of their costumes. Dress pins are an essential part of the Doric *peplos* and play an integral role in the blinding of Polymestor and the killing of his two sons in the enslaved Trojan women's tents (Jenkins 1983; Marshall 2001). A piece of clothing is transformed into a weapon and the women's costumes, literally and semiotically, provide conflicting signs of motherhood, devastation and trauma.

Another striking metaphor connected to the human body is the function of the hands and their correlation with costume as a potential instrument of murder. In Euripides' *Hecuba*, hands, like the tentacles of an octopus, acquire a clinging power able not only to bind and disarm their prey but also to suffocate it. As Polymestor states in his speech, some of the Trojan women grabbed Polymestor's hands and 'limbs and clung to them like octopuses' (πολυπόδων δίκην / ξυναρπάσασαι τὰς ἐμὰς εἶχον χέρας / *καὶ* κῶλα, *Hecuba* 1162–1164). Furthermore, the image of women dangling the children of Polymestor from their hands, and passing them from one to the other in order to separate them from their father, creates dramatic irony (ὅσαι δὲ τοκάδες ἦσαν, ἐκπαγλούμεναι / τέκν' ἐν χεροῖν ἔπαλλον, ὡς πρόσω πατρὸς / γένοιντο, διαδοχαῖς ἀμείβουσαι χερῶν, *Hecuba* 1157–1159). The movement of the women's *peplos* could be metaphorically linked to the waves of the sea which transformed to a space of disaster, mirroring the fate of Hecuba's son whose corpse is carried to and fro by the waves' constant ebb and flow (*Hecuba* 28–29). The hands become not a symbolic image of maternal protection, but lethal weapons that murder innocent children. In the tents of the Trojan women, a murder, like a secret ritual of death, takes place.

Costumes in Euripides' *Hecuba* play an important role not only as means of seduction but also as ways of transformation. After the successful outcome of Hecuba's plan, Dionysus predicts, through Polymestor's vengeful speech, the transformation of the mortal Trojan queen into a dog, liberating her through her death and metamorphosis from her state of enslavement. The loss of her previous identity, her violent behaviour as a maenad against Polymestor and his sons, her climbing on the head mast of the ship and her animal characteristics before she is lost into the waves, recall many aspects of the ritual of Dionysus. In conclusion, the costumes of the captive women in these two extant Euripides tragedies play a defining role both as points of origin and as means of plot development. Garments and textiles acquire multiple connotations, while their symbolisms and their different uses highlight their transformative dimension.

The *unhellenic* costume as a visual representation of the 'other' in ancient Greek tragedy constitutes a significant sign of the theatre technique providing to the audience crucial information about Chorus' actions, thoughts and identity. As an intermediary between the different levels of communication (*e.g.*, barbarian chorus and Greek audience, barbarian chorus and Greek characters), garments and their accessories offer the perfect medium that enables the audience to decode the multiple nexus of symbolisms within the plays. Barbaric attire, in many cases, embodies and interprets the words and, at the same time, creates a fascinating *topos* of 'otherness' with possible interconnected metaphors and meanings. More specifically, through the examples examined in this analysis, and although it is almost impossible to recreate the performance context of these tragedies in the 5th century BC, the textual indications lead us to understand how the inherent polarization between Greeks and Barbarians is depicted on stage and how the visual effect of an oriental costume could be interpreted as contributing to the conceptualization of the ethnic 'other'.

Bibliography

Bakewell, G. W. (1997) Μετοικία in the *Supplices* of Aeschylus. *Classical Antiquity* 16, 209–228.

Battezzatto, L. (2000) Dorian Dress in Greek Tragedy. *Illinois Classical Studies* 25, 343–362.

Craik, E. (1988) *Euripides' Phoenician Women*. Liverpool, Aris and Phillips Classical Texts.

Fletcher, J. (2016) The Curse as a Garment in Greek Tragedy. In G. Fanfani, M. Harlow and M. L. Nosch (ed.) *Spinning Fates and the Song of the Loom: The Use of Textiles, Clothing and Cloth Production as Metaphor, Symbol and Narrative Device in Greek and Latin Literature*, 101–113. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Foley, H. (1980) The Masque of Dionysos. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 110, 107–133.

Garvie, A. F. (1986) *Aeschylus' Choephori*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Gregory, J. (ed.) (1999) *Euripides, Hecuba: Introduction, Text, and Commentary*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Hall, E. (1996) *Aeschylus' Persians*. Liverpool, Aris and Phillips Classical Texts.

Hall, E. (1997) The Sociology of Athenian Tragedy. In P. Easterling (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Tragedy*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Hall, E. (2006) *The Theatrical Cast of Athens:* Interactions *between Ancient Greek Drama and Society*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Jenkins, I. (1983) Dressed to Kill. *Omnibus* 5, 29–32.

Johansen, H. F. and Whittle, E. W. (ed.) (1980) *The Suppliants*. 3 vols. Copenhagen, Gyldendal.

Lee, M. M. (2004) Evil Wealth of Raiment: Deadly Πέπλοι in Greek Tragedy. *The Classical Journal* 99/3, 253–279.

Marshall, C. W. (2001) The Costume of Hecuba's Attendants. *Acta Classica* 44, 127–136.

McCall, M. (1976) The Secondary Choruses in Aeschylus' *Supplices*. *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 9, 117–131.

McCall, M. (1990) The Chorus of Aeschylus Choephori. In M. Griffith and D. J. Mastronarde (ed.) *Cabinet of the Muses. Essays on Classical and Comparative Literature in Honor of Thomas G. Rosenmeyer*, 17–30. Atlanta, Scholars Press.

Mitchell, L. G. (2006) Greeks, Barbarians and Aeschylus' *Suppliants*. *Greece and Rome* 53, 205–223.

O'Neal, W. J. (1993) The Status of Women in Ancient Athens. *International Social Review* 68/3, 115–121.

Papadopoulos, L. (2016) *Sea Journeys in Ancient Greek Tragedy*. Doctoral dissertation. London, King's College London.

Rehm, R. (2002) *The Play of Space: Spatial Transformation in Greek Tragedy*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Sandin, P. (2005) *Aeschylus' Supplices: Introduction and Commentary on vv. 1–523*. Lund, Symmachus.

Scodel, R. (1998) The Captive's Dilemma: Sexual Acquiescence in Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Troades*. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 98, 137–154.

Segal, C. (1989) The Problem of the Gods in Euripides' *Hecuba. Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 22, 9–21.

Taplin, O. (1977) *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus: The Dramatic Use of Exits and Entrances in Greek Tragedy*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Taplin, O. (2003) *Greek Tragedy in Action*. London, Routledge.

Thalmann, W. G. (1980) Xerxes' Rags: Some Problems in Aeschylus' *Persians*. *American Journal of Philology* 101, 260–282.

Wiles, D. (2000) *Greek Theatre Performance. An Introduction*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Wyles, R. (2011) *Costume in Greek Tragedy*. Bristol, Bristol Classical Press.

Zeitlin, F. I. (1991) Euripides' Hekabe and the Somatics of Dionysiac Drama. *Ramus* 20, 53–94.

Zeitlin, F. I. (1994) The Artful Eye: Vision, Ekphrasis, and Spectacle in Euripidean Drama. In S. Goldhill and R. Osborne (ed.) *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture*, 138–196. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Zeitlin, F. I. (1996) *Playing the Other: Gender and Society in Classical Greek Literature*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

6

The dress of the dancing *lares*

Alexandra Sofroniew

Depictions of the Roman lares *are found in diverse media (mainly bronze figurines and wall paintings) and across a wide chronological and geographical range. Yet, the* lares *have a remarkably consistent basic iconography. Twin youths, wearing a short tunic and high boots, with a mantle tied around their waist or billowing behind them, are depicted in motion – dancing – while carrying various accoutrements, usually a* rhyton *and* situla*. Their dance is communicated by their feet raised on tiptoes and by the movement of the textiles they wear.*

This chapter explores the function and meaning of the costume of the dancing lares *(the high, open-toed, soft animal-skin boots, the short tunic and the mantle). I will unpack the various associations of all of these items: the short tunic is worn by the goddess Artemis, but also by workmen and the enslaved. The open-toed boots seem to originate in a Hellenistic fashion from southern Italy. The billowing mantle signifies motion in the conventions of Classical art and connects the* lares *to other dancing figures such as maenads and the* kalathiskos *dancers. Dance is not usually closely associated with Roman religion, which is generally analysed on a civic rather than an individual level. What does it mean that the* lares *– quintessentially Roman figures given a place at the heart of Roman household rituals – wear these 'un-Roman', 'un-masculine' clothes, and are depicted as dancing?*

Introduction

Depictions of the Roman *lares* in both wall paintings and bronze figurines are strikingly consistent despite the differences in medium and even though our extant examples come from a relatively wide chronological and geographical range: from the late Republican through the Imperial period; from the Bay of Naples and the island of Delos to Augusta Raurica on the Rhine, and Roman Spain. Twin youths dressed in short tunics, boots and with mantles tied around their waist, thrown over their arms or billowing behind them, are depicted in motion – dancing (Fig. 6.1).[1] Wreaths are tied around their heads with long ribbons and they hold various items, usually a *rhyton* and *situla* or *patera*. Their dance is communicated visually by their feet raised on tiptoes, their arms held aloft, and by the movement of the textiles that they wear.

This chapter explores how the costume of the *lares*, in conjunction with their pose, functions to convey dance in both the two-dimensional medium of painting and in three-dimensional bronze statuary. I will unpack the connotations of gender, identity and status associated with the *lares* dancing pose and somewhat unusual dress of short tunic, mantle and open-toed boots. The short tunic is worn by the goddess Artemis, but also by workers, the poor and enslaved. The billowing mantle connects the *lares* to mythical dancing figures such as maenads. The particular style of open-toed boot seems to originate in southern Italy as a festive fashion worn by Dionysus and his followers, spreading eastwards back to Greece in the Hellenistic period. How do these items relate to one another in the context of the *lares*? What does it mean that the *lares* – quintessentially Roman deities given a place at the heart of everyday domestic and community cult – were commonly represented as dancing youths?

Representations across media: wall painting and sculpted bronze

Most of our evidence for the iconography of the *lares* comes from two different but complementary sources:

Fig. 6.1. (a and b with close-up of tunic and mantle). Bronze statuette of a lar. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1919, inv. no. 19.192.3. Photo: https://www.metmuseum.org.*

wall paintings and bronze statuettes. Thousands of bronze figurines in the highly distinctive form of the *lares* have survived from antiquity, recovered from across the Roman world in both excavated contexts and as chance finds, and now in museum displays and storerooms.[2] Generally standing between 10–25 cm tall (from hand-held to table-top display size), and often preserved still mounted on a small metal base, these bronze *lares* usually formed part of a set of objects including representations of the *genius* (protective spirit) of the head of the household and the *penates* (the particular deities venerated by a household) that were arranged in a small shrine or so-called *lararium* for the purpose of individual and family worship.[3] In turn, these *lararia* are the source of most of our painted evidence. Brightly coloured representations of the *lares* adorn the walls inside and around niches, shelves and altars in the houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum, located in particular in the kitchen, atrium or peristyle garden (catalogued by Boyce 1937; Fröhlich 1991; Giacobello 2008). Wall paintings of the *lares* are also found in shops and taverns, and on the exterior walls of buildings, particularly at street corners (see below for discussion of the *lares compitales* and the crossroads festival of the Compitalia). While most of our surviving wall paintings are from Campania, others have been found at Ostia (Orr 1978, 1587) and on Delos (Hasenohr 2003; Flower 2017, 175–191).

Although there are differences in the style and skill of their execution, the wall paintings adhere to a relatively standard formula: two *lares* turn towards each other, flanking a central altar and/or depiction of the *genius* (for a typical example, see Fig. 6.2; Orr 1978, 1577–1585; Fröhlich 1991, 110–188; Flower 2017, 53–62). The *genius* wears a toga *capite velatu* and stands or sits holding out a *patera* and cradling a cornucopia, in the act of pouring a libation. Occasionally, he is accompanied by a *tibicen* (flute player) and/or *camillus* (child attendant), or even the full retinue of a sacrificial procession. One or two snakes approach or encircle a second altar, which may have eggs or pine cones on it; typically the snakes are positioned on a distinct groundline below that of the *lares* and *genius*. Other deities may also be represented, in particular Hercules, Mercury or Fortuna. Animals such as pigs, birds and deer appear, and, more seldomly, prepared food like hams, kebabs and bread. The setting is outdoors: small trees and bushes (particularly laurels) sprout from the groundlines, while garlands hang above, framing the scene.

As parallel yet distinct bodies of evidence, the bronzes and the wall paintings allow for fruitful cross-examination of the iconography of the *lares*. Some details appear only in the wall paintings, such as the vivid colours of the *lares*' garments and the two-tone pattern on many of their tunics. Or the way that the *lares* are depicted in the act of drawing up wine: a thin red stream of liquid flows in an elegant arc over their heads from the mouths of the animal-head *rhyta*

Fig. 6.2. Painted lararium *from Pompeii. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples. Photo: © Vanni Archive / Art Resource, NY.*

they hold aloft in one hand into the small pail held by their other hand, a feature of course not practical to cast in bronze.[4] Other elements are more easily rendered in three dimensions: the pose of some bronze statuettes clearly shows both feet on tiptoes (for example, see Fig. 6.17).

Interestingly, the ancient viewer might have also made direct visual comparisons between media. Although very few statuettes have been discovered *in situ* within a *lararium* (rare examples include a so-called *aedicula*-style shrine in the atrium of the Casa delle Pareti Rosse at Pompeii that contained six bronzes representing the two *lares*, Asclepius, Apollo, Mercury and Hercules, see Fig. 6.3), it is clear that many household shrines incorporated an overlapping array of paintings *and* statuettes of the *lares* and other divinities. A single *lararium* could therefore contain multiple two-dimensional and three-dimensional representations of the same deities. In addition, the location of holes for iron nails visible in *lararia* wall paintings from Pompeii suggests that real garlands of flowers were hung directly over their painted counterparts, heightening the visual (inter)play between two-dimensional and three-dimensional space, and object and image within the shrine (Rogers 2020). In a few instances, the painted *lares* are shown standing on bases – they are being depicted as the very statuettes displayed in front of them – but in general we should consider them as being portrayed in the mode of deities present to receive worship, as traditional on votive reliefs.[5] Both types of representation could also function separately as objects of veneration: there are wall paintings without space for statuary and, in turn, the small bronze *lares* are portable and their findspots across the Roman provinces suggest that they travelled with their owners on military service (Orr 1978, 1565; Kaufmann-Heinimann 2007a, 200).

Apart from the bronzes and wall paintings, representations of the *lares* are also found on coins, clay oil lamps and a small number of stone altars and reliefs. The coins present the most unusual (and earliest) iconography: a series of silver denarii minted by L. Caesius in 112 or 111 BC show a bust of Apollo on the obverse and, on the reverse, two seated figures holding staffs with a dog in between them and a bust of Vulcan above them (Tran Tam Tinh 1992, 210, no. 89; Flower 2017, 110–111). The youths wear the short boots with flaps typical of the *lares*, but are nude above the waist. The pose, attire and attributes of the figures would usually suggest an identification as the *Dioscouri*, another set of twin divinities, were it not for the legend on the coin 'LA RE'.

Turning to the oil lamps: the characteristic dancing pose and fluttering bell-shaped short tunics of the twin *lares* are easily identifiable, often within compositions of surprising detail and intricacy, despite the constraints of rendering complex figural scenes on the small, mould-made clay lamps.

A representative example from the J. Paul Getty Museum dating to the early 2nd century AD shows the *lares* flanking a lit altar that stands directly in between two small laurel trees (Fig. 6.4; Bussière and Wohl 2017, no. 310, with further comparanda). Wearing belted tunics, mantles and boots, the *lares* carry *rhyta* and *situla*. The dancing pose of the *lares* with both feet on tiptoes has here been rendered as the descent of three short steps. Even the arc of wine familiar from wall paintings is depicted by a quick incision in the clay, although it ends over the altar rather than in the pail, most likely a result of the artist compressing the standard scene into the available space in the central discus of the lamp rather than a deliberate indication of wine pouring onto the flaming altar.[6] The iconographic parallels between these lamps and wall paintings from Campania are clear. Another set of lamps, however, present a variation. Here, on a well-preserved example from the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the dominant figure is the goddess Victory, wingspan stretching across the discus, as she holds a trophy and cornucopia (Fig. 6.5). The twin *lares* squeeze alongside her, in belted tunic with overfold, mantle, boots, and holding *rhyta* and *situla*. They step onto small bases, back foot raised in the air. A shield and a garlanded altar complete the busy scene.

Finally, let us briefly consider the stone altars and reliefs. Most of these have been found in and around Rome and, based on their inscriptions, provide our main source of evidence for the *lares augusti*. Introduced by the Emperor Augustus in 7 BC in tandem with a reorganization of the hundreds of neighbourhoods (*vici*) within the fourteen administrative regions of the city and a revival of the crossroads festival of the Compitalia, the *lares augusti* seem to have been a local renaming of the pre-existing *lares compitales* (Flower 2017, 255–257; on the Compitalia: Stek 2009, 187–212). The *lares augusti* exhibit the characteristic iconography of twin youths wearing a short tunic, mantle and boots and holding the *rhyton* and *patera* or *situla*. On the well-preserved Vicus Sandalarius Altar, the *lares* mix and match their attributes: one is holding a *patera* and the other a *situla* as they turn towards each other, the sculptor's elegant solution to the compressed space available on the short side of the altar (Fig. 6.6; Flower 2017, 291–298). The sculptor of an altar found at Caere gives each *lar* its own side; they stand on a rocky platform between two laurel trees, holding a *rhyton* and *patera* and wearing the *bulla*, symbol of the freeborn citizen boy (Fig. 6.7).

Ancient authors rarely mention the appearance, dress or pose of the *lares*, despite (or perhaps because of) the ubiquity of painted and sculpted representations of the divinities in homes and neighbourhood shrines. Instead, Roman writers focus on their nature, genealogy and proper veneration, assigning a wide range of epithets to the *lares* – *familiares*, *compitales*, *praestites*, *viales*, *permarini* – that emphasize their broad jurisdiction as protective deities of the household,

Fig. 6.3. Painted lararium *with bronze figurines, Pompeii, Casa delle Pareti Rosse (VIII 5, 37). After Boyce 1937, 77, no. 3 71, pl. 31–1.*

crossroads, city walls and other places (Flower 2017, 18–30, appendix 1). In a passage in the *Fasti*, Ovid explains that the *lares praestites* – celebrated by a festival on the *kalends* of May – were named thus because they stood before and guarded the walls of Rome (Ovid *Fasti* 5.129–146; Giacobello 2008, 45). Ovid also tells us that there had existed a set of ancient stone statuettes of these *lares*, long since crumbled away by his own time, representing the twin deities standing with a dog at their feet. Why a dog? Ovid anticipates the question of a reader unfamiliar with this less common version of the *lares*. Because the *lares praestites* watch over their home and master like faithful guard-dogs. Plutarch likewise associates the *lares praestites* with dogs, going so far as to say that they wear dog-hides (Plutarch *Roman Questions* 51). These texts provide us with an explanation for the unusual imagery on the Republican coins described above: the presence of a dog suggests that these are the *lares praestites* (and they may be partially draped in dog-hide). However, it is clear that this is not the typical iconography of the *lares*.[7] Indeed, for the most part the literary evidence does not correspond so neatly with our material remains.

The non-dancing *lar*

Not every *lar* dances. Although the iconography of the *lar(es)* across wall paintings, bronze statuary and other

Fig. 6.4. Terracotta oil lamp with lares*. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California, inv. no. 83.AQ.377.114. Photo: Courtesy of Getty's Open Content Program.*

Fig. 6.5. Terracotta oil lamp with Victory and lares*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1906, inv. no. 06.1021.292. Photo: https://www.metmuseum.org.*

media appears to have been relatively standardized, there is one recurrent variation that has been classified as a different type by scholars. This non-dancing, 'standing' or 'static' *lar* is far less common and, on the basis of our extant evidence, does not appear in painted form, only as a bronze figurine (Fröhlich 1991, 120–125; Tran Tam Tinh 1992, 211–212; Giannotta 2004, 342; Flower 2017, 49–50). A youth stands at rest, feet flat on the ground or back foot gently raised, arms lowered, holding out a *patera* and cradling a cornucopia, as in a delicate example from the J. Paul Getty Museum (Fig. 6.8; Pollini 2008). In marked contrast to the boisterous dancing *lares*, the standing *lar* is calm and still, as conveyed not only through the pose but also through the depiction of the garments. Although the skirt of the tunic typically retains a flared shape, the mantle is worn over one shoulder and looped under at the waist. Instead of fluttering around the knees or shoulders, both ends of the mantle are drawn together in the centre of the figure and fall heavily towards the ground in a cascade of zigzag folds, devoid of motion (see also Fig. 6.10). The bronze standing *lar* also seems to have been produced as a singleton, rather than a mirror-image identical pair like the bronze dancing *lares*.

From the early 20th century until relatively recently, scholarship on the *lares* was dominated by a debate on the nature of the deities, largely following ancient literary evidence, that split into two opposing camps: those who argued

Fig. 6.6. Altar of the lares augusti *found in the Vicus Sandalarius, ca. 2 BC. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. Photo: Koppermann, Neg. D-DAI-ROM 65.2157.*

Fig. 6.7. Altar of C. Manlius found at Caere. Musei Vaticani, Rome, inv. no. 9964. Photo: Neg. D-DAI-ROM 7524.

that the *lares* should be interpreted as the spirits of deceased ancestors of a household and those who considered the *lares* to be gods of place, originally tied to the agricultural land that a family inhabited. Thankfully, this debate has been thoroughly laid to rest by Flower (2017, 2–17), who carefully outlines the arguments for the *lares* as guardian spirits of places. In part, scholarly uncertainty arose over how to reconcile references to the *lar familiaris* or family *lar*, worshipped inside the home and closely connected to the hearth (and generally referred to in the singular), with the *lares compitales*, or *lares* of the crossroads, a pair of deities worshipped at the boundaries of properties and neighbourhoods. Furthermore, efforts were made to connect these two types referenced by our literary sources with the representations of the *lar* from our archaeological remains: accordingly, scholars argued that the twin dancing *lares* were the *lares compitales*, while the sedate and solitary standing *lar* represented the *lar familiaris*.[8]

However, these attributions are not as straightforward as they may first appear. As mentioned, images of the standing *lar* are relatively rare, occurring only in bronze. This is hard to square with our assumption that the so-called family *lar* was integral to every Roman household shrine. In fact, the wall paintings from Pompeii and Herculaneum – and almost all of the bronzes found there in *lararium* sets – depict the twin dancing *lares*. Are these, therefore, the *lares compitales*, although they are mainly from domestic contexts? To solve this puzzle, scholars have posited that there was a chronological shift in iconography: depictions of the single *lar familiaris* gave way to the twin deities after the Augustan reforms of 7 BC codified and disseminated that particular version.[9] While this fits somewhat with the Campanian evidence, as most of our extant wall paintings are dated after the mid-1st century AD and would thus post-date this shift (Fröhlich 1991, 68–108), the bronzes are extremely difficult to date.[10] Moreover, the picture is complicated by the fact that certain defining characteristics of the bronze figurines of the standing *lar* (the cornucopia, still pose and the heavy downward zigzag of the mantle ends) can be found mixed together with the iconography of the dancing *lares*. For example, a beautifully rendered bronze statuette from the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid is shown with one arm raised and billowing mantle in the dancing pose, but holding a cornucopia laden with bunches of grapes in the other arm (Fig. 6.9). The item held aloft has broken off along with the fingers and thumb of the *lar*, but the angle of the hand suggests that it was originally a *rhyton* rather than a *patera*. The evident skill and artistry of the piece belies any dismissal that the maker did not understand how to properly represent the *lar*. A cheery figurine from the British Museum raises aloft both *rhyton* and *cornucopia* (BM inv. no. 1757,0815.25b). Another example from the British Museum holds *rhyton* and *patera* but is depicted in the standing pose with the heavy zigzag mantle ends falling from the waist straight down the middle of his tunic (Fig. 6.10).

As a whole, our material evidence suggests that the dancing *lar* is the standard type, with the standing *lar* a much less common variation, and that we cannot necessarily match these to particular epithets (Kaufmann-Heinimann 2007b, 151, n. 9; Flower 2017, 290). We must also bear in mind that our evidence spans centuries – from the painted representations on Delos dating to the 2nd century BC, the Augustan Compital altars from Rome and the *lararia* paintings in Pompeii and Herculaneum – and that it seems likely that worship of the *lar* had distinct iterations within different regions and communities. Further consideration of the complex question of why a single version of the *lar* in a different pose exists only in bronze (given our archaeological remains) and which type of *lar* it may be intended to represent based on the various epithets we know from literary sources is beyond the scope of this paper. In what follows, I will focus on the dominant type: the dancing *lar*.

The costume of the *lares*: tunic, mantle and boots

It is the representation of the textiles worn by the *lares*, in tandem with the position of their feet, that tells the viewer that the figures are intended to be shown in motion. Dancing on the occasion of their own worship, adorned with wreaths and pouring wine, they evoke religious feasts and festivals. So, let us examine their costume more closely.

The tunic

The main garment worn by the *lar* is usually described by scholars as a short *chiton* or tunic (Latin *tunica*). In general, it is represented as a light, loose, presumably woollen dress, tied around the waist and reaching to just above the knee. The tunic is formed from two pieces of woven cloth sewn together along the sides and at the shoulders, leaving neck and arm holes (Fig. 6.1b, with a triangular pattern running along the neckline and sleeves). The fabric falls in V-shaped folds around the neck and hangs loosely under the arms, forming sleeves that drop down towards the elbow or ride up to the mid-upper arm. Rarely, the tunic is sleeveless and fastened with one large circular button at each shoulder (Fig. 6.6, and see Fig. 6.23 for this style of tunic depicted in a different media; this is essentially the form of the *peplos*). The cloth generally bunches around the waist concealing the belt, in some cases forming a substantial overfold that flares out in a visual echo of the tunic's flaring skirt below (in Fig. 6.6 the ties of the belt are visible under the folds of cloth). If the mantle is tied high around the chest, above the belt, a tiered effect can occur with multiple layers of fluttering cloth (for example, in painted form, see Fig. 6.11, Fröhlich 1991, 279, no. L70, pl. 7 (Pompeii VI 15,1, Casa dei Vettii); in bronze, Fig. 6.10; also rendered carefully in miniature on oil lamps, see Figs. 6.4 and 6.5).

Movement is conveyed through the depiction of the skirt of the tunic. In bronze, the folds of the cloth press back against the forward motion of the legs and the skirt flares out dramatically on either side (as in Fig. 6.9). On some statuettes, these folds are carefully defined, revealing the shape of the thighs underneath the fabric. On more schematic bronzes, the skirt is rendered as a broad triangle extending outwards from the waist. Some wall paintings show the skirt puffed out into a bell shape, almost turned under at the knees, as if the figure were twirling (Fig. 6.12; Fröhlich 1991, 258–259, no. L24, pl. 4,2 (Pompeii I 12,3)).

Fig. 6.8. Bronze statuette of a lar. *The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California, inv. no. 71.AB.174. Photo: Courtesy of Getty's Open Content Program.*

The wall paintings also reveal the bright colours and patterns of the woven cloth. Tunics can be solid yellow, blue, green or white (or undyed natural wool) with mantles in contrasting colours, frequently solid red. In several of the examples preserved from Pompeii, the *lares* wear a highly distinctive tunic that is yellow on one side and blue on the other side, fading to white in the centre with a red stripe running vertically down the middle from neckline to hem (Fig. 6.12; also, for example, Fröhlich 1991, 290–291, no. L94, pl. 8,2 (Pompeii VII 16,22, Casa di Fabius Rufus) and Fröhlich 1991, 297–298, no. L108, pl. 12,1 (Pompeii IX 9,b/c, Casa del Maiale)). Notably, within the pairs of *lares* sporting this eclectic two-tone design, the 'outer' side (that is to say, the side of the *rhyton*-holding arm) is blue while the 'inner' side is yellow. The patterns on their tunics are mirror-image, not strictly identical. Do these vivid two-tone blue and yellow tunics reflect actual garments?[11] Such a pattern could be made by weaving bands of differently dyed threads into the cloth (Granger-Taylor 1982, 7).

Indeed, the red vertical stripe running down the centre of the tunic in these examples can be identified as the *latus clavus*.[12] According to ancient authors, the *latus clavus* or 'broad stripe' and the *angustus clavus* or 'narrow stripe', also in red or purple, were used on tunics to denote Senatorial or Equestrian rank respectively (a passage in Suetonius *Lives of the Caesars. The Deified Augustus* 2.38 referring to the *latus clavus* has been particularly influential in modern scholarship in this regard; summary in Olson 2017, 17–21). However, this limited designation is at odds with our archaeological evidence – both artworks and actual textile remains – that shows tunics with vertical stripes were worn by all classes of society and by men, women and children (Harlow and Nosch 2014, 14). For example, a woollen child's tunic preserved from Dura Europos in the Yale University Art Gallery (inv. no. 1938.5486) is decorated with two pairs of narrow dark red bands or a mummy portrait from Egypt now in the collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum shows a woman wearing a pink tunic with indigo shoulder-stripes (Fig. 6.13). Usually running down the garment from the shoulder rather than the neckline, one, two or parallel pairs of stripes of varying thicknesses woven directly into the cloth seem to have been standard embellishment for the tunic. Different widths of *clavi* are illustrated in the *lararium* painting from the Casa dei Vettii in Pompeii; the *genius* wears a toga with a thick red border (the toga *praetexta*) over a tunic decorated with a thick red stripe, the *latus clavus*, that is visible under the toga from his right-hand shoulder to waist (Fig. 6.11). The *lares* flanking

Fig. 6.9. Bronze statuette of a lar. *Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid, inv. no. 2943 (front and back). Photo: Raúl Fernández Ruiz.*

him wear identical white tunics with a single, narrower, red stripe, the *angustus clavus*, also running down from their right shoulders. Their coordinating red mantles loop over their left shoulders and are tied high around their chests. Scholars have generally assumed that the *clavi* were always a pair but just not visible on the side of the tunic covered by the toga (*i.e*., the tunic worn by the *genius* from the Casa dei Vettii would have a matching broad red stripe on his left shoulder); however, the example of the *lares* seems to show that there could be only one stripe, whether 'broad' or 'narrow'.

Furthermore, we can observe a difference between the wall paintings and the bronze figurines. The tunics of the latter do not seem to have been decorated with a single *latus clavus*, but are often shown with two *angusti clavi*. Many bronze statuettes have two narrow recessed bands, carefully inlaid with another metal or alloy, shining from their tunics (clearly visible on Fig. 6.14; also Figs 6.1b and 6.8; Granger-Taylor 1982, 7). It seems unlikely that the *clavi* seen on the *lares* were intended to signify a precise social status for the figures themselves. As divinities, they were surely not bothered by Roman political mores. Did the bands denote the rank of the household that those *lares* protected (as Pollini 2008, 396; *contra* Fröhlich 1991, 31)? This also seems doubtful as the ranks were not hereditary and could shift with political office, nor are our Pompeian examples found in the homes of Senators. Instead, the red stripes may have been seen as a particularly 'Roman' fashion (despite their Etruscan antecedents) added to the otherwise

Fig. 6.10. Bronze statuette of a lar. *British Museum, inv. no. 1975,0202.3. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.*

Fig. 6.11. Wall painting with lares *and* genius*, Pompeii, Casa dei Vettii (VI 15, 2). Photo: Scala/ Art Resource, NY.*

Fig. 6.12. Wall painting with lares *and flaming altar, Pompeii, I 12, 3. After Fröhlich 1991, 258–259, no. 24, pl. 4. 2.*

Fig. 6.13. Mummy portrait of a young woman with shoulder stripes on tunic, ca. AD 170–200. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California, inv. no. 81.AP.29. Photo: Courtesy of Getty's Open Content Program.

relatively eclectic Greek and Italic elements of the *lar*'s costume (Giacobello 2008, 90). Or, as symbolic of the Roman citizen, *lares* can also be shown wearing the *bulla*. Most likely, since there are also many examples of painted and bronze *lares* in plain tunics, the *clavi* were regarded as an additional decorative element not integral to the *lar*'s iconography (Vinci 2014, 92).

Bright colours and *clavi* aside, the closest iconographic parallels to the style of the *lar*'s short fluttering tunic – and indeed their costume as a whole – can be found in depictions of the dress of the hunting goddess Artemis. Although Artemis can be shown wearing a long garment (especially in Greek vase paintings, for example the 5th century BC vase by the Niobid Painter, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. Paris G341), the 3rd century BC *Hymn to Artemis* by Callimachus describes her as girded in a 'tunic with embroidered border reaching to the knee' and gives her the epithet 'Goddess of the *Chiton*', and she is frequently depicted in a short tunic (Callimachus, *Hymns 3. To Artemis*, 3.11–12, 3.225; Parisinou 2002).[13] This dress emphasizes her primary role as a huntress: she is able to move with ease, stealth and speed, her legs unencumbered by long fabric.

To illustrate the similarities in dress between the *lar* and Artemis, let us examine the so-called *Diana of Versailles* or *Artemis with a Doe* today in the Musée du Louvre (Fig. 6.15). Standing just over life-size, the marble sculpture is a 2nd century AD (possibly Hadrianic) Roman copy of an earlier bronze work that has been dated to around 100 BC. In a dynamic pose characteristic of the Hellenistic period that encourages the viewer to move around the statue, the goddess steps forward, light on her feet, simultaneously drawing an arrow from her quiver and grasping the antlers of a deer rearing at her side. Artemis wears a sleeveless tunic, belted with a long overfold, that reaches to just above her knees. The cloth falls in a V-shape fold at the neck and the armholes reach almost to her waist, allowing her arms complete freedom of movement. Her quiver is slung over her right shoulder, and the strap is visible passing over her tunic and underneath her mantle. The thick cloth of her mantle has been tied tightly around her waist, crossing at the back to form a loop through which the ends have been passed to secure them: one end has been thrown forward over her left shoulder and then tucked under the waist-loop, the other end is tucked under at her side. As a result, the mantle ends hang unevenly, one slightly longer than the other, down the centre of the figure, fluttering against her body. The goddess is in motion: the narrow folds of her skirt press back against her thighs, turning up over her left knee as she strides forward, and the cloth flares out on either side, giving her skirt a distinctive triangular shape that, I would argue, symbolizes vigorous movement (if not dance in all instances). The style and shape of the tunic of the *Diana of Versailles* and the way in which the fabric has been rendered are mirrored by representations of the *lares* across media (for example, Figs 6.7, 6.9 or 6.11). The implications of this iconographic echo for questions of gender and status will be explored further below, following discussion of the other two main components of the *lar*'s costume.

The mantle

Commonly referred to by scholars as a mantle or cloak, the garment draped over the arms or tied around the waist of the *lar* is more like a sash or scarf: a long, narrow, rectangular piece of cloth woven out of wool. Occasionally the corners of the ends are adorned with tassels formed from gathered and knotted threads, represented similarly across media in painting, bronze and relief sculpture (see Figs 6.1, 6.2, 6.7, 6.9 and 6.11).[14] One bronze *lar* appears to have a fringed mantle (Fig. 6.14). Both the tassel and the fringe are indicative of the wool-weaving process, as ways of finishing off the ends of the warp threads. But they may also have given

Fig. 6.14. Bronze statuette of a lar. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1919, inv. no. 19.192.50. Photo: https://www.metmuseum.org.*

a garment some special significance. Olson observes that the fringe, although relatively rare in our extant depictions of Roman clothing, appears on military cloaks and religious garments, and therefore may have connoted high status, ritual or even served an apotropaic function (Olson 2022). Interestingly, men holding statuettes of the *lares* on the Altar of the Vicomagistri wear fringed mantles over their tunics, perhaps indicating a specific connection to the worship of the *lares augusti* (Olson 2022, 155–156, Fig. 11.10). Tassels were more widespread in Roman fashion, found on women's and men's clothing, namely cloaks and *togae* (Hildebrant and Demant 2018). Their appearance on the mantle of the *lar* seems, like the *clavi* shown on some tunics, to add some extra flair to the outfit, rather than being an essential feature of the *lar*'s costume.

Three possible configurations of the mantle are revealed by our extant images of the *lares*: slung loosely over the arms, looped over one shoulder and tied around the waist, or simply tied around the waist. In Campanian wall paintings, the mantle is almost always draped somewhat precariously between the *lar*'s raised and lowered arms, supported in the crook of the elbow (Fröhlich 1991, 121). The bulk of the cloth hangs in a shallow curve behind the *lar*'s back, forming an elegant visual inversion of the stream of red wine arcing over its head (see Figs 6.2 and 6.12). The ends of the mantle and the thick crescent-shaped swoosh of cloth can both billow outwards to a greater or lesser extent, as if the figure were spinning or alighting to the ground. The *lares* painted in the Casa dei Vettii that wear their crimson mantles over one shoulder and tied tightly around the waist appear to be an exception within that medium (Fig. 6.11). The wall paintings also reveal that the mantles were often dyed solid red, but could also be yellow, blue or green.

In contrast, the bronze *lares* always wear the mantle tied around the waist, no doubt due to the challenges of casting what is already a relatively complex figurine that has both arms extended from the body and tiny added details of the animal-head *rhyton* and *patera* (or even *situla*, a pair of dancing *lares* from the Casa degli Amorini Dorati, Pompeii, carry miniature bronze buckets (Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 200, no. GFV27, pl. 166). Although it was possible to replicate the billowing mantle behind the painted *lares* in bronze, as seen in a statuette of a goddess, likely Nyx or Selene, shown alighting with pointed toes and her mantle blowing in a graceful curve behind her (J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 96.AB.38; Sofroniew 2015, 2–3), this style would result in a relatively top-heavy and cumbersome statuette and none of our extant bronze *lares* wear their mantle this way.

The exact way in which the mantle is tied to the body is carefully represented in the round on some of the highest quality bronze figurines, and the folds and texture of the thicker wool cloth can be distinguished from the fabric of the tunic underneath. The long, narrow mantle is wrapped around the waist from front to back, crossing behind the figure to form a tight band of fabric. The ends are then drawn forward on either side and tucked back under the band of cloth to secure them, forming two knots visible at the sides of the figure. In the main variation, one end of the mantle is drawn from back to front over the shoulder (of the uplifted, *rhyton*-bearing arm) before being tucked under the waistband at the front (see Fig. 6.9 for a front and back view). The *lares* carved on the Altar of C. Manlius display a curious combination of both styles: each figure wears a mantle passing over their outer shoulder and around their waist, with at least one end zigzagging down the front centre of their tunic, and an additional two ends of a mantle with tassels looped into their waistband and flying out on either side (Fig. 6.7). Do these *lares* wear two mantles? This unique occurrence seems likely to be a misunderstanding of the iconography by the artist, perhaps translating a model of a bronze standing *lar* into the twin dancing *lares*.

Movement is evoked largely through the positioning of the ends of the mantle. Rather than drooping heavily, the thick cloth flies out around the dancing *lar* propelled by the force of its motion (in contrast with the non-dancing *lar* discussed above, whose mantle ends fall in characteristic

*Fig. 6.15. Marble statue of Artemis with doe (*Diana of Versailles*). Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. MA 589. Photo: Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Thierry Ollivier/Art Resource NY.*

zigzag folds down the centre of the tunic, as seen on Figs 6.8 and 6.10). In more technically complex bronze figurines, the ends of the mantle are hooked over each arm, streaming behind the figure on either side (for example, Fig. 6.19). Typically, however, the mantle ends flare outwards alongside the skirt of the tunic. For instance, on a beautifully rendered example from the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid, the mantle passes over the *lar*'s right shoulder and the ends soar almost to waist height, as if the figure were twirling vigorously (Fig. 6.9). On this statuette, the mantle ends are clearly distinguishable from the tunic, a sliver of light is visible where they are not fully fused together. Similarly, on a *lar* in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the oversized mantle ends flare out somewhat awkwardly and join at the tips of the skirt (Fig. 6.20). On a bronze *lar* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art each mantle end – complete with jaunty corner tassels – is slightly longer than the skirt and likewise easily differentiated (Fig. 6.1a).

However, more commonly, the folds of the mantle blend fully into the edges of the tunic, serving to dramatically widen and accentuate the flare of the skirt. A bronze *lar* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art is illustrative in this regard: the mantle is essentially integrated with the skirt of the tunic – moulded as part of the torso of the figure, rather than cast as a separate bronze piece – although still somewhat visually distinct due to its fringed ends (Fig. 6.14). In the most rudimentary examples, the ends of the mantle and the skirt form a single broad triangular shape that can sometimes lead to a misperception that the *lar* is lacking a mantle (Fig. 6.17). The knots of cloth at the waist can also be reduced to schematic bumps rather than loops of fabric (bronze loop visible on Fig. 6.1b; two bumps at the waist on Fig. 6.17).

Some type of outer wrap was, like the tunic, a fundamental feature of ancient Greek and Roman dress. There were many permutations in different fabrics, shapes and sizes.[15] Moreover, it can be difficult to match the Greek and Latin clothing terminology gleaned from literary sources with our visual evidence from paintings and sculpture (Harlow and Nosch 2014, 15). Some cloaks seem to have been gendered or for specific purposes, such as the Greek *chlamys* or the Roman equivalent the *paludamentum*, a long cloak fastened over the shoulders with a brooch, worn by men as part of a military costume. Others were more versatile and worn by women and men, like the Greek *himation*. It has been suggested that the piece of fabric worn by the *lares* is the *paludamentum*, but it is usually termed the *pallium* or *palla*, considered to be the Roman versions of the Greek *himation* (*paludamentum*: Orr 1978, 1569, n. 72; Boyce 1937 uses *pallium*; Tran Tam Tinh 1992, 211 describes the garment as a scarf and suggests *palla* in the absence of a more fitting term; Giacobello 2008, 89). The *himation* worn bare-chested (*i.e.*, without a tunic underneath) and wrapped around the lower body was the customary attire of the Greek philosopher, and therefore the *pallium* could carry associations of Greekness, learnedness and effeminacy, in opposition to the Roman *toga* (Olson 2017, 75). The mantle worn by the *lar*, however, does not appear to have the width of the *himation*, which was long and broad enough to cover the whole body from head to toe.

Overall, the *lares* are never depicted with their mantle wrapped around their legs in the fashion termed by scholars as the 'hip-mantle', nor fastened around the neck like a military cloak, nor suspended from just one shoulder (a style common on figurines of Mercury: Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 47–48, pls 20, 21). The piece of cloth worn by the *lares* would have to be very long indeed in order to hang down almost to the knees after being passed around the waist and shoulder, and relatively narrow so as not to be extremely bulky when tied around the body. Yet, the precision and consistency with which the exact method of tying up the mantle is depicted on sculptures of the *lar* (also on the *Diana of Versailles* and Capitoline Artemis, for

Fig. 6.16. Detail of footwear of Diana of Versailles *(Fig. 6.15) and of bronze statuette of a* lar *(Fig. 6.9).*

example, Figs 6.15 and 6.18) strongly suggest that artists were representing a real garment that they were familiar with. Whether passed around the shoulder or only around the waist, this method of tying a long scarf to the body is surprisingly secure. By allowing freedom for limbs while drawing attention to the motion of the body, the mantle of the *lar* functions to enhance their dancing pose.

The use of the billowing mantle to signify motion – swelling with air from the wind or fluttering as a result of a figure running, dancing or in flight – is conventional in Hellenistic and Roman art. Thus, mantles swirl around maenads and nymphs, streaming behind the breezes, *aurai* or *nereids* riding the waves. The predominant version of the motif, wherein the mantle forms a broad arc that encircles the figure and frames their upper body and head, occurs mainly in two-dimensional representations – paintings, mosaics and relief sculpture from the monumental to the miniature – although it is possible to render in the round (as on the bronze statuette of Nyx in the J. Paul Getty Museum mentioned above). To select only a few representative examples: we find this version of the billowing mantle motif on a relief panel on the Ara Pacis showing the personifications of the breezes of land and sea; or soaring above Poseidon driving his chariot on a mosaic from Ostia; and framing the emperor Claudius on a relief sculpture panel from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias (Pollini 1992, 285–286, highlighting Augustan examples). This version is generally *not* used for the painted *lares*, presumably in large part so as not to interfere visually with the arc of wine flowing from *rhyton* to receptacle over the *lar*'s head. An exception can be seen on an unusual painting of a *lar* from Pompeii, now in the Minneapolis Institute of Art, that shows a green mantle forming an almost complete circle behind the figure's head (Fig. 6.23). Instead, the mantle of the painted *lar* generally billows in an arc behind the figure's lower body, mirroring the stream of wine above (as on Figs 6.2 and 6.12). Interestingly, in the wall paintings of the followers of Dionysus from the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii, a nude female dancer is depicted clacking castanets above her head while her mantle forms a graceful vertical arc from over her shoulder to between her knees, demonstrating that there were other possible variations of the placement of the billowing mantle.

Fig. 6.17. Bronze statuette of a lar. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 96.9.274. Photo: https://www.metmuseum.org.*

The depictions of the mantle worn by the *lares* draw on these artistic conventions, albeit in two distinct ways largely determined by media, as we have seen. Whether billowing behind the *lar* or tied around the body with ends streaming outwards, the mantle is a key iconographic element that signifies movement. Rather than enveloping the body or falling heavily towards the ground, the fabric of the mantle swirls around as the *lar* dances.

The boots

The *lares* typically wear distinctive open-toed boots that reach to mid-calf with an animal-skin lining (*pilos*) hanging over the top. These boots are rendered more or less schematically across both wall paintings and bronze figurines, depending on the skill and inclination of the artist. In the most basic examples in either media, the boots are indicated by a thick band mid-calf with two narrow flaps from the boot-liner hanging down either side of the leg and a wider central flap (the animal head), and a corresponding thin band mid-foot exposing the toes (for example, Figs 6.8 and 6.11). The boots have a thin sole and appear to be soft leather fitted to the shape of

Fig. 6.18. Marble statue of Artemis from the Villa d'Este, Tivoli. Musei Capitolini, Rome. Inv. no. Scu 62. Photo: © Vanni Archive/ Art Resource, NY.

the foot and leg. Wall paintings generally show the boots as brown in colour.

Close examination of more carefully rendered depictions reveals additional details. In some cases, the leather encases the lower leg, ankle and upper foot and is laced up the front; in other examples the boot is essentially a high sandal: a central strap joins the upper band around the calf to the lower band around the foot. A *lar* in the J. Paul Getty Museum illustrates the latter 'sandal' type: a strap decorated with studs and cross-hatching runs down the front from beneath the animal-head liner (Fig. 6.19, also Fig. 6.1). Occasionally the *piloi* can be rendered with a distinguishable animal head and paws, rather than as flaps. The animal head is usually described by scholars as 'feline', either from a panther or leopard, or more improbably a lion (for example, on Figs 6.7 and 6.8; Goette terms this style of boot the *Löwenfellstiefel* or 'lion's-skin boot': 1998, 413–414).

In general, the style of open-toed, mid-calf high boot seems to have originated in southern Italy, where it appears on the feet of Dionysus and Artemis on a late 5th-century BC Apulian vase by the Karneia Painter (Fig. 6.21; Dionysus' boots have animal-skin liners, the pair worn by Artemis are unlined). A deer-hunter on a Paestan tomb painting dating to the early 4th century BC wears a similar pair of open-toed, mid-calf boots along with a red-bordered short tunic and mantle (Andreae and Schepkowski 2007, 60–67; Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Paestum, inv. no. 31684). Morrow posits that the type spread eastwards from Italy to the Greek world during the Hellenistic period, where it is found on relief fragments from Pergamon and on the feet of a Hellenistic ruler from Kyme (Morrow 1985, 138–139, pl. 121). The style then becomes popular in Roman art, particularly for representations of emperors, personifications and deities with a militaristic, hunting or Dionysiac association (overview in Goette 1988, 401–423, arguing that the *Löwenfellstiefel* originates in the Augustan period). Indeed, the same style of boot can also be seen on a large-scale marble sculpture of Artemis in the Capitoline Museums, a Roman copy based on the same Hellenistic statue type as the Louvre *Diana of Versailles* (but wearing different shoes: the latter sculpture sports sandals).[16] The goddess strides forward mid-hunt, tunic and mantle fluttering, wearing a pair of beautifully decorated open-toed boots with *piloi* made with small panther heads (Fig. 6.18).

In the *Hymn to Artemis*, Callimachus describes the hunting boots worn by Artemis as *endromides*, and this term has also been used by scholars for the boots of the *lares* (Callimachus, *Hymns 3. To Artemis*, 3.16; Parisinou 2002, 56; on the *lares*: Richter 1915, 132). The *endromis* (derived from the Greek *dromos*, race) is more properly a closed-toe, soleless style of boot that was laced up the sides or the front and designed to facilitate running (Morrow 1985, 41–43, see also appendix 3, 178). Morrow identifies this type primarily in Archaic-period art from Magna Graecia and Sicily and suggests that the fashion was influenced by the soft fitted boots with a pointed toe worn by Etruscan men and women. The other main form of Greek boot is the more generic *embades*. These are knee-high boots with *piloi* that originated as a Thracian riding boot – sturdy and protective for the feet – and are worn by Amazons, as well as by riders on the Parthenon frieze (Morrow 1985, 148, 178; Goette 1988, 424–444). Goette classifies Artemis' boots as *embades*, tracing the iconography by way of the Thracian goddess Bendis. Moreover, he argues that the boots of the *lar* are characterized specifically by a lion-skin lining and should be identified as the Roman *mullei*, a style known in literary sources named for their reddish-yellow colour which he explains as the colour of the lion's fur (Goette 1988, 444–448; also Giacobello 2008, 90, n. 4). However, the lack of specificity in the depiction of flaps on the boots of the *lares*, the brown colour on those painted in Campanian *lararia* and the Italic precedents for the open-toed style counter this argument.

Indeed, bronze figurines also show the *lares* wearing ankle-height sandals. Delicately rendered on the *lar* from the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid, this type of thong sandal has a series of straps running between a band around the ankle and a band just before the toes, and laces in the front with a tongue flap (or *lingula*) protruding over the foot or up the leg (Fig. 6.9; also Fig. 6.16). The same style of sandal can be seen on the Louvre *Diana of Versailles* (Fig. 6.15). The generic term for sandals is *crepidae* (Greek *krepides*) and this particular iteration of thong sandal with ankle straps and tongue seems to have developed in the Hellenistic period (Morrow 1985, 120; for *crepidae* on a *lar*: Pollini 2008, 391, n. 2, pl. XIV, Fig. 7).

So, are the types of footwear worn by the *lares* particularly suited to or associated with dance? Some clothed dancing figures in Hellenistic and Roman art, for example *kalathiskos* dancers, are typically shown barefoot (other dancers are depicted nude, as athletes generally are also) (Fig. 6.22; Habetzeder 2012). Instead, it is clear that the costume of the *lar* includes footwear as a standard part of their iconography; they appear barefoot only very rarely in our extant evidence (Fröhlich 1991, 121, pl. 49.1). Moreover, both sandals and boots appear interchangeably on the dancing *lares* and the standing *lar*; one does not seem to be more associated with a particular type (although there does seem to be a difference in medium: sandals are mainly found on bronze statuettes and seldom on painted *lares*). Interestingly, the specific versions of footwear depicted on the *lares* – the open-toed boot and the sandal with *lingula* – seem to be original Italic fashions that spread to the Greek East in the 2nd century BC and remained popular in the Roman period (Morrow 1985, 141–142). Indeed, there may be a connection to earlier Italic representations of shod dancers: Etruscan dancers are depicted wearing both boots and sandals (Gouy 2013; 2019). Other comparanda can be

Fig. 6.19. Bronze statuette of a lar*, Genius of Aurelius Valerius and Base, AD 150–250. The J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 96.AB.200. © Image: Bruce White Photography (J. Paul Getty Museum).*

found in the corpus of Hellenistic terracotta figurines: many examples of the so-called 'mantle dancer' type – a woman with her *himation* wrapped tightly around her whole body, arms and head as she twists – wear shoes, as does a bronze version of the type in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (the 'Baker dancer'; Naerebout 2002, 71 n. 35). Soft and flexible, with thin soles and open-toed, perhaps allowing for greater sensitivity to movement, the boots and sandals worn by the *lares* are integral to their representation as dancing.

Gender, status and the dancing pose

The investigation of the costume of the *lares* presented here has raised several questions of gender and status. Does the *lar* wear the short *chiton* of Artemis, or the simple tunic of the craftsman and slave? Are the style of mantle and calf-high boots markedly effeminate or non-Roman? Are the *lares* really dancing while pouring wine, and is dance a particularly servile, female or non-Roman activity? Let us turn to consider these issues. All three main elements of the typical dress of the *lar* carry multi-valent associations, and can be worn by men and by women, by deities and mythical figures or by ordinary Romans. Nonetheless, it is striking that the exact combination of all three – short tunic, mantle fastened around shoulder and waist, and calf-high boots or sandals – is also found on Hellenistic and Roman depictions of Artemis/Diana (Figs 6.15 and 6.18).

Fig. 6.20. Bronze statuette of a lar *(front and back), AD 100–300. Philadelphia Museum of Art, inv. no. 1930–1–13. Photo: www.philamuseum.org.*

How can we interpret this iconographic parallel between the *lares* and Artemis/Diana? What is the significance of this costume as a whole that might lead to its adoption for the (later) visual conceptions of the *lar*? Often represented with a deer along with her bow and arrows, the unmarried hunting goddess was closely associated with youthfulness and rites of passage, and primarily with the wild and untameable – even cruel – natural world. Rather than the predominantly 'woman's goddess' we often casually assume her to be, Diana inhabits the male, outdoor space of the hunt and attracted male worshippers (D'Ambra 2008, 180–181). Her dress helps to position her outside of normative gender roles. The short *chiton* and hunting boots are also the costume of the Amazons (with the right breast exposed, in a style that Artemis also occasionally wears); these items are the garb of transgressive females (Parisinou 2002). Above all, the costume enables freedom of movement: swift running, horse-riding, the shooting of arrows.

There are two other related points of contact between Artemis/Diana and the *lares*. The first is childhood rites of passage: Artemis held particular importance for young girls as they prepared for marriage and childbirth. The *lar*'s role as protector of the household naturally encompassed any children, but the deity was also specifically the recipient of the trappings of coming of age: young boys would dedicate their *bullae* to their family *lar* as they transitioned to adulthood, and young girls would offer their dolls and playthings before marriage (Flower 2017, 83–84). The second point of contact is dance: the worship of Artemis could involve ritual dance (Simon 2021, 184–187). Bron interprets a vase depicting female dancers holding swords as a performance for Artemis, marking the liminal status of the participants between girlhood and womanhood (Bron 1996).

Fig. 6.21. Volute-krater with Dionysus, Artemis and maenads, attributed to the Karneia Painter, ca. 410 BC. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Taranto, inv. no. IG 8263. Photo: White Images/Scala/ Art Resource, NY.

The iconography of the *lar* has also been connected to south Italian representations of Dionysus and his followers (Orr 1978, 1568, n. 66, after Wissowa 1912, 172). The *rhyton* with wine flowing out provides an obvious link to the cult of the wine-god. Additionally, as noted above, Dionysus is depicted wearing the open-toed soft boots with overhanging boot-liners of the *lares* on a *krater* now in Taranto (Fig. 6.21; Goette 1988, 488 emphasizes the association between this style of footwear and the god). However, it is striking that images on Apulian vases lead us back to Artemis: on this *krater* Dionysus is accompanied by the hunting goddess. She stands beside him, holding a torch and *situla*, and wearing the *nebris* or fawnskin over her short, flouncy *chiton*. Another *krater* shows Artemis riding a deer with a maenad wearing a short *chiton* and boots leading in front and a satyr carrying a *thyrsos* following behind (*LIMC* 2.1, 685). Indeed, there is a strong cultic association between Dionysus and Artemis (Simon 2021, 186–187).

Turning to the vexed question of the servile associations of the *lar*. Due to the location of many Pompeian *lararia* in kitchens, and the *lares*' short tunics and pose pouring wine, it has been argued that worship of the *lar* was primarily conducted for and by the enslaved members of a household, and even that the *lar* represents a serving boy (Pollini 2008, 394–395; Flower 2017, 73, n. 3). However, as Flower has comprehensively outlined, veneration of the *lares* – whether in the home or in neighbourhood shrines – was conducted by and on behalf of all members of the household from enslaved members to *paterfamilias* (Flower 2017, esp. summary 72–73). The presence of *lares* in the kitchen resulted from their association with the hearth, and the food prepared there, rather than relegation to a space designated as servile (Giacobello 2008, 36; Flower 2017, 48–49). On the contrary, the active participation of freedmen in the cult of the *lares compitales* and the depiction of *lares* wearing the *bulla* asserts Roman citizen status. Rather than being seen as a lowly garment, the tunic was a fundamental component of everyday ancient dress at all levels of society.[17] As I have argued, it is worn by the *lar* to signify movement, in the mode of Artemis/Diana. Moreover, while an ungirdled tunic could be considered undignified, poor and servile dress, both literary sources and visual representations emphasize how the tunic of the *lar* is belted. The *lar* is described as *incinctus* and *subcintus* (Flower 2017, 354–356, appendix 1). Visually, the *lar* often appears double-girdled: the

belted tunic is reinforced by the positioning of the mantle tied around the waist.

Thus, I would argue against a servile interpretation of the attributes (*rhyton* and *patera* or *situla*) and pose (dancing with wine flowing): the *lares* are not slaves pouring wine at a dinner party, they are participants in a religious ritual that is being celebrated in their honour (Flower 2017, 71–72). They are not mortals, but divinities, the recipients of offerings of wine, garlands and foodstuffs, represented in the tradition of Italic votive terracottas and reliefs that depict the deity holding out a *patera*, joining in the actions of their own worship. The holder of the *rhyton* – symbol of an aspirational elite lifestyle – is the drinker, not the servant, as also evidenced by the banqueter motif showing heroes, divinities and the deceased on funerary and votive reliefs (Giacobello 2008, 92–94). This is the realm of the divine, and the *lares*, often wearing a wreath tied with long ribbons that fall down onto their shoulders, are the festive guardians of the prosperity of the household.

Fig. 6.22. Bronze statuettes of kalathiskos *dancers from a set of* lararium *statuettes. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Arezzo. © Ministero della Cultura – Direzione regionale Musei della Toscana – Firenze. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Arezzo, inv. no. 116731 and inv. no. 116732.*

Furthermore, while non-elite and enslaved entertainers performed at private dinner-parties or on stage, public and/or mythical dance formed a core element of religious worship in many cults and sacred spaces, from the *curetes* (male armed dancers for Zeus) to the female *kalathiskos* dancers for Apollo.[18] Habetzeder (2012) analyses how representations of both of these types of dancers become motifs deployed outside of their original context in Roman, particularly Augustan, art. Although the iconography of dancing figures is complex and variable (and the extent to which the *lares* are intended to be shown in dance has been questioned), their pose with both feet raised, sometimes high on the balls of their feet and toes, in conjunction with their garments, in particular the triangular flared skirt of the tunic and the billowing mantle or mantle ends, are established signifiers of dance (Naerebout 2002, 59–60, n. 2; Habetzeder 2012, 10, 28; Fröhlich 1991, 121–125, analysing the Pompeian wall paintings concludes that even if their feet look lowered to the ground, they should still be considered part of the *dancing lares* typology). Unlike depictions of Artemis/Diana striding forward, the dancing *lar* typically lifts both heels (see Fig. 6.17 for an example from the Metropolitan Museum of Art of a *lar* standing high on his toes with legs crossed, as if in a ballet pose). Moreover, the same depiction of a short fluttering tunic and raised heels can be found on

Fig. 6.23. Fresco of a lar*, 1st century AD. Minneapolis Institute of Art, Gift of Mr and Mrs Lawrence Rubin, inv. no. 79.21. Photo: https://collections.artsmia.org.*

representations of *kalathiskos* dancers that appear in Rome during the Augustan period, around the same time as the dancing *lares augusti* on Compital altars (Habetzeder 2012). Interestingly, a set of bronze *lararium* statuettes from Arezzo includes two bronze *kalathiskos* dancers in short, flaring *chitons* with pronounced overfold and raised heels, alongside a standing *lar*, a Genius, Mercury and Hercules (Fig. 6.22; Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 288–290, pl. 252).

The iconographic association between the *lares* and Roman-era *kalathiskos* dancers and other female dancers contrasts with contemporary depictions of male pyrrhic dancers shown nude except for helmets, shields and swords, although representations of the male *curetes* can also wear short *chitons* and mantles (Habetzeder 2012). The costume of the *lares* does not seem to be overtly gendered. Indeed, a representation of a painted *lar* from Pompeii wearing a red tunic fastened at the shoulders with a blue trim, appears to show breasts (Fig. 6.23). The figure is not without parallel, a drawing of a now-lost *lararium* painting from the Casa di Meleagro in Pompeii seems to depict twin *lares* with their tunics belted beneath their breasts (Boyce 1937, 49–50, no. 174, pl. 21, 2).

Conclusions

In sum, the representation of the textiles in the costume of the *lar* functions to accentuate the depiction of dance embodied by their pose. The short flaring tunic – fundamentally an ordinary item of clothing common to all members of a Roman household – is worn to facilitate movement. The mantle is fastened around the body out of the way or billowing freely behind them. The soft, animal-skin lined boots or ankle-high sandals are open-toed and flexible.

Moreover, these garments carry specific iconographic associations of Artemis/Diana and are paralleled in Roman depictions of *kalathiskos* dancers and other male and female dancers. As such, they allow for an ambiguity of gender, heightened in some cases by the *lares*' long curly or wavy hair, or the suggestion of breasts, and all three items were worn by both men and women. Additional details such as *clavi*, tassels or the *bulla* mark the elevated civic status of the *lares* and their Roman-ness, despite the Italic and Hellenistic elements of their costume, attributes and pose. Through its particular combination of the everyday tunic with festive mantle and fancy boots or sandals, the dress of the *lares* heightens the visualization of dance.

Acknowledgements

My sincere thanks to Audrey Gouy and the anonymous reviewer for their very helpful comments on the text and to Samantha Cruz for her assistance with bibliography and illustrations.

Notes

1 For an overview of the iconography, see 'Lar, Lares' in *LIMC* (Tran Tam Tinh 1992); also 'Dance of the Lares' in *ThesCRA* (Giannotta 2004).

2 See Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998 for the bronze statuettes of *lares* found at Augusta Raurica and an extremely useful illustrated catalogue of other bronze statuettes associated with domestic cult from across the Roman world.

3 For a general overview of Roman household religion, see Kaufmann-Heinimann 2007a; Sofroniew 2015. Flower 2017 provides a comprehensive and definitive discussion of the cult of the *lares*.

4 Giacobello suggests that the improbable arc of liquid results from the *lar* using the *rhyton* to scoop wine from the *situla* (2008, 92, esp. n. 16). Orr 1978, 1568 n. 67 for the suggestion that the *lares* are 'aerating' the wine through an elaborate pour.

5 For example, Boyce 1937, 39 no. 114, pl. 22, 3. See Flower 2017, 55–57 for a clear and convincing reading of the iconography arguing that the relative sizes of the *lares* and *genius* and their positions and actions as typically depicted in the wall paintings establish the *lares* as the recipients of the *genius*' libation.

6 For the correct version of the type with wine pouring from *rhyta* to *situla*, see Bailey 1980, 30, Q 1095.

7 Although, for a bronze in the Musée du Louvre wearing an unusual dimpled tunic that may be dog-hide, see Longpérier 1868, 103, no. 464 (Louvre collection inv. no. ED 4336).

8 This division begins with Wissowa 1912; recent discussion in Vinci 2014.

9 *E.g.*, Richter 1915, 133: 'Augustus, in reorganizing the worship of the Lares compitales, did away with the differences between the Lar familiaris and the Lar compitalis, and henceforth the dancing type was used for both.'

10 For early painted representations of the *lares* dancing found on Delos, see Hasenohr 2003, 174–175.

11 For the challenges of using Roman art as evidence for ancient textiles, see Larsson Lovén 2014.

12 On *clavi* in general, see Bender-Jørgensen 2011.

13 For the changing iconography of Artemis: *LIMC* 2.2: 442–563.

14 These appear to be the 'drop-shaped' tassels discussed in Hildebrant and Demant 2018, 199–200, figs 5 and 6, and seen on the *himation* of a marble sculpture of a man from the Sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (inv. no. 2645).

15 For an overview, see Olson 2017, 68–78.

16 See Morrow 1985, 171–173, appendix 2 for discussion of the variations in footwear depicted on Roman copies of particular statue types.

17 For the tunic as a 'status-free', universal garment, see Kampen 1981, 55, with further discussion in Olson 2017, 13.

18 For Hellenistic-era performers, see Masséglia 2015, 304–309; for dance in ancient religion, see Shapiro 2004.

Bibliography

Primary sources

Ovid. *Fasti.* Translated by James G. Frazer. Revised by G. P. Goold. Loeb Classical Library 253. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1931.

Plutarch. *Moralia, Volume IV: Roman Questions*. Translated by Frank Cole Babbitt. Loeb Classical Library 305. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1936.

LIMC. Boardman, J. (ed.) (1981–2009) *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae.* Zürich, Artemis.

ThesCRA (2004–2012) *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum.* Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

Secondary sources

Andreae, B. and Schepkowski, N. S. (2007) *Malerei für die Ewigkeit: die Gräber von Paestum*. Munich, Hirmer Verlag.

Bailey, D. M. (1980) *Roman Lamps Made in Italy*. Vol. 2 of *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum*. London, British Museum Publications.

Bender-Jørgensen, L. (2011) Clavi and Non-clavi: Definitions on Bands on Roman Textiles. In C. Alfaro, J.-P. Brun, P. Borghard and R. Pieroboni Benoit (ed.) *Purpurae Vestes. III Symposium Internacional sobres Textiles y Tintes del Mediterraneo en el mundo antiguo*, 75–81. Naples, Centre Jean Bérard and Universitat de València.

Boyce, G. K. (1937) *Corpus of the Lararia of Pompeii.* Rome, American Academy in Rome.

Bron, C. (1996) The Sword Dance for Artemis. *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 24, 69–83.

Bussière, J. and Wohl, B. (2017) *Ancient Lamps in the J. Paul Getty Museum*. Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, http://www.getty.edu/publications/ancientlamps/.

D'Ambra, E. (2008) Daughters as Diana: Mythological Models in Roman Portraiture. *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Vol. 7, Role Models in the Roman World. Identity and Assimilation*, 171–183.

Flower, H. (2017) *The Dancing Lares & the Serpent in the Garden: Religion at the Roman Street Corner*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Fröhlich, T. (1991) *Lararien- und Fassadenbilder in den Vesuvstädten: Untersuchungen zur ‚volkstümlichen' pompejanischen Malerei*. Mainz, P. von Zabern.

Giacobello, F. (2008) *Larari pompeiani. Iconografia e culto dei Lari in ambito domestico.* Milan, LED Edizioni Universitarie.

Giannotta, K. (2004) Dance of the Lares. *ThesCRA* 2, 337–342.

Goette, H. R. (1988) Mulleus-Embas-Calceus. *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 103, 401–464.

Gouy, A. (2013) Perception, compréhension et restitution de la danse étrusque: nouvelle approche visuelle dans l'étude de l'image antique. *Histoire de l'Art* 70, 43–51.

Gouy, A. (2019) Performances politiques en Italie préromaine: points de repère à partir de la danse armée dans l'iconographie funéraire étrusque (VIe–IVe siècle av. J.-C.). *LUDICA. Annali di Storia e Civiltà del Gioco* 25, 78–93.

Granger-Taylor, H. (1982) Weaving Clothes to Shape in the Ancient World: The Tunic and Toga of the Arringatore. *Textile History* 13/1, 3–25.

Habetzeder, J. (2012) Dancing with Decorum. The Eclectic Usage of Kalathiskos Dancers and Pyrrhic Dancers in Roman Visual Culture. *Opuscula (Stockholm)* 5, 7–47.

Harlow, M. and Nosch, M.-L. (2014) Weaving the Threads: Methodologies in Textile and Dress Research for the Greek and Roman World – the State of the Art and the Case for Cross-disciplinarity. In M. Harlow and M.-L. Nosch (ed.) *Greek and Roman Textiles and Dress. An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, 1–33. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Hasenohr, C. (2003) Les *Compitalia* à Délos. *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 127/1, 167–249.

Hildebrandt, B. and Demant, I. (2018) 'Seamingly' Customized: Tassels as Decorative Elements on Statuary Depictions of the Toga in the NY Carlsberg Glyptotek. In M. García Sánchez and M. Gleba (ed.) *Vetus Textrinum. Textiles in the Ancient World: Studies in Honour of Carmen Alfaro Giner*, 197–210. Barcelona, Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona.

Kampen, N. (1981) *Image and Status: Roman Working Women in Ostia*. Berlin, Mann.

Kaufmann-Heinimann, A. (1998) *Götter und Lararien aus Augusta Raurica: Herstellung, Fundzusammenhänge und sakrale Funktion figürlicher Bronzen in einer römischen Stadt.* Augst, Römermuseum.

Kaufmann-Heinimann, A. (2007a) Religion in the House. In J. Rüpke (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Religion*, 188–201. Malden, MA, Blackwell.

Kaufmann-Heinimann, A. (2007b) Statuettes de laraire et religion domestique à Pompéi. In L. Barnabei (ed.), *Contributi di archeologia vesuviana III. I culti di Pompei*, 151–157. Rome, L'Erma di Bretschneider.

Larsson Lovén, L. (2014) Roman Art: What Can It Tell Us about Dress and Textiles? A Discussion. In M. Harlow and M.-L. Nosch (ed.) *Greek and Roman Textiles and Dress. An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, 260–278. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Longpérier, H. (1868) *Notice des bronzes antiques exposés dans les galeries du Musée Impérial du Louvre (Ancien fonds et Musée Napoléon III).* Paris, C. de Mourgues.

Masséglia, J. (2015) *Body Language in Hellenistic Art and Society*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Morrow, K. D. (1985) *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.

Naerebout, F.G. (2002) The Baker Dancer and Other Hellenistic Statuettes of Dancers: Illustrating the Use of Imagery in the Study of Dance in the Ancient Greek World. *Imago musicae. International Yearbook of Musical Iconography* 18–19, 59–83.

Olson, K. (2017) *Masculinity and Dress in Roman Antiquity*. London, Routledge.

Olson, K. (2022) Fringed Clothing in Roman Iconography and Written Sources. In S. Harris, C. Brøns and M. Żuchowska (ed.), *Textiles in Ancient Mediterranean Iconography*, 149–159. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Orr, D. (1978) Roman Domestic Religion: The Evidence of the Household Shrines. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* 16, 1557–1591.

Parisinou, E. (2002) The 'Language' of the Female Hunting Outfit in Ancient Greece. In L. Llewellyn-Jones and S. Blundell (ed.), *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, 55–72. London, Duckworth.

Pollini, J. (1992) The Tazza Farnese: Augusto Imperatore 'Redeunt Saturnia Regna!'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 96/2, 283–300.

Pollini, J. (2008) A New Bronze Lar and the Role of the Lares in the Domestic and Civic Religion of the Romans. *Latomus* 67/2, 391–398.

Richter, G. M. A. (1915) *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*. New York, The Gilliss Press.

Rogers, D. (2020) The Hanging Garlands of Pompeii: Mimetic Acts of Ancient Lived Religion. *Arts* 9/2, 65. https://doi.org/10.3390/arts9020065

Shapiro, H. A. (2004), Dance/Danse/Tanz/Danza. In *ThesCRA*, 2, 299–343.

Simon, E. (2021) Edited by H. A. Shapiro, Translated by Jakob Zeyl. *The Gods of the Greeks*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.

Sofroniew, A. (2015) *Household Gods: Private Devotion in Ancient Greece and Rome*. Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

Stek, T. (2009) *Cult Places and Cultural Change in Republican Italy: a Contextual Approach to Religious Aspects of Rural Society after the Roman Conquest*. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.

Tran Tam Tinh, V. (1992) Lar, Lares. In *LIMC* 6/1, 205–12; 6/2, 97–102.

Vinci, M. (2014) Origini e sviluppo dell'iconografia dei lari: lari domestici e lari compitali. *Mediterranean Archaeology* 27, 91–98.

Wissowa, G. (1912) *Religion und Kultus der Römer*. Germany, C. H. Beck.

7

Dance and clothing in ancient Egypt – the earliest evidence

Heidi Köpp-Junk

The female dancer clothed with an apron on the ostracon now in Turin is very popular – but what was the clothing of male and female dancers like before that?

The earliest depictions of dancers in Egypt are attested in the Neolithic period about 5000 BC. Already ca. 3000 BC male and female dancers with clothing are shown, wearing different aprons and various long dresses. The female sistra players in the tomb of Nunetjer (ca. 2500 BC) wear a skirt, while the female dancers, depicted in the same scene, are dressed in the typical long dress with one or two straps over the shoulder. These gowns are long and they seem to be clinging dresses, but from other scenes it becomes obvious that they are cut wide to allow sweeping dance steps. Other female dancers are shown with apron and two sashes across the upper body. The clothes allow a very agile dancing style, be it for men or women.

From the 4th millennium BC up to the middle of the 3rd millennium BC, no unclothed dancers are attested. This changes in later times, and while female dancers are often depicted naked or only wearing a narrow belt from time to time, this does not apply to male dancers. It is striking that often female dancers playing the lute are shown undressed, while the female musicians portrayed with them are dressed. Nevertheless, in the middle of the 2nd millennium BC not all female dancers are portrayed without dresses, some of them wear an apron, as the one mentioned above.

The article analyses the earliest evidence to ca. 1000 BC with a focus on the first phases, discussing the change of the dresses in the course of time as well the contexts in which they were worn. Moreover, the differences of the dresses of male and female dancers will be outlined, and since when an erotic connotation can be proven, where it occurs and how it can be explained will be discussed, because the depictions of female dancers without clothes are not attested in earliest times; they are a later development.

There is ample evidence for dance in ancient Egypt. Already on the vessels of the Naqada II period from the second half of the 4th millennium BC (Naqada IIC–D, 3650–3300 BC; Wengrow 2006, 93; for the chronology of ancient Egypt, see here and Table 7.1), there are numerous depictions of people identified as dancers. Dance appears both in banquet scenes and funeral processions, and not only women but also men are attested as performers. They appear in the same ensembles, but sometimes the dance groups are separated by gender (see, for example, Newberry 1893, pl. 7). Occasionally, it is unclear from the depictions whether the actors are men or women, either because of the degree of destruction or the crude way in which they are depicted in the reliefs and paintings.

Sometimes, the individual groups have special names, such as the male *muu* dancers (Junker 1940, 1–39; Brunner-Traut 1958, 55–59; Altenmüller 1975, 3; Kinney 2008b; see below as well) and the female *khener* group that will be discussed in more detail below, both appearing in funerary contexts. Different styles of dance are documented, with some very lively, others much more static and a few even portraying elements of acrobatics. The clothing of the dancers differs greatly over the course of time. While female musicians are sometimes sumptuously dressed, such as those

in the tomb of Nebamun,[1] dancers are not depicted in the same way. Some female dancers as well as musicians are represented as being nearly naked,[2] with occasional tattoos[3] or body paint.[4] The following is a more in-depth analysis of one aspect of the author's study about the beginnings of music in ancient Egypt. The present work goes beyond previously done research by concentrating on the earliest periods, *i.e.*, the timeframe from the oldest evidence up to Dynasty 6 (6500–2200 BC), since this has not been discussed before in any detail. Therefore, this article is a valuable contribution within the study of dance and the dresses of dancers, as such a focus on the earliest phases as well as the differences in comparison to later phases have not yet been at the centre of any discussion. The development as well as the exceptionally large diversity of dance and the dancers' clothing can be made obvious only with reference to later sources up to 1000 BC.

After this short introduction an overview of dance in ancient Egypt *per se* is given to outline the context, before the relationship of dancers and musicians is discussed in more detail. Because of the large number of known dance scenes, only some of the highlights can be discussed in the following. The clothing worn by these performers will be analysed in a brief survey. The three first subsections ('Dance in ancient Egypt – an overview', 'Dancers and musicians' and 'Dancers' clothing – a survey') should be understood as preliminary information, necessary to better situate the main body of this research in the part on 'Dance and clothing over the course of time'. This is followed by a look at the question of nudity and eroticism. This point alone would fill books and, due to the scope and required brevity of the present study, can only be briefly elaborated, while focusing on dance and clothing.

Dance in ancient Egypt – an overview

Dance in ancient Egypt presents itself as extraordinarily diverse, ranging from static and modest to lively and acrobatic. While musicians are often instructed by cheironomists,[5] this or something similar, *i.e.*, instructions during performance, is not documented for dancers. In the case of the earliest evidence in particular, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the persons depicted are fighting or dancing (Garfinkel 2001, 241–254). But how can it be identified in the representations that the persons depicted are dancers? Dancers can be recognized by the fact that, for example, they have both their arms raised above their heads, a typical gesture since the earliest times (Figs 7.4 and 7.9),[6] or by other poses, whereby the position of one arm does not necessarily correspond to that of the other. Moreover, their feet are raised more or less above the ground. Sometimes this is barely perceptible, as in the tomb of Kenamun (Thebes, TT 93, Dynasty 18; de Garis Davies 1930, pl. 41A). Occasionally, the representations of the dancers' legs are such that they cannot show actual dance situations due to statics or gravity and the limits of human movement capabilities (Spencer 2003, Fig. p. 114). Very agile dancing with legs raised up high is, for example, depicted in the tomb of Zau in Deir el-Gebrawi (tomb S12, Dynasty 6; Meyer-Dietrich 2009, Fig. 2; PM VI, 244–245) and Ankhmahor in Saqqara (Fig. 7.1; Erman and Ranke 1923, 121; Köpp 2011, Fig. 6).

In the Middle and New Kingdom, the dancers may be depicted in such a way that none of their feet touch the ground, *i.e.*, jumping up, as in the tombs of Senet or Amenemhet (Fig. 7.2).[7]

Moreover, acrobatic elements are documented as well, with the earliest evidence being found in Dynasty 6 in the tombs of Kagemni (ca. 2321–2290 BC; Spencer 2003, Fig. p. 114) and Ankhmahor (Fig. 7.1) in Saqqara (Erman and Ranke 1923, 121; Köpp 2011, Fig. 6), and Zau in Deir el-Gebrawi (Meyer-Dietrich 2009, Fig. 2). Their number increases in the Middle and New Kingdom, as shown, for example, in the painting in the tomb of Wahka II Dynasty 12 (ca. 1938–1630 BC),[8] in which the active backward flip with the feet raised high up in the air is depicted, conveying the impression of a very lively performance. From the same time stems a statuette of a backward bending female dancer, now in the Brooklyn Museum.[9] This is also known from Middle Kingdom tomb painting, as in the tomb of Khety in Beni Hasan (Fig. 7.5). In a New Kingdom relief in the Karnak temple, this acrobatic dancing style with back-bending is depicted as well, taking place during the Opet Festival (Luxor Museum, inv. no. J. 151; Spencer 2003, Fig. p. 112), indicating that this dance could also be performed during religious processions. Primarily, only women are depicted in these acrobatic dance scenes of back flips and backward bending. The meaning of the flips is neither clear from the depictions nor from texts.[10] Possibly, since they represent a special physical challenge, they are to be regarded as a particular gift to the gods. Flips, acrobatic and ecstatic dances are extremely physical experiences for the performers. Whether they were meant to bring the dancers into a trance in order to enter a different sphere of consciousness, as suggested for traditional societies (Garfinkel 2018), is not clear from the sources available in Egypt.

Dances and dancing styles

For some dances, the name has been preserved like the *iba* dance, the designation often being written between the performers as in the tomb of Ankhmahor in Saqqara (Fig. 7.1).[11] During the so-called mirror dance known, for example, from the tomb of Mereruka in Saqqara dating to Dynasty 6 (ca. 2290 BC, Fig. 7.3; Hickmann 1956a, Fig. 2), the artists have a mirror in one hand and a hand-shaped clapper in the other. They seem to present the objects to each other during the performance. Perhaps they also make a sound by beating their clapper against that of their respective dance partner.

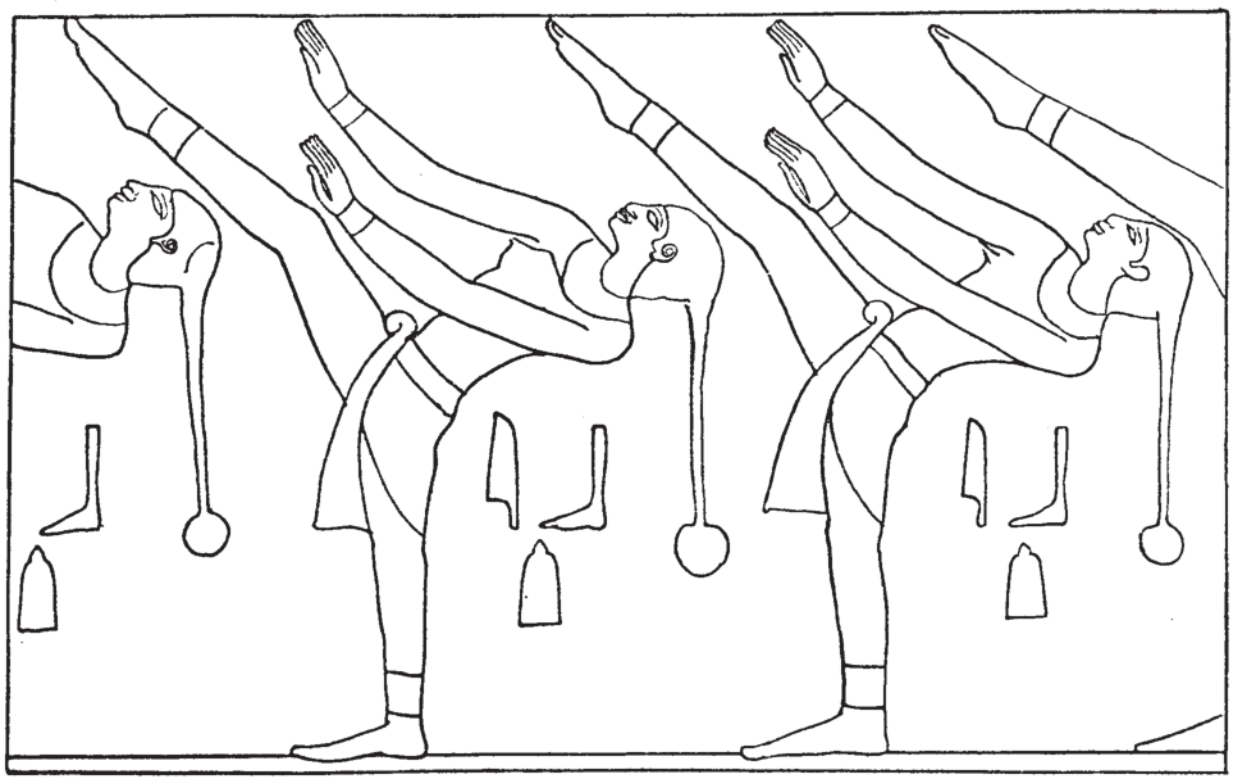


Fig. 7.1. Scene from the tomb of Ankhmahor, showing the agile iba dance. The name of the performance is written between the dancers (after Erman and Ranke 1923, Fig. 121).

Fig. 7.2. A jumping dancer in the tomb of Amenemhat. TT 82, New Kingdom; © Th. Benderitter / B. Sandkühler / www.osirisnet.net, with kind permission.

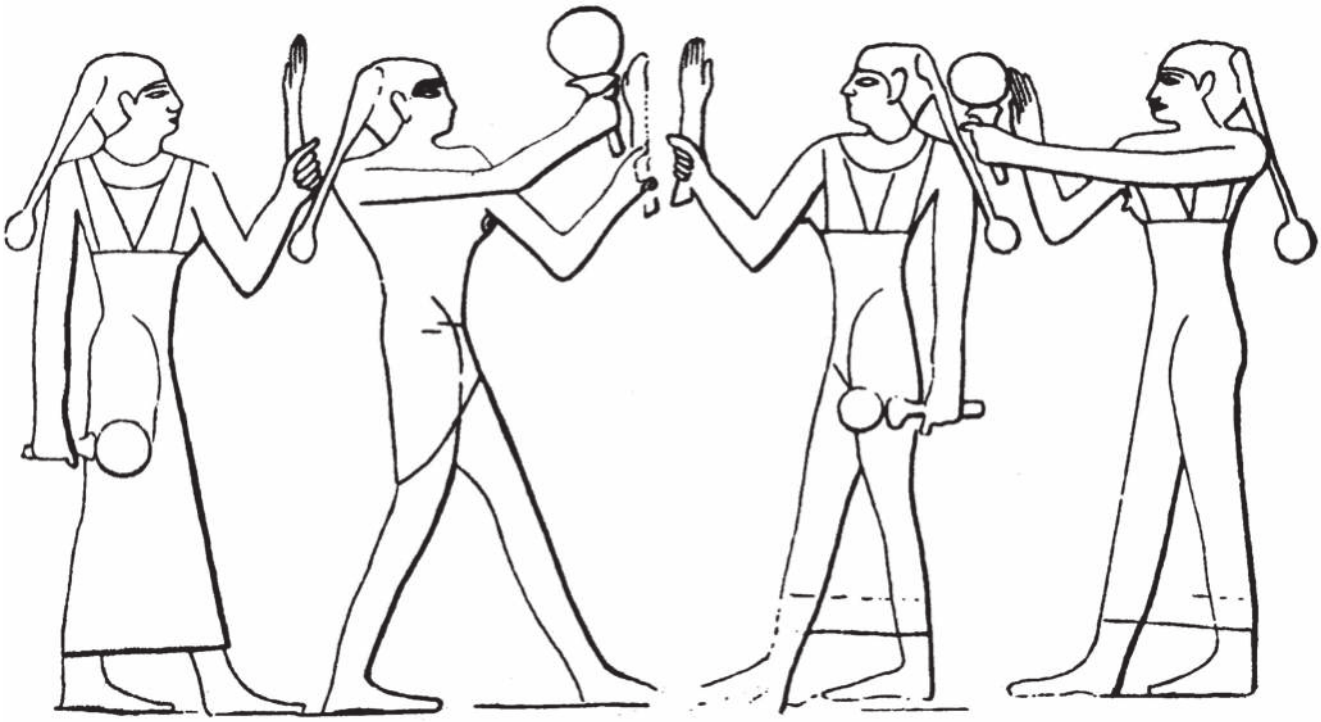


Fig. 7.3. The so-called mirror dance, depicted in the tomb of Mereruka in Saqqara, dating to Dynasty 6 (after Hickmann 1956a, Fig. 2).

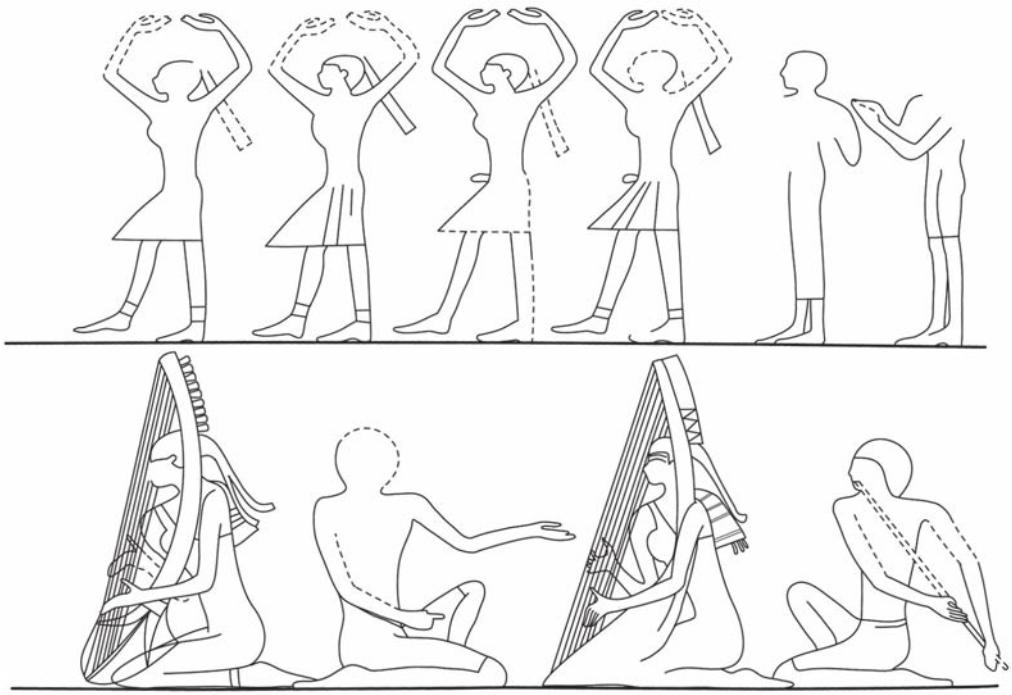


Fig. 7.4. Four female dancers in identical postures, two hand-clapping women, a flutist, a cheironomist and two female harp players (mastaba of In-Snefru-ishtef, Dahshur, 2500 BC; after: Egyptian Museum Cairo, CG 1778). Drawing by A. Kireenko, © H. Köpp-Junk.

Most of the depictions show identical postures among the dancers, as in the mastaba of In-Snefru-Ishtef in Dahshur (ca. 2500 BC, Fig. 7.4; tomb no. 2; Egyptian Museum Cairo, CG 1778; Köpp-Junk 2020a, Fig. page 16) and the tomb of Debeheni in Giza (Fig. 7.8; G 8090, LG 90, Dynasty 4; Hannig *et al.* 2021, 156–157, Fig. 4), which would suggest uniform movements as in today's ballet.

However, this is not always the case, as the relief in the tomb of Kaikhenet and Khentkaus in Hemamieh from the Old Kingdom[12] shows; here some of the dancers have a different posture than the others. In the Middle Kingdom tomb of Baket III in Beni Hasan, the arm postures and leg movements of the male dancers are different from those of the female performers (tomb no. 15, Dynasty 11; Newberry 1893, pl. 7). The same applies to the tomb of Khety (Beni Hassan, tomb no. 17, Dynasty 11) from the same site (Fig. 7.5), where female dancers appear in different postures, two of them even bending backwards.

The precise reconstruction of dances fails because no melodies have survived from the pharaonic period (Köpp-Junk 2015a, 39, 51–52; 2016a, 31; 2018b, 99–100, 105; 2018c, 267, 275–276; 2020a, 16). Yet, attempts are sometimes made to reproduce sequences of movements in connection with musical notation (Hickmann 1956a, 151). In the tomb of Kheruef,[13] a kind of movement sequence is depicted (Figs 7.6 and 7.7), showing the female dancer on the left half bent over looking up at first, looking down in the next movement, and then looking up again. In the following dance sequence on the right, the dancers are bent over, until their hands touch the floor, their faces turned downwards.

Who are the performers?

Men and women are both attested as performers. Those dancers who appear in an official context, be it in a procession or during a funeral, are certainly professional dancers, judging by to the complexity of their movements in the scenes (Garfinkel 2018, 10). Moreover, since they carry out a kind of 'worship' with their own bodies as a tool, they have to present important performances in a religious context, which was certainly weighted differently than informal dancing in a civil context. While musicians might belong to the elite and even members of the royal family like Queen Nefertiti, the wife of Akhenaten (ca. 1370–1330 BC) and her daughters as well as the king can be shown with a sistrum (Köpp-Junk 2021, 180–182),[14] this is not attested in connection with dance, as neither the king nor the queen is depicted dancing.

Since the earliest times, male and female dwarfs or pygmies appear as dancers. In the Tell el-Farkha figurine deposit, two statuettes of male dwarfs were discovered, dating to ca. 3000 BC (Ciałowicz 2006, figs 12–13; in detail on the deposit, see *ibidem*, 924–932, figs 6, 7, 9). Kaplony translates *Sjma-netjer*, the name of a dwarf written on a stela from a subsidiary tomb at Abydos from Dynasty 1, as 'he

Fig. 7.5. Detail of a dancing scene from the tomb of Khety in Beni Hasan with the performers dancing in different postures. At the right-hand side two dancers are shown backward bending. All of them wear white dresses with two stripes over the shoulder and greenish-blue necklaces. Photo: H. Köpp-Junk).

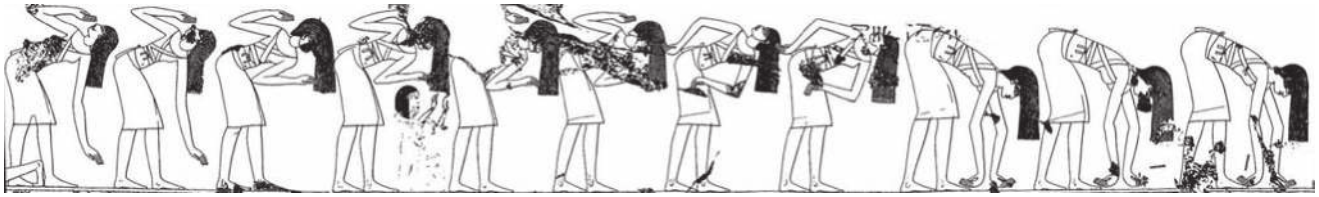


Fig. 7.6. Dance performance in the tomb of Kheruef, depicted as continuous sequences (after The Epigraphic Survey 1980, pl. 24)

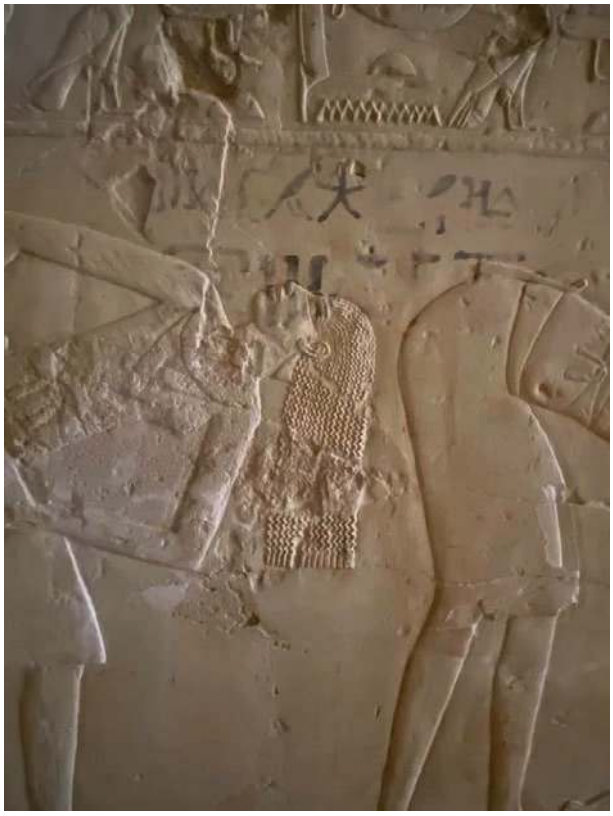


Fig. 7.7. Female dancers in the tomb of Kheruef, detail (Thebes, TT 192, 1398–1338 BC). Photos: Steve Harvey, with kind permission.

who rejoices the god' because of its derivation from the term *sjma*, 'rejoice', and concludes that dancing must be a typical entertainment for the king or a deity (Kaplony 1963 I, 375; Hannig 1995, 666). In the relief from the Old Kingdom tomb of Nunetjer in Giza,[15] a female dancing dwarf is depicted wearing an apron and a lotus headdress, while holding a sistrum in one hand. Moreover, a dwarf or pygmy associated with dance appears in the expedition report of Harkhuf. In the letter that the pharaoh sent to Harkhuf, inscribed in his tomb at Qubbet el-Hawa, the young king Pepy II Neferkare (2278–2184 BC) says the following: 'Come north to the residence at once! Hurry and bring with you the pygmy whom you brought from the land of the horizon-dwellers live, hale, and healthy for the dances of the god, to gladden the heart, to delight the heart of the King Neferkare, who lives forever!' (Lichtheim 2006, 27).

The significance of dance in Egyptian culture

From the examples mentioned above it is apparent that dance scenes appear in numerous contexts and especially in temples and tombs. These are the settings in which the communication between gods and human beings takes place and life and death meet. An important scene demonstrating this impact of dance is found in the tomb of Debeheni (Fig. 7.8; Hassan 1943, Fig. 122; Edel 1970, Fig. 1; Hannig *et al.* 2021, 156–157, figs 3–4).

This depiction allows new and significant insights into the importance of dance in ancient Egyptian culture and reveals a whole new relationship between musical instruments, singing and dancing. The scene is unique and extremely invaluable, since it shows the rituals performed during the funeral, including dancing and singing (Fig. 7.8).[16] Four female dancers in calf-length dresses with two straps raise both arms and the right leg simultaneously, accompanied by the hand clapping and singing of three chantresses. However, it is noteworthy that no musical instruments appear at this significant intersection between life and death, only dancing and singing.

The facts presented in this section show how multifaceted dance was in ancient Egypt. However, it was not solely performed for entertainment purposes, but also had an extremely important function precisely at these immanent points of contact, be it between gods and humans or life and death.

Dancers and musicians

Dance cannot be performed without music; at least rhythm is needed to coordinate the individual actors. Due to the large amount of evidence, only a short overview can be given in the following.

Since the earliest times, dancers have often been depicted together with musicians. They can be accompanied only by a rhythm section or other instruments such as harp,

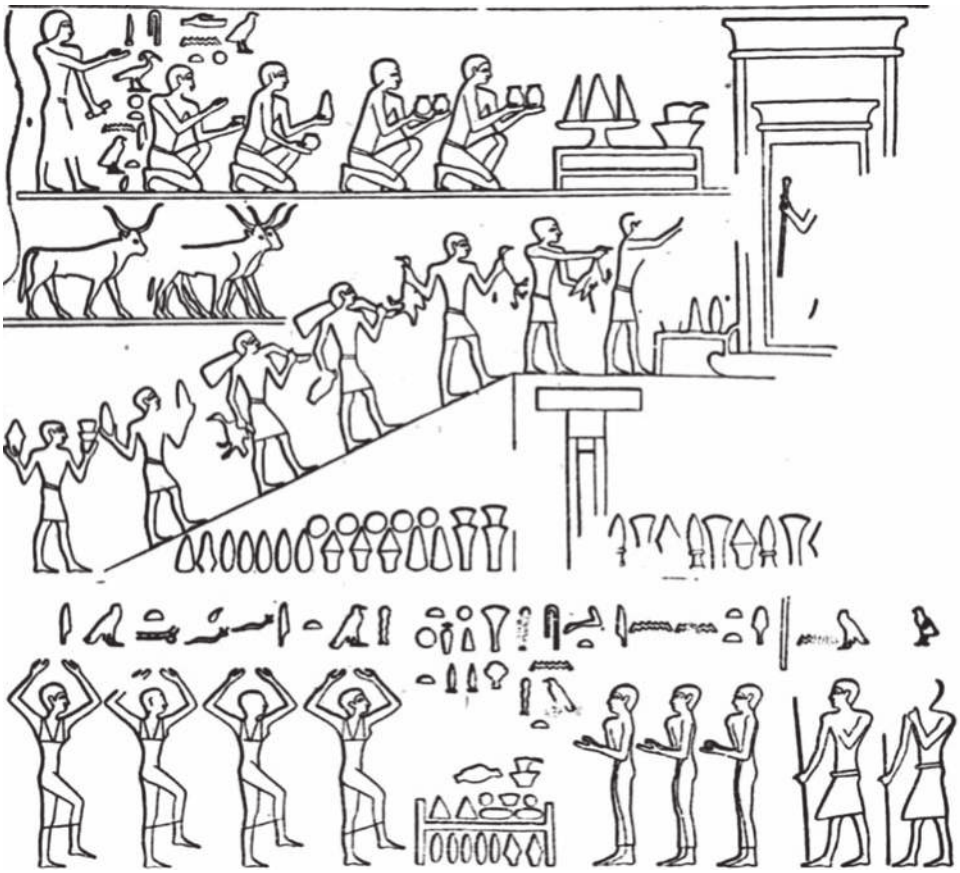


Fig. 7.8. Ritual scene from the south wall of the tomb of Debeheni, showing female dancer and hand clapping singers as well as the gifts brought for the deceased (after Hassan 1943, Fig. 122).

lute, lyre, flute etc., but also by singers. The dancers are sometimes musicians at the same time, playing the lute or giving themselves the beat by hand clapping. Only rarely are dancers depicted without musicians.[17] The groups often appear in different dress. Nevertheless, in some cases, their actual activities (dancing, singing, giving the rhythm etc.) can hardly be distinguished from each other on the basis of the visual material. Even in the textual evidence, it is often impossible to clearly divide rhythmic activities into giving a beat, playing the sistrum or clapper, hand clapping, or dancing and singing.

Predynastic vessels from the Naqada II period show men with clappers giving the rhythm to the female dancers, as on the example now in the August Kestner Museum Hannover (3650–3300 BC, Fig. 7.9; inv. no. 1954.125; Wildung and Drenkhahn 1985, cat. no. 99). The interpretation of these women is debated and ranges from dancers over deities to divine idols. They are associated with life and birth and identified as a symbol of resurrection and fertility, as are their clay statuette counterparts. Their raised arms are closely related to the goddesses Bat and Hathor. Another possibility would be to understand them as worshippers, mourners or mourning women (Capel and Markoe 1996, 121–122; Dreyer 2000, 5; Grimm and Schoske 2000, no. 28; Garfinkel 2001, 249; Patch 2012, 113).

On the mace head of the ruler Scorpion II from Dynasty 0 (3100–3000 BC) from the *main deposit* in the temple of Hierakonpolis (Ashmolean Museum Oxford, inv. no. E 3632; Quibell 1900, pl. 26c; Whitehouse 2009, 19–25; Tassie 2014, 411), the dancing women give themselves their own rhythm through hand clapping. No other musicians appear in this scene, but the object is incomplete. In the Old Kingdom, only hand clapping, performed by women, is attested as providing the rhythm (for example, Harpur 1987, 470, Fig. 58). In the mastaba of In-Snefru-ishtef at Dahshur (Fig. 7.4), the dancers are shown with their arms raised, similar to the scenes on the Naqada II vessels (3650–3300 BC, Fig. 7.9), while two women set the beat by clapping their hands (tomb no. 2, Dynasty 4 as the earliest possible dating; Egyptian Museum Cairo, CG 1778; Borchardt 1964, 200, pl. 106; Köpp-Junk 2020a, image on p. 16).

In the Middle Kingdom, finger snapping is attested besides hand clapping as a means to set the pace (tomb of Senet, Thebes, TT 60, Middle Kingdom; de Garis Davies

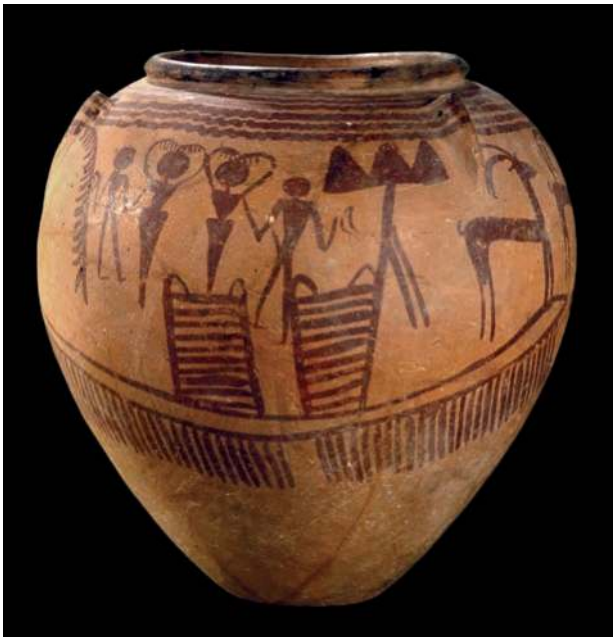


Fig. 7.9. Naqada II vessel now in the Museum August Kestner Hannover with two men playing clappers to two female dancers. © Museum August Kestner Hannover, with kind permission.

and Gardiner 1920, pl. 15). Both are documented in the New Kingdom as well, sometimes supported by clappers (tomb of Amenemhat, Thebes, TT 82; de Garis Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 20). Moreover, in the New Kingdom, ensembles might consist of female dancers and musicians producing the rhythm with a rectangular frame drum and women clapping hands. This is attested in the tomb of Huy (TT 40) at Thebes, dating to the reign of Tutankhamun (de Garis Davies 1926, XV; Spencer 2003, 119). The largest ensemble from ancient Egypt consists of 29 individuals and appears in the tomb of Iimery in Giza in Dynasty 5 (ca. 2450 BC; Iimerj, Giza, G 6020=LG 16; LD II, Blatt 52). Here, six people clapping their hands, 15 dancers, four cheironomists, two musicians with aerophones and two harp players are represented, yet no drums or clappers are shown.

Dancers' clothing – a survey

The following is an overview of the clothing worn by Egyptian dancers, which will be illustrated by means of specific examples in the chapter below. There is no uniform occupational clothing[18] for dancers and musicians (Köpp-Junk 2015a, 40). In most cases, there is also no recognizable dress norm within an ensemble. Therefore, the members of a group do not visually form a unit, as is often the case with modern music associations and orchestras, which wear uniform clothing, the same accessories such as scarves, or at least the same colour. From time to time, one part of an ensemble has different clothing than the other. This is the case, for example, in the tomb of Debeheni: a group of hand-clapping women wear ankle-length dresses, while the dancers have aprons and necklaces (Hassan 1943, Fig. 119).

Male and female dancers usually wear a kind of skirt (Figs 7.1–4 and 7.10a), with women appearing in various long dresses with one or two straps (Figs 7.2–3 and 7.5). The paintings show that the skirts as well as the dresses are white (Figs 7.2, 7.5 and 7.10a–b). According to Staehelin, the dresses were worn in such a way that the breasts were covered by the straps (Staehelin 1966, 168). Other variants of dresses will be discussed below. Occasionally, the dancers appear to be naked, although their clothing, consisting of sheer linen, is likewise rather revealing, so that their body is visible through it (Clark 1944, 25). Pleated dresses appear sometimes as well, as in the dancing scene in the tomb of Huy (TT 40) at Thebes (Dynasty 18; de Garis Davies 1926, XV; Spencer 2003, 119; for the pleated dress of Nywty, see Janssen 2021), while bead net dresses[19] and cloaks are not attested for dancers. Moreover, dancers are never shown wearing sandals, but always perform barefoot.

It is not easy to determine what material the garment of the dancers is made of, since no fabric can be assigned to a specific dancer on the basis of archaeological findings, *i.e.*, no tomb of a dancer was found containing his or her dancing clothes. Instead, the material from which the clothing depicted in the dance scenes is made of is indirectly inferred on the basis of actual finds of clothing (Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, *passim*). It is assumed that the clothing was made of linen, which was obtained from flax, as cotton is not known in Egypt until the end of the New Kingdom, ca. 1070 BC.[20] Nevertheless, textile in general is attested in ancient Egypt since the earliest times, the oldest evidence for flax dating to 5000 BC (Hall 1986, 11, Fig. 1; for flax in Egypt see also Vogelsang-Eastwood 1995, 18–20). Wool survives occasionally in Egypt as well, but there is no proof that this material was used for the clothing of dancers.[21] On a Naqada II vessel dating to 3700–3450 BC, a ground loom is depicted (Patch 2012, 94–95). Fragments of linen textiles are attested since the earliest time as the so-called Tarkhan dress, dating to 3482–3102 BC. It is 'the oldest woven garment in existence'.[22] In Hierakonpolis, fringed linen was excavated in HK6, dating to Naqada IC–IIB (3800/3750–3450 BC; Picton *et al.* 2020, 335). Moreover, textile was found in the tomb of King Djer at Abydos from Dynasty 1 (3000 BC; Picton *et al.* 2020, 334–335, 344, Fig. 16.3). From the same time and place, a spindle whorl is documented.[23]

Not only monochrome fabrics are attested: a textile with red and blue ornamentation was found in the pyramid of Pharaoh Unas in Saqqara from Dynasty 5 (2367–2347 BC). The number of such colourful fabrics increases significantly over the course of time (Picton *et al.* 2020, 346). The painting in the tomb of Wahka II from the Middle Kingdom shows a female dancer with a multi-coloured apron (tomb of Wahka II in Qau; Petrie 1930, pl. 24; Morris 2011, Fig. 4), as

(a)

(b)

Fig. 7.10a–b. In the tomb of Khety at Beni Hasan, the male dancers wear white loincloth, white aprons and those with stripes. Photos: H. Köpp-Junk.

well as the ostracon with the female acrobat from the New Kingdom, now in Turin.[24] In the tomb of Kenamun from the same period, dancers with extremely colourful dresses are depicted (de Garis Davies 1930, pl. 41A).

From time to time, leather clothes are documented. One was found in a tomb in Hierakonpolis (HK27C tomb 9), dating to 2055–1700 BC, and is very similar to the cloth of a Nubian female dancer from the Ramesside period (1292–1077 BC).[25] Feathers are not part of the garments, but are attested as headdresses for men in el-Amrah from the early 4th millennium BC (Naqada I).[26] In Kadero in Sudan, 18 km north-east of Khartoum, large quantities of shells were found in Neolithic tombs (Krzyzaniak 2001, 229, Fig. 2). In grave 242, a young woman was buried. Below her hip, 300 pierced shells were found, each arranged in rows of three on a kind of apron as a garment decoration. However, it is unclear whether the deceased was a dancer.

Sometimes the depictions show that dancers have worn sashes or straps across their bodies since the Old Kingdom (Fig. 7.6; Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, 84, Fig. 5:17), while jewellery neck collars and bracelets on arms and legs are also documented, as in the tombs of Nunetjer (Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, inv. no. AS 8028; Satzinger 1994, 108, Fig. 74), of Nenkhefetka (Saleh and Sourouzian 1986, cat. no. 61) and of Kenamun (de Garis Davies 1930, pl. 41A). Moreover, the female dancers are sporadically depicted wearing earrings.[27] The naked dancers of the New Kingdom only wear a girdle[28] around their hip (Fig. 7.11) and occasionally necklaces and earrings. From time to time, female dancers have tattoos (see, for example, Fletcher 2005, 3–13; Riggs 2010; Morris 2011, 81), whereas male musicians or dancers with tattoos are unknown.[29] The tattoos appear in the form of hieroglyphic and geometric designs, birds and plants. A lute player dating to the New Kingdom has a tattoo of the god Bes on her leg (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Egyptian Collection, Leiden, inv. no. AD 14, see below). In a few depictions as well as statuettes, it is unclear whether it is a tattoo or merely body paint (see, for example, Ashmolean Museum inv. no. 1895.127; Hendrickx *et al.* 2009, 213, Fig. 22.1). In some cases, as on the statuette of the backwards-bending female dancer in the Brooklyn Museum, it cannot be determined whether the representation is supposed to indicate body painting, strings of beads (inv. no. 13.1024 from Abydos, tomb D303, Dynasty 12 (ca. 1938–1630 BC)) or an apron.

The headdress is very different, as male and female dancers can be depicted with short hair or a cap. In the New Kingdom, male dancers who are presented in this way can be provided with a kind of headband with a long band hanging down the back of the head (Fig. 7.2; tomb of Amenemhat, Thebes, TT 82; de Garis Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 20). Male dancers with long hair are not attested, but women are. Often, the latter wear a headdress that can clearly be interpreted as a wig, such as that of the dancer in the tomb of Kenamun (de Garis Davies 1930, pl. 41A). Occasionally, lotus blossoms decorate the hair of female dancers, as in the relief of the tomb of Nunetjer (Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, inv. no. AS 8028; Satzinger 1994, 108, Fig. 74).

The effect that clothing has on acoustic conditions during a performance should not be underestimated. This influences how well or poorly the dancers can perceive the rhythm produced by the hand clapping etc., which in turn affects their performance. Sounds are created when the dancers and musicians, but also the guests, move, whether through their clothing or jewellery. In addition, sonic noise is absorbed by the garment of the dancers, musicians and guests participating in the venue (Köpp-Junk 2020b, 20).

Dance and clothing over time

Dance, like music, has always been a fundamental factor of Egyptian culture and has been depicted in many ways since the earliest times, be it on vessels, textiles, as rock carvings or in paintings. Women and men wear aprons, with the latter sometimes having a penis sheath instead of an apron. The sources will be discussed in the following in chronological order with a focus on the oldest evidence.

The earliest evidence (6500–3000 BC)

The earliest dancers are depicted in rock carvings and paintings as, for example, at Gilf Kebir in the Foggini-Mestekawi Cave, also called the Cave of Beasts, and Wadi Sura II, dating to the Neolithic period (6500–4400 cal BC; Förster *et al.* 2012; Tassie 2014, 134). From the scenes depicted in the cave, no clothing is visible, but some of the dancers wear straps over their chest, hips and knees. However, especially in the early depictions, it is not always clear whether the involved people should be addressed as fighters or dancers, as already mentioned above.

According to Hartmann, vessel U–415/2 from Abydos, which dates to the early Naqada I period (ca. 4500 BC), depicts a ritual dance that possibly refers to hunting (Hartmann 2003, 84, Fig. 6, pl. 15b, in detail on dancers from Naqada I scenes, see Garfinkel 2001), maybe an incantation dance for a good outcome. The persons with raised arms in the so-called victory scenes depicted on a vessel from Abydos (U–239/1, early Naqada I; Egyptian Museum Cairo, JdE 99072; Hendrickx and Eyckerman 2012, 25, Fig. 1c) and one of unknown origin from the same time now in Brussels (Royal Museum of Art and History Brussel, inv. no. E. 3002; Hendrickx and Eyckerman 2012, 25, Fig. 1a) must then perform an analogous victory dance. These dance scenes are not accompanied by musical instruments such as clappers or hand clapping.

On vessels dating to Naqada IIC–D (3650–3300 BC), female dancers are depicted with the typical arm position, their hands lifted above their heads (Fig. 7.9). Yet, different arm postures can be observed in the Naqada period as well. Moreover, not only women, but also men are depicted with raised arms (for a compilation, see Kantor 1944, Fig. 6A–O). The women on the Naqada II vessels do not have any recognizable hairstyle (Fig. 7.9), but appear with indistinct round heads. It is noticeable that the heads of the women are clearly larger than those of the men, who are also depicted on the vessels (see, for example, Museum August Kestner Hannover, inv. no. 1954.125; Wildung and Drenkhahn 1985, cat. no. 99); thus, this could imply some kind of elaborate hairstyle. Elements of clothing are not distinguishable due to the way in which they are depicted. These dancers are not only rendered on vessels, but have also been handed down in three-dimensional form as terracotta statuettes wearing long white skirts.[30] However, a skirt in a contrasting colour is not recognizable on the vessel paintings. Nevertheless, the way in which the legs are depicted may indicate a long skirt as well, since legs and feet are not shown as individual limbs, but as a nondescript surface. Due to the fact that breasts are not visible, the presence of a dress can be assumed.

The scenes on the painted linen from Gebelein, dating to the period Naqada IC–IIA (3600–3350 BC), are interpreted as a dance, hunt or boat procession (Museo Egizio Turino, inv. no. Suppl. 17138; Adams 1997, 36, Fig. 23; for the dating, see Fiore Marochetti 2013, 3, Fig. 2). A group of four dancers have their arms raised, three others hold hands. Between them, three other individuals appear, one of them holding a clapper or throw stick in their hand. The person in question is the one depicted to the left in between the two taller individuals (Williams and Logan 1987, Fig. 15). In this example, it is unclear whether they are men or women. The scene is flanked by two dancers with their arms pointing downwards, resembling the aforementioned statuettes[31] except for their arm posture, as these have their arms elevated above their heads.

In the painting in tomb 100 at Hierakonpolis, dating to the Naqada IIC period (ca. 3450–3300 BC), three women perform a ritual dance, with arms stretched out sideways. The dancers are shown above the large boat in the top row (Adams 1997, 39, Fig. 24a–g; Friedman 2011, 41). Another person with flail and crook is understood as the ruler at a general ritual dance or a dance as part of the so-called Heb Sed (Williams and Logan 1987, Fig. 13; Tassie 2014, 387). This festival is performed to ensure that the reign of the ruling pharaoh continues.

On the fragment of the so-called Bearer Mace Head from the temple of Hierakonpolis, dating to 3300–3100 BC (Petrie Museum London, inv. no. UC 14898A; Quibell 1900, pl. 26 A; Adams 1974, 3, no. 1, pl. 1–2; Patch 2012, 152, 256, cat. no 127), two male dancers with pigtails are depicted in a Heb Sed scene. From a third one in front of them, only the pigtail is still visible. The dancer on the left-hand side carries a vessel in his hand, the one to his right a kind of branch, weapon or animal skin (Stevenson 2008, 2). Therefore, they are interpreted as offering bearers. Both are shown with one leg standing on the ground, the other one bent at different angles. The left dancer has his foot raised in the air. With the right one this can be assumed, but is no

longer preserved, since the object is broken off at this point. They are bearded and dressed in an apron, that of the dancer to the left being decorated with a geometric pattern at the front. The plait of his headdress looks as if it were braided. It seems to come out of some kind of cap, maybe made of leather; if so, it would be his own hair. It is also possible that it is merely attached to it, like the animal tail in the depiction of the Egyptian king, for example on the Narmer Palette (Dynasty 0, 3000 BC, Hierakonpolis; Egyptian Museum Cairo, JE 32169; Saleh and Sourouzian 1986, cat. no. 8; Köpp-Junk 2015b, pl. 3e).

In the Tell el-Farkha deposit, dating to ca. 3000 BC, a small ivory statuette of a man was found (Ciałowicz 2006, Fig. 12 (statuette on the right)). Based on the depicted movements of his arms and legs, he can be identified as a dancer. No clothing can be recognized in this case. In rock carvings of Dynasty 0 (3150–3000 BC),[32] the hairstyles in the form of a plait with a disc attached to its end is documented for the first time. In the Old Kingdom, a few dancers and harp players wear this kind of headdress (Figs 7.1 and 7.3; Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, Fig. 5:17c), but it is not attested for female dancers or musicians of the Predynastic, Protodynastic, Early Dynastic periods and the beginning of the Old Kingdom. Therefore, its reappearance in Dynasty 6 (2347–2216 BC) is a backward reference to a period of more than 800 years ago.

On the mace head of the ruler Scorpion II from the *main deposit* in the Hierakonpolis temple dating to Dynasty 0 (3100–3000 BC; Ashmolean Museum Oxford, inv. no. E 3632; Quibell, 1900, pl. 26c), four dancing and hand clapping women are depicted. The scene should be interpreted as pertaining to a ritual context, since the dancers are rendered below several individuals in sedan chairs, interpreted as the king's mother, the king's daughters, princes, young girls or even the goddess Repit (Köpp 2008, 34–35). As far as can still be discerned based on the fragmented scene, one foot of the dancers is on the ground and the other raised into the air. They wear a skirt that reaches almost to their knees. The skirts are fitted to the waist at the top and wider at the bottom, and apparently cut in such a way that lifting the legs is easily possible without being restricted by the fabric. The top seam of the skirt is visible, but there are no signs of fabric on the upper part of the torso, which might mean that it remained unclothed. They are portrayed with long hair that reaches down to their hips. The hair is divided into at least three strands, which may have been braided.

Table 7.1 Chronology of ancient Egypt[33]

Predynastic period		5300–3000 BC
Early Dynastic period	Dynasty 1–2	3000–2682 BC
Old Kingdom	Dynasty 3–8	2682–2118 BC
First Intermediate period	Dynasty 9–10	2118–1980 BC
Middle Kingdom	Dynasty 11–12	1980–1794 BC
Second Intermediate period	Dynasty 13–17	1794–1550 BC
New Kingdom	Dynasty 18–20	1550–1070 BC
Third Intermediate period	Dynasty 21–25	1070–655 BC
Late period	Dynasty 26– 31	664–332 BC
Graeco-Roman period		332 BC–AD 395

Old Kingdom (2682–2118 BC)

There is no pictorial evidence for dancers of Dynasties 1–3, so that their costume of this period remains unknown. In the Old Kingdom, some of the previously worn garments are still attested, while others are no longer represented. Furthermore, new designs are added. Penis sheaths are not documented anymore, nor are the straps that the male dancers wear over their chest, hips and knees in the Cave of the Beast, nor the feathers of the male headdresses from the vessel from el-Amrah (Patch 2012, 72–73, cat. no. 72). However, male and female dancers still wear aprons (Figs 7.1–3). The women can also be shown with a long dress with one or two straps over their shoulders (Figs 7.3 and 7.8). These dresses usually reach down to the ankles and are thus significantly longer than the aprons of the same period (Figs 7.1 and 7.3–4) as well as those of earlier times.

The majority of the male and female dancers are depicted with short hairstyles (Staehelin 1966, 178–179), whereas braided pigtails as on the Bearer Mace Head seem to have disappeared. Female dancers might wear a lotus headdress[34] or a braid with a disc at its end (Fig. 7.3), although both are only shown very rarely. As for jewellery, neck collars and bracelets on arms and legs appear, but no earrings as in later times. The female sistra players and dancers in the relief from the tomb of Nunetjer in Giza (earliest dating Dynasty 4, ca. 2600 BC; Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, inv. no. AS 8028; Satzinger 1994, 108, Fig. 74) wear a skirt in an A-shape with two straps across their upper body, the latter still being documented in the New Kingdom, for example in the tomb of Kheruef (Figs 7.6–7; The Epigraphic Survey 1980, pl. 24). This dress type occurs frequently during Dynasty 5 (2504–2347 BC), as in the tomb of Nenkhefetka in Saqqara, where the *iba* dance is performed (Egyptian Museum Cairo, JE 28504; Saleh and Sourouzian 1986, cat. no. 61), and that of Inti at Deshashe, in which the dancers hold gazelle-shaped clappers in their hands (Petrie 1898, pl. 12; Kanawati and McFarlane 1993, 25). The dancers' hair in the Nunetjer scene is short. The female hand-clapping musicians, depicted in the same scene, are dressed in the typical long dress. Moreover, they have some kind of scarf around their neck with a long ribbon hanging down their backs. Like the dancing dwarf, they wear an elaborate lotus headdress. This lotus headgear appears sporadically on dancers and clapping women in Dynasty 4 (2639–2604 BC). It can be assumed that this hairstyle decoration consisted either of a wreath into which the lotus

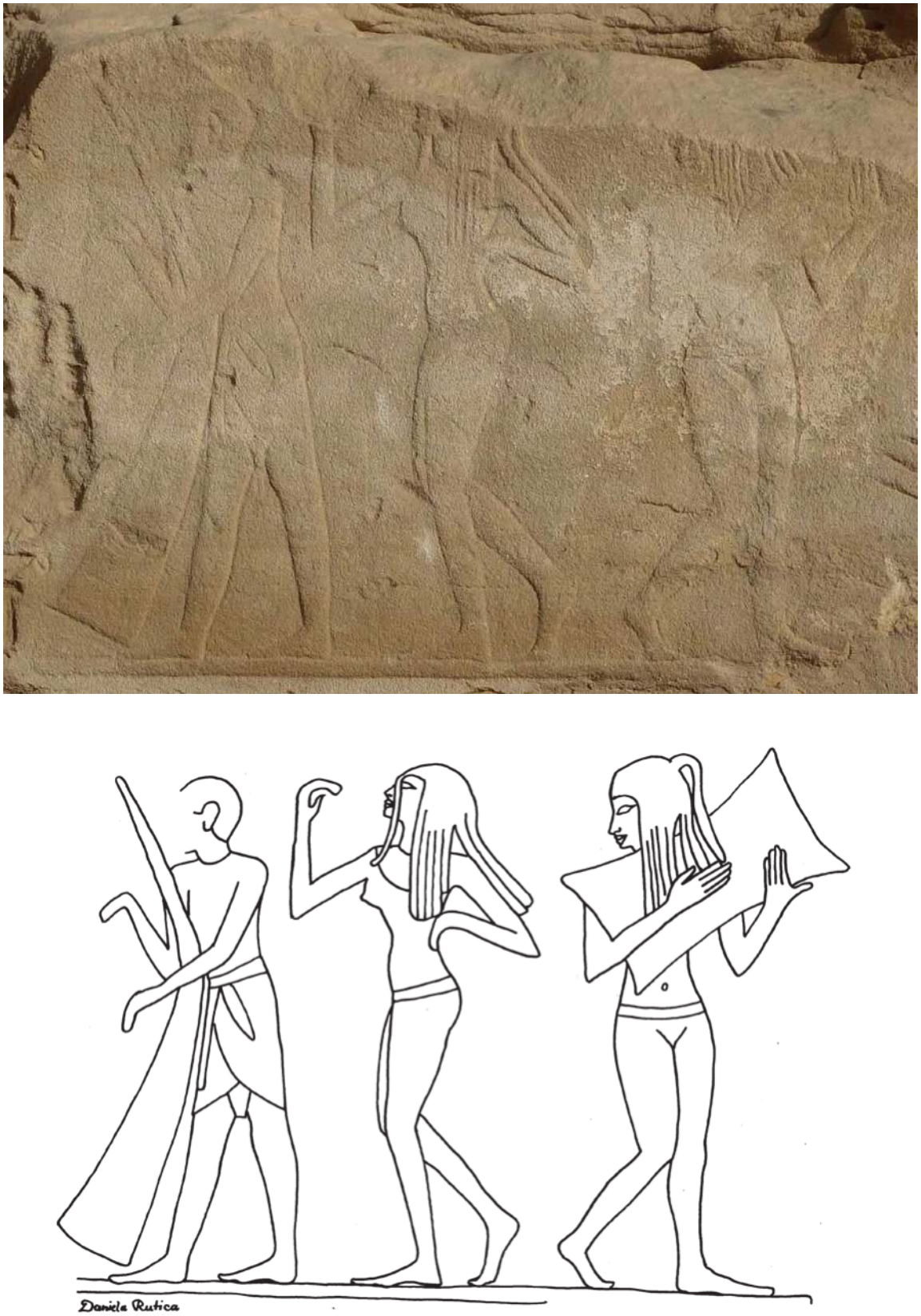


Fig. 7.11. Naked female dancer and musician with rectangular framedrum, dressed only with a girdle and a necklace (Gebel el-Silsile, shrine no. 11). Photo and drawing: Daniela Rutica, with kind permission.

blossoms were inserted or some sort of headband to which they were added (Staehelin 1966, 178–179).

On the south wall of room 2 in the tomb of Debeheni dating to Dynasty 4 (ca. 2500 BC), dancers are depicted in this aforementioned long dress with two straps (Hassan 1943, Fig. 122; Edel 1970, Fig. 1; Hannig *et al.* 2021, 156–157, figs 3–4). Apparently, these dresses fit to the body rather loosely and are not cut to fit the body tightly, because the dancers have one leg raised up high. The iconography indicates that the garment was composed of enough fabric to allow ample space for movement, not just small steps. The dancers on the north wall of room 1 in the tomb of Debeheni (Hassan 1943, Fig. 119) are wearing a knee-length skirt or dress, but the type of clothing potentially covering the upper part of their bodies is not evident from the depiction: only a piece of jewellery with a hanging pendant dangling around their neck is visible. Due to the shape, it cannot be a *menat*.[35]

In the mirror dance scene from the tomb of Mereruka in Saqqara from Dynasty 6 (Fig. 7.3, 2318–2300 BC; Hickmann 1956a, Fig. 2), three of the dancers are female and wear an ankle-length dress with two straps over their shoulders; at least two of them have a collar around their neck. One of the performers only wears an apron. Their headdress resembles that of the male dancer on the Bearer Mace Head and is attested from time to time during Dynasty 6.

As in the case of the mirror dance (Fig. 7.3), several female dancers and harp players wear these braids ending in a disc, as in the tombs of Pepiankh-heryib in Meir (tomb D2, Dynasty 6, end of the reign of King Pepi II (2180 BC); Kanawati 2001, Fig. 131) and Ankhmahor[36] in Saqqara (Fig. 7.1). This unique hairstyle with pigtails ending in discs is attested about half a dozen scenes, and they are mostly restricted to Dynasty 6, except for one example from Dynasty 0. A wooden statuette from Naga ed-Deir shows that this was a disc attached to the braids (tomb N 294, Old Kingdom; Egyptian Museum Cairo, JE 37756; Kroenke 2010, 25, 37, n. 162, figs 208–209), not a ring or a clay ball rattle, as Meyer-Dietrich assumed (Meyer-Dietrich 2009, 6).

In the Old Kingdom, a special term for female dancers is attested, namely the so-called *khener* group. The term refers to a group of female singers, musicians and dancers of the private and cultic sphere (Seipel 1977a, 986; Nord 1981, 137–145; Teeter 1993, 76–78; Hafemann 2009, 169). Furthermore, the *khener* group is interpreted as harem.[37] The earliest evidence for it is attested in Dynasty 4 in the tomb of Khuenre in Giza (ca. 2500 BC),[38] and it is still found in the Middle Kingdom. Women with the designation *khener* appear in various contexts as singers, dancers and sometimes hand-clapping musicians, and are depicted in the context of burials as well as in the palace, the temple and in connection with the so-called acacia house.[39]

On the other hand, the so-called *muu* dancers, documented since the Old Kingdom, only consist of men.[40] They are part of the funeral scenes, but do not appear in every tomb, as the entire repertoire is rarely depicted completely; only selected scenes appear (Harpur 1987, 113). They wear aprons and have a special headdress in most cases, which in tomb paintings is shown as being green-blue and white. Thesemuu dancers are no longer attested in the New Kingdom (Altenmüller 1975, 1).

Middle Kingdom (1980–1794 BC)

In order to contextualize the earliest evidence just mentioned, the following is a brief outlook on the Middle and New Kingdoms. In the Middle Kingdom, the number of dance scenes is small compared to the Old and New Kingdoms. Dancers still wear the abovementioned aprons and the long dress, as well as neck collars and bracelets on arms and legs as jewellery as in the tomb of Khety in Beni Hasan (Fig. 7.5); lotus headdresses no longer occur. In the tomb of Senet, short and long hair as well as braids with a thickening at the end, resembling the hairstyle with disc from the Old Kingdom (Fig. 7.3), are depicted in one scene (de Garis Davies and Gardiner 1920, pl. 23).

In the tomb of Bakti at Beni Hassan, a scene reveals an interesting division into male and female dancers: it shows a group of male dancers being rhythmically supported by clapping men and female dancers accompanied by clapping women (Brunner-Traut 1958, Fig. 14; Newberry 1893, pl. 7). In the so-called Tomb of Dancers at Thebes (Petrie 1909, 1, pl. 10), 27 dancing and hand clapping women are depicted, often grouped in pairs, holding hands or dancing opposite each other. They wear long dresses reaching below their knees and seemingly slit open at the front, to facilitate the dancers' movements. A scene from the Old Kingdom seem to show dancers with gazelle clappers in their hands (Petrie 1898, pl. 12; Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, 70, Fig. 4:25). Their skirts also appear to be open at the front to increase freedom of movement, while the women's knees are raised high up.

A strikingly different attire for male dancers, not seen elsewhere in ancient Egypt, appears in Beni Hasan. A scene in the tomb of Khety (tomb no. 17, Dynasty 11) shows the performers in three different outfits: white loincloths as well as white and striped knee-length aprons (Fig. 7.10a–b).

New Kingdom (1550–1070 BC)

During the New Kingdom, the clothing of the female dancers in particular varies immensely in contrast to the previous periods. The number of records for the classic white skirt is clearly declining, while long dresses prevail, sometimes made of extremely fine and translucent linen. Again, bracelets on arms and legs as well as neck collars are depicted. As new accessories, head cones and earrings occur. Instead of clothing, some female dancers as well as female musicians playing the lute and the rectangular drum only wear a narrow girdle (Fig. 7.11). Based on the illustrations, it is impossible

to determine whether these are made of leather or fabric. Such a narrow girdle, which can clearly be attributed to a dancer, has not been found archaeologically, so that their exact width and length likewise remain unclear.

In this period, depictions of female dancers outweigh those of their male counterparts and feature in particularly splendid scenes, often wearing multi-coloured clothing (see, for example, in the tomb of Kenamun; de Garis Davies 1930, pl. 41A). In the tomb of Djeserkareseneb (Spencer 2003, Fig. p. 118), the wigs consist of fine braids. They move individually, as in the case of the dancing lute player, which gives the scene a great liveliness. The little dancer in the Djeserkareseneb scene has individual plaits tied together on the side of her head. She is, like the lute player, naked. Both only wear a girdle, a collar and bracelets on arms and legs. Dancing while playing is often attested in scenes of musicians with a lute as, for example, in the tomb of Nakht in Thebes (TT 52), dating to Dynasty 18 (ca. 1400 BC; de Garis Davies 1917, frontispiece). In the tomb of Kenamun (de Garis Davies 1930, pl. 41A) the dancers wear multi-coloured dresses that leave their hips as well as breasts uncovered. Nevertheless, there are individual straps crossing the upper body, similar to those in the Old Kingdom mentioned above.

To sum up this chapter, the following can be stated. As was to be expected, dance and dress have changed considerably during the period under study, 6500–1000 BC, and this is precisely what can be demonstrated on the basis of the sources. Already in the earliest phase (6500–3000 BC) there is a great variety, both in the dance itself and the clothing associated with it, as noted for example by the feathers as a decoration for men's hair. The lotus hairstyle, attested for the first time in the Old Kingdom, is not documented anymore in the Middle Kingdom. All in all, the attested clothing for female dancers is more colourful than that for male performers. Nevertheless, apron and skirt appear since the earliest times and are attested up to the New Kingdom, *i.e.*, over many centuries, even if not always in the exact same design. The same applies to the tight-fitting, ankle-length dress. The rather static dance style of the earliest phase is complemented by a more ecstatic style about 2600 BC, the acrobatic dance being documented for the first time 300 years later. The evidence for the latter increases over time.

Nakedness versus eroticism and their relationship to dance and clothing

As mentioned above, partially clothed or naked dancers are sometimes documented as well. In the following, it will shortly be discussed why these depictions appear, what significance nudity and eroticism have in ancient Egypt and whether they are related to dance and dancers in particular, or whether the depictions of scantily clad dancers have more practical reasons. Nudity and erotic connotations are not synonymous, and nudity does not necessarily always have to be associated with fertility in ancient Egypt.[41] It always depends on the context, so one has to carefully distinguish between the two. As stated above, the earliest depictions of dancers render them in clothing, even though they are sometimes bare-breasted. In Dynasty 4, the female sistra players and dancers in the tomb of Nunetjer (Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, inv. no. AS 8028; Satzinger 1994, 108, Fig. 74) appear to wear a topless costume, while the hand-clapping women, depicted in the same scene, are dressed in the typical long dress with one or two straps over their shoulders. Nevertheless, from the 4th to the middle of the 3rd millennium BC, *i.e.*, in the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Period and the beginning of the Old Kingdom, there is no proof for erotic connotations in the context of female dancers. However, this changes in later times. While female dancers are often depicted naked wearing a narrow girdle, this does not apply to male dancers. In Gebel el-Silsile a relief shows a dancer and a musician with rectangular framedrum, naked but for a girdle (Fig. 7.11).[42] The dancer also has a necklace – whether the musician wears one as well is not discernible, as the chest area is covered by the instrument.

In the tomb of Nebamun in Thebes (TT 17), dating to Dynasty 18 (ca. 1300 BC; British Museum London, EA 37984; Parkinson 2008, Fig. 88), the female dancers are naked except for a headdress and girdle, while the musicians are richly dressed in the same style as the visitors of the banquet. Thus, the naked dancers are the only unclothed women in this large group. But this does not seem to be an occasion for embarrassment. Therefore, nudity had a different connotation than today, and, of course, there are still great differences between various cultures now. The female dancer with only a kilt, shown on an ostracon now in Turin,[43] does not have any erotic connotation. Since the middle of the 3rd century BC, representations of working women are attested, who are bare-breasted and only wear an apron (see, for example, Saleh and Sourouzian 1986, cat. no. 52 (female beer brewer, Egyptian Museum Cairo, JE 66624); Köpp-Junk 2015b, pl. 4c), so that their half-nakedness is due to practical reasons in these cases. For the same reasons, half-nude men with an apron or loincloth only occur in scenes in which they are depicted working (see, for example, Köpp-Junk 2015b, figs 18–23, 25–28, 30, 32–34, 40–41, 45, 47, 48, 55–56, 64, 71–77, 81, pls 4a, 5c, e, 9a). Occasionally, upper-class women are depicted in profile view wearing an ankle-length dress with one or two straps over the shoulders, with one breast shown bare (Saleh and Sourouzian 1986, cat. no. 79 – stela of Amenemhet, Egyptian Museum Cairo, JE 45626). But when high-ranking ladies in this dress are rendered not from the side but the front, the breasts are not shown uncovered (Saleh and Sourouzian 1986, cat. no. 137 – statue of Isis, mother of Thutmose III; Egyptian Museum Cairo, JE 37417).

Nevertheless, this circumstance supports the thesis that nudity was viewed differently in pharaonic times than it is today. Statues of nude persons belonging to the elite are documented as well.[44] Landgráfová and Navrátilová state: 'Therefore it was the connection of nudity with certain specific features (jewellery, hairdo) or the partially uncovered body that would arouse erotic and sexual connotations in the ancient Egyptians' (Landgráfová and Navrátilová 2009, 63). In the case of dancers, the girdle around the hip must be added next to jewellery and hairdo, and, referring to the musicians, certain instruments like the lute (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Egyptian Collection, Leiden, inv. no. AD 14) or the double oboe (Manniche 1991, Fig. 65 – wall painting in Deir el Medina, house S.E. VIII), in order to achieve this erotically charged imagery.

It is noteworthy that female lute players, who are apparently depicted as dancing, are often shown undressed, while the female musicians playing other instruments are dressed, as in the tomb of Nakht (de Garis Davies 1917, frontispiece). However, in the middle of the 2nd millennium BC, not all females are naked. It is mainly in music scenes of the New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic period that female musicians are repeatedly depicted as nearly naked. There are still differences between musicians and dancers. An erotic scene with a female harp player is known from the New Kingdom (ca. 1550–1458 BC).[45] Here, the female harpist is fully clothed and apparently only musically accompanying an erotic scene, where a naked man in a clearly sexual pose is standing in front of her. An ostracon shows a female lute player having sexual intercourse, while holding her instrument in her hands (Landgráfová and Navrátilová 2008, figs pp. 50, 220). At the end of the 1st millennium BC, no male dancer but naked male musicians are attested: in Saqqara, a group of statuettes was found, showing musicians with oversized phalli (Bárta 2020, 35, Fig. 8). Nevertheless, dancers do not occur in these kinds of erotic scenes. They appear half naked up to the Middle Kingdom and then wear only a girdle in the New Kingdom. Their nakedness is similar to that of the workers, as they can dance more freely and unrestricted when clothed with less fabric. A slight erotic component is evoked, following Landgráfová and Navrátilová, by the girdle, their jewellery and their hairstyle.

Summary

The discussion of the sources shown above revealed that the types of dance attested in ancient Egypt were very sophisticated. The dancers wear their hairstyles according to the fashion of the time. The question arises whether wearing a wig in a live performance would impair the movement or cause it to slip due to the body movements. Therefore, it is more likely that the dancers had their own hair instead of a wig. With regard to the lotus hair costume in Dynasty 4, it can be assumed that the performed dance was neither acrobatic nor too agile, preventing the flowers from being damaged or falling off.

Considering the clothing of the dancers it can be stated that, from the Old Kingdom onwards, ankle-length gowns worn by female dancers are attested. Even though they seem rather clinging, it is obvious from the scenes that they are of a wide cut, allowing for sweeping dance moves and a very agile dancing style. The references to later periods demonstrate the continuity of the use of this dress. As for the clothing, no distinction can be made between dresses worn in ritual or entertainment music. For later times, close proximity of female musicians to eroticism is clearly tangible, but this is far less extreme in relation to dancers. They wear less, so that they are not hindered by the fabric. No correlation between dresses and occasion or clothing and the place of the dance scene, *i.e.*, temple or tomb, can be observed. The same applies to scantily clad or naked dancers.

Dancers wear jewellery like neck collars, earrings and bracelets on arms and legs. Those made of seashells around a dancer's ankle or arm, rhythmically underlining every movement and create a rattling sound, are known from other contexts (Garfinkel 2018, 6, 11), but not attested in ancient Egypt and therefore do not belong to the typical outfit of ancient Egyptian dancers.

As shown above, dance occurs in several contexts and moderate movements as well as ecstatic and acrobatic dances appear in tombs and temples. Dancing in groups of several people is already shown in the earliest representations. Likewise, solo dances in the sense that only one dancer appears in a scene is usually not documented. Partner dances, consisting of a male and female performer and well known from the European Middle Ages and the modern era, are likewise unattested. Individuals do not dance to express themselves physically but to achieve something in the other sphere and to please the gods, be it for their own interests or those of other people, either from their family or the wider religious community. During the funeral rituals, they want to satisfy the gods through their dance, and specifically to ease the deceased's way into the afterlife. In Predynastic times, victory dances and those in connection with hunting are depicted. The dances associated with the Heb Sed festival show their closest connection to the king. Thus, besides singing, dancing was the most important means of mediation and communication between the different spheres.

Moreover, dance is documented in the funerary context, shown for example by the female dancer on the south wall of room 2 in the tomb of Debeheni and the male *muu* dancer, in religious processions, and secular contexts such as banquet scenes. However, these latter scenes should not simply be identified as being worldly: tombs are places of self-presentation for the elite (Staring 2011, 258). The 'scenes of daily life', in which music scenes appear, show a continuation of life in the hereafter, as the deceased was

accustomed to entertainment during his lifetime and wanted to experience such diversion for all eternity.

Such scenes seem to represent entertainment situations, but there is much more to it than that. They are ritually connoted, because they are shown in the tomb. They usually appear in front of the tomb owner and between offerings, so that they are a kind of eternal offering to the deceased (see, for example, the scene in the tomb of Debeheni in Giza; Hassan 1943, Fig. 119). They serve the perpetuation of the connection and communication between the deceased and the living relatives and should possibly be interpreted as a kind of ancestor celebration (Fitzenreiter 2008, 79, Fig. 2b). These scenes reflect the meeting of the deceased and the living, Assmann understanding them as a 'sacrificial cult and biographical demonstration' (Assmann 1995, 281 – translation by the author). Furthermore, the music scenes in tombs are a status indicator, serving as a demonstration of luxury, comparable to the depictions of other expensive objects in the tombs, for example chariots and wagons to transport the coffin (Köpp-Junk 2016b, 39–40; 2021c, 161, 165, 172, 175–176). Apparently, the deceased could afford this luxury or, at least, he wanted to show that he would enjoy it in the hereafter, even if it was unattainable in this world. Thus, the banquet scenes depicted in the tombs represent the interface of life and death and connect the living with the dead, with the depictions of the living dancers and musicians performing in front of the deceased tomb owner. Therefore, dance just like music appears exclusively at crossways between life and death, this world and the hereafter, where life and death, man and the gods, but also cult and king meet such scenes are depicted at the most crucial transitions. It is also noteworthy that dance seems to occupy a higher position than musical instruments in the context of these connections to other spheres. In particular, the scene in the tomb of Debeheni as well as that on the Scorpion mace head several hundred years earlier show singing and dancing, but no musical instruments. Obviously, this is due to the fact that singing and also dancing are performed and not just indirectly, as in the case of musical instruments.

Notes

1 Thebes, TT (= Theban Tomb) 17, Dynasty 18, British Museum London No. 37981; Manniche 1991, Fig. 25.

2 Landgráfová and Navrátilová 2009, Fig. page 21 (oDM2391, for nakedness in ancient Egypt see *ibidem*, 63–64); Manniche 1991, Fig. 21 (tomb of Zeserkaresonb, Thebes, TT 38, Dynasty 18).

3 Musicians: Manniche 1991, Fig. 26 (tomb of Nakhtamun, Thebes, TT 341, Dynasty 19); dancers: *ibidem* Fig. 65 (Ramesside wall painting, Deir el-Medina); Friedman 2004, 25.

4 See the statuette of a dancer now at the Brooklyn Museum mentioned above, inv. no. 13.1024 from Abydos, tomb D303, Dynasty 12 (ca. 1938–1630 BC); https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3083 (accessed 12.05.2021).

5 Cheironomy is a broad field and discussed in detail in Egyptology. Since an in-depth analysis would go beyond the scope of this paper and is not of further relevance to the topic examined here, it should only be briefly explained. Since Dynasty 4 (2639–2504 BC), some individuals within musical scenes – often the singers – are depicted with special gestures of their hands, fingers and arms which are interpreted by researchers as cheironomic gestures and a kind of notation, indicating several intervals or signals for start and end points (Hickmann 1956b, 96–127; 1963, 103–107; Lawergren 2001, 453). The cheironomist could also be seen as a kind of conductor, giving the musicians their cues as well as indicating dynamics and rhythm or pauses (Köpp-Junk 2018b, 100).

6 See the dancer on the vessel now in the Museum August Kestner Hannover, inv. no. 1954.125, provenance unknown, Naqada II period (3650–3300 BC); Wildung and Drenkhahn 1985, cat. no. 99.

7 Tomb of Senet (Thebes, TT 60, Middle Kingdom; de Garis Davies and Gardiner 1920, pl. 15); tomb of Amenemhat (Thebes, TT 82, New Kingdom (Dynasty 18); de Garis Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 20; https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/amenemhat82/e_amenemhat82_04.htm (accessed 11.01.2022)).

8 Tomb of Wahka II in Qau, Dynasty 12, reign of Amenemhat III (1842–1795 BC); Petrie 1930, pl. 24; Morris 2011, Fig. 4.

9 Inv. no. 13.1024 from Abydos, tomb D303, Dynasty 12, https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3083, (accessed 12.05.2021).

10 Morris suggests the following: 'Women engaged in backbends, known from contemporary models and numerous two-dimensional representations, may well have been performing solar dances, for as a result of this pose their genitalia faced upward towards the sun' (Morris 2011, 85). Since there is no explicit evidence for that, the author does not share this same opinion.

11 Dynasty 6; Erman and Ranke 1923, 121; Köpp 2011, Fig. 6, see as well the *iba* dance from the tomb of Nenkhefetka in Saqqara (Egyptian Museum Cairo, JE 28504; Saleh and Sourouzian 1986, cat. no. 61).

12 Tomb A3, earliest dating Dynasty 4; Mackay *et al.* 1929, 31–33, pl. 16; el-Khouli, Kanawati 1990, pl. 67; PM V, 7; Roche 2014, Fig. 5c.

13 Thebes, TT 192, Dynasty 18 (1398–1338 BC); The Epigraphic Survey 1980, pl. 24, 33–38; http://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/kheru/e_kherouef_03.htm (accessed 14.05.2021).

14 Brooklyn Museum, inv. no. 60.197.6, https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3699; inv. no. 35.2000, https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3376 (accessed 12.05.2021). For a similar scene see Wilkinson 2000, 82.

15 Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, inv. no. AS 8028; Satzinger 1994, 108, Fig. 74. The relief is dated to the middle of Dynasty 4 or to Dynasty 5, sometimes even to Dynasty 6, see Hannig *et al*., 2021, 154, n. 55.

16 The tomb of Debeheni is a rock-cut tomb. For the discussion of whether his tomb, a mastaba, the so-called wabet or something else is depicted, see Snape 2011, 75–77, Fig. 5.2.

17 Tomb of Nebemakhet, Giza, LG 86, Dynasty 4; Reisner 1942, 348. Tomb of Sekhem-ka-Ra, Giza, G 8154 = LG 89, Dynasty 4; LD II, Blatt 41; PM III, 233–234.

18 On clothing *per se* in ancient Egypt, see for example Staehlin 1966; Watson 1987; Zoffili 1992; Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993; 1995; 1997; Picton *et al.* 2020. On weaving, see for example Clark 1944; Eastwood 1985, 195–196; Hall 1986, 12–19; Hallmann 2015, 121–133; https://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums-static/digitalegypt/textil/tools.html (accessed 03.01.2022). For spinning and weaving, see Vogelsang-Eastwood 1995, 20–31; on dyeing techniques of Egyptian fabrics, see *ibidem*, 31–32. For the modern analysis of textiles, see Picton *et al.* 2020, 347–349; Banck-Burgess *et al.* 2013, for the analysis on the textiles from the Workmens' Village at Amarna, see https://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/recent_projects/material_culture/workmans.shtml (accessed 14.05.2021).

19 Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, 129; 1995, Fig. 133. For these dresses, see for example Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UC 17743, excavated at Qau, tomb 978; Dynasty 5, ca. 2400 BC; Boston Museum of Fine Arts 06.1876, Dynasty 5 (2465–2323 BC), from Giza. Sometimes, it is suggested that these dresses were worn by dancers (Hall 1986, 64–65, Fig. 49), but there is no evidence for that.

20 For linen production, see Picton *et al.* 2020, 336–337. For cotton, see Eastwood 1985, 192–193; Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, 33–34. At the end of the medieval period, cotton is attested in the Sudan (Yvanez and Wozniak 2019).

21 Ryder 1972; Eastwood 1985, 192–193, 203; Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, 151, 159, 162, 167; 1995, 17. See as well https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/568359, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/568360 (both Ramesside Period), https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/548290?searchField= All&sortBy=Relevance&ft=25.3.217a&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=1 (Roman Period) (accessed 03.01.2021).

22 Petrie Museum London, UC 28614Bi; Hall 1986, 28, figs 15–16; Picton *et al.* 2020, 334–335, 344, Fig. 16.3; https://www.archaeology.org/issues/215-1605/trenches/4349-trenches-egypt-predynastic-period-tarkhan-dress (accessed 03.01.2022).

23 It is now in the Royal Ontario Museum, inv. no. 905.2.85, https://collections.rom.on.ca/objects/182184/spindle-whorl?fbclid=IwAR3ijAmnhyibMM_027qww (accessed 14.05.2021).

24 Museo Egizio Turino, inv. no. C. 7052, http://collezioni.museoegizio.it/en-GB/material/Cat_7052/?description=&inventoryNumber=7052&title=&cgt=&yearFrom=&yearTo=&materials=&provenance=&acquisition= &epoch=&dynasty=&pharaoh= (accessed 14.05.2021).

25 Friedman 2004, 25; http://www.hierakonpolis-online.org/index.php/explore-the-nubian-cemeteries/hk27c-c-group (accessed 11.05.2021).

26 This vessel from el-Amrah shows a man with feathers protruding from his head (Randall-MacIver and Mace 1902, pl. 14 (D46); Aksamit 1992, pl. 1, a, c; Strudwick 2006, 28–29; Patch 2012, 72–73, cat. no. 72). See as well Garfinkel 2001, 245, Fig. 2–8; Hendrickx *et al.* 2009, 217–218, Fig. 23. Perhaps one of the masks from Hierakonpolis was also decorated with feathers (Friedman 2014, 120).

27 See the dancers in the tomb of Huy (TT 40) (de Garis Davies 1926, XV; Spencer 2003, 119) and the one on the ostracon now in Turin (Museo Egizio Turino, inv. no. C. 7052, http://collezioni.museoegizio.it/en-GB/material/Cat_7052/?description=&inventoryNumber=7052&title=&cgt=&yearFrom=&yearTo=&materials=&provenance=&acquisition= &epoch=&dynasty=&pharaoh= (accessed 14.05.2021)).

28 For the girdle, see also Stratz 1900; for the so-called girdle of Ramesses III, see Hall 1986, 46–47, Fig. 35.

29 Nevertheless, the male mummy from Gebelein has tattoos (Friedman 2018, 38), but the deceased cannot be identified as a dancer.

30 See for example the terracotta statuette in the Brooklyn Museum from Ma'mariya (Naqada IIA, ca. 3500–3400 BC; Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund, inv. no. 07.447.505; https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/4225 (accessed 12.05.2021)).

31 See for example the terracotta statuette in the Brooklyn Museum from Ma'mariya (Naqada IIA, ca. 3500–3400 BC; Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund, inv. no. 07.447.505; https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/4225 (accessed 12.05.2021)).

32 Site 5, Dynasty 0; Hendrickx *et al.* 2012, 1074, 1077. I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Stan Hendrickx (Media, Arts and Design Faculty Hasselt, Belgium) profoundly for providing me with unpublished images of this rock drawing.

33 After J. von Beckerath, Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten. Münchener Ägyptologische Studien 46 (Mainz 1997), 187–192; A. Grimm and S. Schoske, *Am Beginn der Zeit. Ägypten in der Vor- und Frühzeit*. Schriften aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung 9 (München 2000) 16; E. Teeter, *Before the Pyramids* (Chicago 2011) 8; I. Shaw, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford 2000) 479–483; T. Schneider, *Lexikon der Pharaonen* (München 1996); E. Hornung, R. Krauss and D. A. Warburton (ed.), Ancient Egyptian Chronology. *Handbook of Oriental Studies 1, The Near and Middle East*, vol. 83 (Leiden 2006). Newer research and different scholarly opinions cause divergent chronological approaches, especially the year for the beginning of the New Kingdom differs. It is not always possible to give an absolute dating for a pharaoh.

34 See for example the relief from the tomb of Nunetjer mentioned above (Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, inv. no. AS 8028; Satzinger 1994, 108, Fig. 74) and the scene in the tomb of Debehen (Hassan 1943, Fig. 119).

35 The *menat* is a necklace with a counterpoise, used to create a rattling sound. It was a necklace and a musical instrument in the form of a strung rattle with a handle, like the sistrum, it was especially used to attract the attention of the gods (Köpp-Junk 2016a, 27).

36 Erman and Ranke 1923, Fig. 121. Examples of this hairstyle can be found in the tomb of Kaihep (Akhmim; Kanawati 2001, Fig. 65) and in that of Mehu (Saqqara; Altenmüller 1998, pl. 48, 50, 51). In the latter case, however, not only dancers, but also harp players are depicted with this characteristic hairstyle. However, this headdress is only documented for harpists, not for other female musicians in the Old Kingdom.

37 Wb III, 297, 8–14; Hannig 1995, 605; TLA, Lemma xnr, 'Harem (Inst.); Haremsinsassen (Koll.)', Lemma no. 118350; Seipel 1977b, 983–984. The term 'harem' and its meaning in Pharaonic times is highly controversial and intensively discussed. Due to the limited scope of this study, this cannot be further elaborated here, therefore see as a short overview Reiser 1972; Seipel 1977b, 982–986; Roth 2014.

38 Tomb of Khuenre, Giza, MQ 1, Dynasty 4; Reisner 1942, 348; PM III 2, 293–294; The Giza Archives, Museum of Fine Arts Boston, Photo ID no: A5463_NS, http://www.gizapyramids.org/media/view/People/880/106036;jsessionid=02C0417CFCC7EDBA7AB25128F128BC8C?t:state:flow=cf040b01-9afa-4fca-9584-b3b15221085b (accessed 27.04.2021). See as well the depiction from the mastaba of In-Snefru-ishtef, Dahshur, tomb no. 2 (earliest dating Dynasty 4; Egyptian Museum Cairo, CG 1778; Borchardt 1964, 200, Blatt 106).

39 Wilson 1944, 211–212; Fischer 2000, 26; Lawergren 2001, 452; Teeter 2003, 21; Hendrickx *et al.* 2009, 212–213; for the acacia house, see Hendrickx *et al.* 2009, 212–213 and Edel 1970. This is not the place to discuss the actual meaning of *khener* and its different spellings. For this, see Reiser 1972, 14; Nord 1981, 137–145; Bryan 1982, 35–54; Fischer 2000, 26, 68, n. 147. For the acacia house, see Edel 1970.

40 Junker 1940, 1–39; Brunner-Traut 1958, 55–59; Altenmüller 1975, 3; Kinney 2008b. The latter sees the first appearance of the *muu* dancer in the Middle Kingdom.

41 On the definition of the terms nudity, nakedness, bare-breasted, topless etc. in this study: nudity, being unclothed and similar terms are self-explanatory. An erotic connotation is understood as a clear or less clear hint at sexual intercourse and the obvious intention to arouse sexual desire. Nudity, being unclothed and eroticism are important topics and frequently discussed in Egyptology. At this point, only the connection to dance will be briefly analysed, as this article primarily addresses dance and clothing, not nudity and eroticism in ancient Egypt *per se*. For nakedness, nudity and fertility in ancient Egypt see, for example, Capel and Markoe 1996, 14, 44, 60, 63–66, 76, 79, 93, 128, 146, 148 and *passim*; Goelet 1993; Booth 2015. For the fertility aspect in the dancing scene in the tomb of Senet, see Hudáková 2019, 456, 491–492, Fig. 11.25–11.28.

42 Hannig, Köpp-Junk and Rutica 2021, Fig. 1, pl. XXIII.2. The drawing by Daniela Rutica is a reconstruction based on the former state of the relief, which unfortunately is partially destroyed today.

43 Museo Egizio Turino, inv. no. C. 7052, http://collezioni.museoegizio.it/en-GB/material/Cat_7052/?description=&inventoryNumber=7052&title=&cgt=&yearFrom=&yearTo= &materials=&provenance=&acquisition=&epoch=&dynasty=&pharaoh= (accessed 14.05.2021).

44 See for example Saleh and Sourouzian 1986, cat. no. 64 (wooden statuette of Merirehashtef, Egyptian Museum Cairo, JE 46992); Landgráfová and Navrátilová 2009, 63–64. On nudity in ancient Egypt, see also Janssen and Janssen 1990, 31–33; Robins 1996.

45 Metropolitan Museum of Art New York, inv. no. 31.3.98; Hayes 1959, 167; https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547676?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&ft=31.3.98&offset=0&rpp=20& pos=1 (accessed 15.05.2021).

Abbreviations

LD Lepsius, C. R. (1849–1858) *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* 1–10. Berlin, Nicolai.

PM Porter, B. and Moss, R. L. B. (1927–2007) *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings* I–VIII. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Bibliography

Adams, B. (1974) *Ancient Hierakonpolis*. Warminster, Aris and Phillips.

Adams, B. (1997) *Protodynastic Egypt*. Shire Egyptology 25, Princes Risborough.

Aksamit, J. (1992) Petrie's Type D 46D and Remarks on the Production and Decoration of Predynastic Decorated Ware. *Cahiers de la Céramique égyptienne* 3, 17–21.

Altenmüller, H. (1975) Zur Frage der Mww. *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 2, 1–14.

Altenmüller, H. (1998) Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara. *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 42. Mainz am Rhein, von Zabern.

Anderson, R. D. (1976) Catalogue of Antiquities in the British Museum III: Musical Instruments. London, British Museum.

Assmann, J. (1995) Geheimnis, Gedächtnis und Gottesnähe: Zum Strukturwandel der Grabsemantik und der Diesseits-Jenseitsbeziehungen im Neuen Reich. In J. Assmann, E. Dziobek, H. Guksch and F. Kamp (ed.) *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung*, 281–293. SAGA (Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens) 12. Rahden, Westfalen, Leidorf.

Banck-Burgess, J., Verhecken-Lammens, C., Mitschke, S., Vanden Berghe, I., Fuchs, R., Oltrogge, D., van Strydonck, M., Frei, K. M., Michler, E., Andersson Strand, E. and Paetz gen. Schieck, A. (2013) Methoden der Textilarchäologie. In M. Tellenbach, R. Schulz and A. Wieczorek (ed.) *Die Macht der Toga*, 21–30. Ausstellungskatalog Hildesheim, Regensburg, Schnell and Steiner.

Bárta, M. (2020) Abusir and its Place in the History of Ancient Egyptian Civilisation. In M. Bárta (ed.) *Kings of the Sun*, 27–35. Prague, National Museum and Charles University.

Bickel, S. (2013) Musik für Götter und Menschen im Alten Ägypten. *Bulletin der Schweizer Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Klassische Archäologie*, 21–28.

Booth, C. (2015) *In Bed with the Ancient Egyptians*. Stroud, Gloucestershire, Amberley Publishing.

Borchardt, L. (1964) Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (außer den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo Nr. 1295–1808 II. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Cairo, Organisme Général des Imprimeries Gouvernementales.

Brunner-Traut, E. (1958) *Der Tanz im alten Ägypten*. Ägyptologische Forschungen 6, Glückstadt, Augustin.

Bryan, B. M. (1982) The Etymology of hnr 'Group of Musical Performers'. *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 4, 35–54.

Capel, A. K. and Markoe, G. E. (1996) *Mistress of the House. Mistress of Heaven. Women in Ancient Egypt.* New York, Hudson Hills Press.

Ciałowicz, K. M. (2006) *From Residence to Early Temple: The Case of Tell el-Farkha*. Archaeology of Early Northeastern

Africa Studies in African Archaeology 9, Poznan Archaeological Museum.

Clark, C. R. (1944) Egyptian Weaving in 2000 BC. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 3/1, New Series, 24–29.

de Garis Davies, N. (1926) The Tomb of Huy, Viceroy of Nubia in the Reign of Tutankhamun (no. 40). London, Egypt Exploration Society.

de Garis Davies, N. (1930) The Tomb of Ḳen-Amūn at Thebes II (plates). Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 5. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

de Garis Davies, N. and Gardiner, A. (1915) *The Tomb of Amenemhet (no. 82). The Theban Tombs Series 1*. London, Egypt Exploration Fund.

de Garis Davies, N. and Gardiner, A. (1920) The Tomb of Antefoḳer, Vizier of Sesostris I, and of his Wife, Senet (no. 60). The Theban Tombs Series 2. London, Egypt Exploration Fund.

Dreyer, G. (2000) Reichseinigung und Schriftentwicklung. In A. Grimm and S. Schoske (ed.) *Am Beginn der Zeit: Ägypten in der Vor- und Frühzeit*, 2–15. Schriften aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung 9, Munich, Lipp.

Eastwood, G. M. (1985) Preliminary Report on the Textiles. In B. Kemp (ed.) *Amarna Reports II*, 191–204. London, Cambridge University Press.

Edel, E. (1970) *Das Akazienhaus und seine Rolle in den Begräbnisriten*. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 24, Berlin, B. Hessling.

el-Khouli, A. and Kanawati, N. (1990) *The Old Kingdom Tombs of El-Hammamiya*. Australian Centre for Egyptology Reports 2. Sydney, Australian Centre for Egyptology.

Emerit, S. (2013) Music and Musicians. In W. Wendrich (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 1–16. Los Angeles. Available at: http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002h77z9 (accessed 16.03.2021).

Erman, A. and Ranke, H. (1923) Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum. Tübingen, Mohr.

Fiore Marochetti, E. (2013) Gebelein. In W. Wendrich (ed.) *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 1–20. Los Angeles. Available at: http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002gx90b (accessed 16.03.2021).

Fischer, H. G. (2000) *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and the Heracleopolitan Period*, 2nd edition. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fitzenreiter, M. (2008) Jenseits im Diesseits – Die Konstruktion des Ortes der Toten im pharaonischen Ägypten. In C. Kümmel, B. Schweizer and U. Veit (ed.) *Körperinszenierung – Objektsammlung – Monumentalisierung. Totenritual und Grabkult in frühen Gesellschaften*, 75–106. Archäologische Quellen in kulturwissenschaftlicher Perspektive. Tübinger Archäologische Taschenbücher 6. Münster, Waxmann-Verlag.

Fletcher, J. (2005) The Decorated Body in Ancient Egypt: Hairstyles, Cosmetics, and Tattoos. In L. Cleland, M. Harlow and L. Llewellyn-Jones (ed.) *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, 3–13. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Förster, F., Riemer, H. and Kuper, R. (2012) The 'Cave of Beasts' (Gilf Kebir, SW Egypt) and its Chronological and Cultural Affiliation: Approaches and Preliminary Results of the Wadi Sura Project. In D. Huyge, F. Van Noten and D. Swinne (ed.) *The Signs of Which Times? Chronological and Palaeoenvironmental Issues in the Rock Art of Northern Africa. International Colloquium, Brussels, 3–5 June, 2010*, 197–216. Brussels, Royal Academy for Overseas Sciences.

Friedman, R. (2004) Seeking the C-Group: Excavations in the Nubian Cemetery. *Nekhen News*, 24–26.

Friedman, R. (2011) Hierakonpolis. In E. Teeter (ed.) *Before the Pyramids. The Origins of the Egyptian Civilization,* 33–44. Chicago, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Friedman, R. (2014) The Masks of Hierakonpolis Cemetery HK 6. In M. A. Jucha, J. Dębowska-Ludwin and P. Kolodziejczyk (ed.) *Aegyptus Est Imago Caeli: Studies Presented to Krzysztof M. Ciałowicz on his 60th Birthday*, 115–127. Krakow, Archaeologica.

Friedman, R. (2018) Infrared Insights: Thanks for all the Tattoos! *Nekhen News* 30, 38.

Garfinkel, Y. (2001) Dancing or Fighting? A Recently Discovered Predynastic Scene from Abydos, Egypt. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 11/2, 241–254.

Garfinkel, Y. (2018) The Evolution of Human Dance: Courtship, Rites of Passage, Trance, Calendrical Ceremonies and the Professional Dancer. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 28/2, 283–298.

Gillam, G. (2006) *Performance and Drama in Ancient Egypt*. Bristol, Classical Press.

Goelet, O. (1993) Nudity in Ancient Egypt. *Source. Notes in the History of Art* 12/2, 20–31.

Grimm, A. and Schoske, S. (2000) Am Beginn der Zeit. Ägypten in der Vor- und Frühzeit. Schriften aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung 9. Munich, Lipp.

Hafemann, I. (2009) Dienstverpflichtung im Alten Ägypten während des Alten und Mittleren Reiches. Berlin, Golden House.

Hall, R. (1986) *Egyptian Textile*. Aylesbury, Shire Publications.

Hallmann, A. (2015) More Items of Funerary Linen from the Deir el-Bahari Burial Assemblages. In Z. E. Szafrański (ed.) *Special Studies: Deir el-Bahari Studies* 24/2, 113–136. Warsaw, Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean, University of Warsaw.

Hannig, R. (1995) Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch. Mainz, von Zabern.

Hannig, R., Köpp-Junk, H. and Rutica, D. (2021) Aspekte der pharaonischen Musik: Stimme, Musiker und Aufführungspraxis von Debeheni bis zu den altägyptischen Liebesliedern. In M. Ullmann, G. Pieke, F. Hoffmann and C. Bayer (ed.) *Up and Down the Nile – ägyptologische Studien für Regine Schulz.* Ägypten und Altes Testament 97, 137–165. Münster, Zaphon.

Harpur, Y. (1987) Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in Orientation and Scene Content. London and New York, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Hartmann, R. (2003) Keramik. In G. Dreyer, R. Hartmann, U. Hartung, T. Hikade and H. Köpp, Umm el-Qaab – Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Friedhof, 13./14./15. Vorbericht. Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes Kairo 59, 80–85.

Hassan, S. (1936) *Excavations at Giza II (1930–1931)*. Cairo, Faculty of Arts of the Egyptian University and Government Press.

Hassan, S. (1943) *Excavations at Giza IV (1932–1933)*. Cairo, Government Press.

Hayes, W. C. (1959) The scepter of Egypt 2: The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom (1675–1080 BC). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Hendrickx, S., Riemer, H., Förster, F. and Darnell, J. C. (2009) Late Predynastic/Early Dynastic Rock Art Scenes of Barbary Sheep Hunting in Egypt's Western Desert. From Capturing Wild Animals to the Women of the 'Acacia House'. In H. Riemer, F. Förster, M. Herb and N. Pöllath (ed.) *Desert Animals in the Eastern Sahara: Status, Economic Significance and Cultural Reflection in Antiquity. Proceedings of an Interdisciplinary ACACIA Workshop Held at the University of Cologne, 14–15 December 2007*. *Colloquium Africanum 4*, 189–244, Köln, Heinrich-Barth-Institut.

Hendrickx, S. and Eyckerman, M. (2012) Visual Representation and State Development in Egypt. *Archéo-Nil* 22, 23–72.

Hendrickx, S., Darnell, J. C. and Gatto, M. C. (2012) The Earliest Representations of Royal Power in Egypt: The Rock Drawings of Nag el-Hamdulab (Aswan). *Antiquity* 86, 1068–1083.

Hickmann, H. (1949) Instruments de musique: Nos. 69201–69852. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Cairo, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

Hickmann, H. (1956a) Musicologie pharaonique – études sur l'évolution de l'art musical dans l'Égypte ancienne. Kehl, Librairie Heitz.

Hickmann, H. (1956b) La chironomie dans l'Égypte ancienne. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 83, 96–127.

Hickmann, H. (1961) Ägypten. *Musik des Altertums II*. Leipzig, Deutscher Verlag für Musik.

Hickmann, H. (1963) Présence de la constante de quarte, de quinte et d'octave: son rôle structurel dans l'antiquité pré-hellénique. In É. Weber (ed.) *La résonance dans les échelles musicales*, 103–107. Paris, Éditions Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

Hickmann, H. (1970) Altägyptische Musik. In B. Spuler (ed.) Handbuch der Orientalistik. 1. Abteilung Der Nahe und der Mittlere Osten. Ergänzungsband IV. Orientalische Musik, 135–170. Leiden, Brill.

Hudáková, L. (2019) The Representations of Women in the Middle Kingdom Tombs of Officials. Leiden, Brill.

Janssen, R. (2021) The Pleated Dress of Nywty. *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt / Egyptology* 17/1, 1–11, https://doi.org/10.48080/jae.v17i1.3

Janssen, R. M. and Janssen, J. J. (1990) *Growing Up in Ancient Egypt*. London, Rubicon Press.

Junker, H. (1940) Der Tanz der Mww und das Butische Begräbnis im Alten Reich. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes Kairo* 9, 1–39.

Kanawati, N. (2001) *The Tomb and Beyond*. Warminster, Aris and Phillips.

Kantor, H. J. (1944) The Final Phase of Predynastic Culture: Gerzean or Smainean (?). *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 3, 110–136.

Kanawati, N. and McFarlane, A. S. (1993) *Deshasha*. Sydney, The Australian Centre for Egyptology.

Kaplony, P. (1963) Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit I–III. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 8. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.

Kinney, L. (2008a) Dance, Dancers and the Performance Cohort in the Old Kingdom. Oxford, Archaeopress.

Kinney, J. (2008b) The (w)nwn Funerary Dance in the Old Kingdom and its Relationship to the Dance of the mww. In P. Kousoulis and N. Lazaridis (ed.) *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists, University of the Aegean, Rhodes, 22–29 May 2008*, 1153–1166. Leuven, Peeters.

Köpp, H. (2008) Weibliche Mobilität: Frauen in Sänften und auf Streitwagen. In C. Peust (ed.) *Miscellanea in honorem Wolfhart Westendorf. Beihefte Göttinger Miszellen 3*, 34–44. Göttingen, Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie der Univ.

Köpp, H. (2011) Ägypten und die 10 Gebote heute – Hollywoods Bild von Ägypten im Spiegel der modernen Forschung. In R. Wiegels (ed.) *Verschlungene Pfade. Neuzeitliche Wege zur Antike*, 203–216. Rahden, Westfalen, Leidorf.

Köpp-Junk, H. (2015a) The Artist behind the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs: Performance and Technique. In R. Landgráfová and H. Navrátilová (ed.) *Sex and the Golden Goddess II: The World of the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs*, 35–60. Prague, Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague.

Köpp-Junk, H. (2015b) Reisen im Alten Ägypten. Reisekultur, Fortbewegungs- und Transportmittel in pharaonischer Zeit. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.

Köpp-Junk, H. (2016a) Musik im Alten Ägypten. *Sokar* 33, 26–33.

Köpp-Junk, H. (2016b) Wagons and Carts and their Significance in Ancient Egypt. *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 9, 14–58.

Köpp-Junk, H. (2918a) The Earliest Music in Ancient Egypt. *American School of Oriental Research* VI/1. Available at: http://www.asor.org/anetoday/2018/01/earliest-music-egypt (accessed 12.05.2021).

Köpp-Junk, H. (2018b) Textual, Iconographical and Archaeological Evidence for the Performance of Ancient Egypt Music. In A. Garcia-Ventura, C. Tavolieri and L. Verderame (ed.) *The Musical Performance in Antiquity: Archaeology and Written Sources*, 93–120. Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars.

Köpp-Junk, H. (2018c) Sound of Silence? Neueste Ergebnisse aus der Musikarchäologie. In A. Blöbaum, M. Eaton-Krauss and A. Wüthrich (ed.) *Pérégrinations avec Erhart Graefe. Festschrift zu seinem 75. Geburtstag. Ägypten und Altes Testament 87*, 267–283. Münster, Zaphon.

Köpp-Junk, H. (2020a) The Harp in Ancient Egypt. *Nile Magazine* 27, 8–19.

Köpp-Junk, H. (2020b) The Sound of Ancient Egypt – Acoustics and Volume Measurements. *Ars inter Culturas* 9, 13–33.

Köpp-Junk, H. (2021a) Am Anfang war die Rassel – die frühesten Musikinstrumente im Alten Ägypten. *Antike Welt* 1/21, 74–82.

Köpp-Junk, H. (2021b) Rasseln für die Ewigkeit: Die ältesten Perkussionsinstrumente des Alten Ägypten. In A. Saura-Ziegelmeyer (ed.) *Pallas 115. Ancient Percussion Instruments: Organology – Perceptions – Multi-functionality*, 171–190.

Köpp-Junk, H. (2021c) The Development and Introduction of Wheeled Vehicles in Ancient Egypt. Technical Innovations and their (Non-)Acceptance in Pharaonic Times. In F. Klimscha, S. Hansen and J. Renn (ed.) *Contextualising Ancient Technology – from Archaeological Case Studies towards a Social Theory of Ancient Innovation Processes,* 159–183. Berlin, Edition Topoi. https://refubium.fu-berlin.de/handle/fub188/31121.

Kroenke, K. R. (2010) The Provincial Cemeteries of Naga ed-Deir: A Comprehensive Study of Tomb Models Dating from the Late Old Kingdom to the Late Middle Kingdom. Berkeley, UC Berkeley.

Krzyzaniak, L. (2001) Kadero, Preliminary Report. *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 13, 227–233.

Landgráfová, R. and Navrátilová, H. (2009) *Sex and the Golden Goddess I. Ancient Egyptian Love Songs in Context*. Prague, Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University.

Lawergren, B. (1994) Counting Strings on Ancient Egyptian Chordophones. In C. Homo-Lechner and A. Bélis (ed.) *La pluridisciplinarité en archéologie musicale*, 519–533. Paris, Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.

Lawergren, B. (2001) Music. In D. B. Redford (ed.) *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* 2, 450–454. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Lexová, I. (2000) *Dance in Ancient Egypt*. Mineola, NY, Dover Publications (second edition from 1935).

Lichtheim, M. (2006) *Ancient Egyptian Literature I. The Old and Middle Kingdom*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, University of California Press.

Mackay, E., Harding, L. and Petrie, W. M. F. (1929) *Bahrein and Hemamieh*. London, British School of Egyptian Archaeology.

Manniche, L. (1975) *Ancient Egyptian Musical Instruments*. Munich and Berlin, Deutscher Kunstverlag.

Manniche, L. (1991) *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt*. London, British Museum Press.

Manniche, L. (2006) Angular Harps in the Amarna Period. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 92, 248–249.

Meyer-Dietrich, E. (2009) Dance. In W. Wendrich (ed.) *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles, 1–14. Available at: https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5142h0db (accessed 05.04.2021).

Morris, E. (2011) Paddle Dolls and Performance. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 47, 71–103.

Morris, E. (2017) Middle Kingdom Clappers, Dancers, Birth Magic, and the Reinvention of Ritual. In G. Miniaci, M. Betrò and S. Quirke (ed.) *Company of Images. Modelling the Imaginary World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1500 BC). Proceedings of the International Conference of the EPOCHS Project Held 18th–20th September at UCL, London*, 285–335. Leuven, Peeters.

Newberry, P. E. (1893) *The Tombs of Beni Hasan II*. London, Egypt Exploration Society.

Nord, D. (1981) The Term ḫnr: 'harem' or 'musical performers'? In W. K. Simpson and W. M. Davis (ed.) Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan. Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham on the Occasion of his 90th Birthday, June 1, 1980, 137–145. Boston, Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts.

Ordynat, R. (2015) Predynastic Female Figurines: A Reappraisal of the El-Ma'mariya Corpus. In J. Cox, C. R. Hamilton, K. R. L. Mclardy, A. J. Pettman and D. Stewart (ed.) *Ancient Cultures at Monash University: Proceedings of a Conference Held between 18–20 October 2013 on Approaches to Studying the Ancient Past*, 47–56. Oxford, Archaeopress.

Ordynat, R. (2018) Egyptian Predynastic Anthropomorphic Objects: A Study of Their Function and Significance in Predynastic Burial Customs. Oxford, Archaeopress.

Osing, J. (2014/2015) Zu den Felsbildern des Wadi Sura. In D. Polz and S. J. Seidlmayer (ed.) *Gedenkschrift für Werner Kaiser*, 339–343. Berlin, De Gruyter.

Parkinson, R. B. (2008) *The Painted Tomb-Chapel of Nebamun*. London, British Museum.

Patch, D. C. (2012) *Dawn of Egyptian Art*. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Petrie, W. M. F. (1898) *Deshasheh*. London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Truebner and Co.

Petrie, W. M. F. (1909) *Qurneh*. London, British School of Archaeology in Egypt.

Petrie, W. M. F. (1930) *Antaeopolis, the Tombs of Qau*. London, British School of Archaeology in Egypt.

Picton, J., Johnstone, J. and Pridden, I. (2020) Textiles. In I. Shaw and E. Bloxam (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Egyptology*, 333–353. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Quibell, J. E. (1900) Hierakonpolis I. Egyptian Research Account Memoir 4. London, Bernard Qaritch.

Randall-MacIver, D. and Mace, A. C. (1902) *El Amrah and Abydos: 1899–1901*. London, Egypt Exploration Fund.

Reiser, E. (1972) Der königliche Harim im alten Ägypten und seine Verwaltung. Wien, Verlag Notring.

Reisner, G. (1942) *A History of the Giza Necropolis* I. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.

Relke, J. (2011) The Predynastic Dancing Egyptian Figurine. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 41/4, 396–426.

Riggs, C. (2010) Body. In E. Frood and W. Wendrich (ed.) *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*. Los Angeles. Available at: http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0025nqg2 (accessed 14.04.2021).

Robins, G. (1996) Dress, Undress, and the Representation of Fertility and Potency in New Kingdom Egyptian Art. In N. B. Kampen and B. A. Bergmann (ed.) *Sexuality in Ancient Art: Near East, Egypt, Greece, and Italy*, 27–40. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Roche, A. (2014) Des scenes de danse dans l'iconographie prédynastique ? *Archéo-Nil* 24, 161–189.

Roth, S. (2014) Harem. In E. Frood and W. Wendrich (ed.) *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 1–16. Los Angeles. Available at: http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002bqmpp (accessed 13.12.2021).

Ryder, M. L. (1972) Wool of the 14th Century BC from Tell el-'Amarna, Egypt. *Nature* 240, 355–356.

Sachs, C. (1920) *Altägyptische Musikinstrumente*. Leipzig, Hinrichs.

Saleh, M. and Sourouzian, H. (1986) *Die Hauptwerke im* ägyptischen *Museum Kairo*. Mainz, von Zabern.

Satzinger, H. (1994) Das Kunsthistorische Museum in Wien. Die Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung. Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie 14, Mainz, von Zabern.

Seipel, W. (1977a) Harimsdame. In W. Helck and W. Westendorf (ed.) *Lexikon der* Ägyptologie *II*, 986–987. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.

Seipel, W. (1977b) Harim. In W. Helck and W. Westendorf (ed.) *Lexikon der Ägyptologie II*, 982–986. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.

Spencer, P. (2003) Dance in Ancient Egypt. *Near Eastern Archaeology* 66/3, 111–121.

Staehelin, E. (1966) *Untersuchungen zur Tracht des Alten Reiches*. Berlin, Munich, Hessling.

Staring, N. (2011) Fixed Rules or Personal Choice? On the Composition and Arrangement of Daily Life Scenes in Old Kingdom Elite Tombs. In N. Strudwick and H. Strudwick (ed.) *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives. Egyptian Art and Archaeology, 2750–2150 BC*, 256–269. Oxford, Ringgold.

Stevenson, A. (2008) Mace. In W. Wendrich (ed.) *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* 1–7. Los Angeles. Available at: http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz000sn03x (accessed 15.05.2021).

Stratz, C. H (1900) Über die Kleidung der ägyptischen Tänzerinnen. *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 38, 148–149.

Strudwick, N. (2006) *The British Museum. Masterpieces of Ancient Egypt*. London, British Museum Press.

Tassie, G. J. (2014) Prehistoric Egypt: Socioeconomic Transformations in North-east Africa from the Last Glacial Maximum to the Neolithic, 24.000 to 6.000 cal BP. London, Golden House Publishing.

Teeter, E. (1993) Female Musicians in Ancient Egypt. In K. Marshall (ed.) *Rediscovering the Muses: Women's Musical Traditions*, 68–91. Boston, University of Chicago Press.

Teeter, E. (2003) *Ancient Egypt: Treasures from the Collection of the Oriental Institute*. Chicago, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

The Epigraphic Survey (1980) *The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192*. Chicago, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Ucko, P. J. (1968) Anthropomorphic Figurines of Predynastic Egypt and Neolithic Crete, with Comparative Material from the Prehistoric Near East and Mainland Greece. London, Szmidla.

Vogelsang-Eastwood, G. M. (1993) *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing*. Leiden, Brill.

Vogelsang-Eastwood, G. M. (1995) *Die Kleider des Pharao*. Hannover, Kestner-Museum.

Vogelsang-Eastwood, G. M. (1997) *Tutankhamun Textiles and Clothing in the Egyptian Museum*. Cairo, Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn.

von Lieven, A. (2002) Musical Notation in Roman Period Egypt. In E. Hickmann, A. D. Kilmer and R. Eichmann (ed.) Archäologie früher Klangerzeugung und Tonordnung. Vorträge des 2. Symposiums der Internationalen Studiengruppe Musikarchäologie im Kloster Michaelstein, 17.–23. September 2000, 497–510. Rahden, Westfalen, Leidorf.

Watson, P. J. (1987) *Costume of Ancient Egypt.* London, Batsford.

Wengrow, D. (2006) The Archaeology of Early Egypt: Social Transformations in North-East Africa 10,000 to 2,650 BC. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Whitehouse, H. (2009) *Ancient Egypt and Nubia in the Ashmolean Museum*. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.

Wildung, D. and Drenkhahn, R. (1985) Nofret – die Schöne. 'Wahrheit' und Wirklichkeit. Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim, 15. Juli bis 04. November 1985. Mainz, von Zabern.

Williams, B. and Logan, T. J. (1987) The Metropolitan Museum Knife Handle and Aspects of Pharaonic Imagery before Narmer. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 46, 245–285.

Wilkinson, R. H., (2000) *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt*. London, Thames and Hudson.

Wilson, J. A. (1944) Funeral Services of the Egyptian Old Kingdom. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 3, 201–218.

Yvanez, E. and Wozniak, M. M. (2019) Cotton in Ancient Sudan and Nubia: Archaeological Sources and Historical Implications. *Revue d'Ethnoécologie* 15. https://doi.org/10.4000/ethnoecologie.4429

Ziegler, C. (1979) Catalogue des instruments de musique égyptiens. Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Egyptiennes. Paris, Réunion des Musées Nationaux.

Zoffili, E. (1992) *Kleidung und Schmuck im Alten Ägypten*. Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Propyläen-Verlag.

Part 4

Cognition and sensory experience

8

Soft cloth and sounding jewellery – sound fields of rich women in Eastern Hallstatt culture

Karina Grömer and Beate Maria Pomberger

Movements, dance and sound of the Early Iron Age in Central Europe are rarely discussed. Some contemporary pictorial sources give hints at dance movements. Dance attracts people not only visually, but also by sound – that of the music, but also other sounds that are created by the person moving. In Hallstatt culture, brooches with rattling pendants as well as jingles, bells and other sounding artefacts have been used as personal ornaments and were attached to garments, especially those of rich women. In an interdisciplinary approach, the interplay between rattling pendants and bells that have been attached to clothing is studied. The sounds of the objects create acoustic fields, influence the acoustic environment of the people and thus their listening habits.

Such an acoustic code of clothing of Iron Age ladies of the upper social strata is created. This will also be set in context with depictions of movement on contemporary pottery decorations and situla art and with idiophones from the western Hallstatt area.

For the Early Iron Age in Central Europe (ca. 800–400 BC) it is a difficult task to reconstruct the concept of dance as written sources are missing, but pictorial evidence from this area can in some cases be interpreted in this direction. However, situla art provides us with pictures of musicians (Eibner 1986; Turk 2005), playing harp, flute and lyra in a high-status setting which points to the relevance of music for those societies. Additionally, certain personal items found in graves give an idea about movement and sound – and such 'Textiles in Motion'.

The interdisciplinary music-archaeological research project 'Metallic Idiophones between 800 BC and 800 AD in Central Europe', located at the Natural History Museum Vienna, in Austria, dealt with acoustics, psychoacoustics and effect on human hearing. Also, the divergence between the soft textile material of the garments and the hard and 'noisy' jewellery is in focus, as well as the visual aspects – the shiny metal in comparison with textiles of different colour and pattern. The function of the artefacts as sounding ornamental pendants is discussed and their impact on the sound fields and acoustic codes of the societies under research. The interdisciplinary project contributes to the research of music, and its identity through sounds in prehistory. Part of it is researching the influence of sound on human well-being. Within the framework of this project, various metallic idiophones made from bronze and iron are examined: bells, jingles, costume jewellery, vessels with rattling pendants, as well as rings and anklets that are worn in groups on the arms and legs.

Movement and sound fields are an integral part of the study of dance. Here, we discuss different sources available for Hallstatt culture in Central Europe. We also present new methods to study the evidence, *e.g.*, by acoustic analysis, exemplified by two case studies: a grave with large brooches with rattling pendants from Hallstatt and ornaments with rattling house-shaped pendants and ball-shaped pendants from the Býčí skála Cave that might have been attached to a belt together with rattling pendants. Both have been subject to music-archaeological, acoustic and psychoacoustic research.

Sources and methods

Pictures of dress and pictures of movement – situlae art and incisions on pottery

There are many pictorial representations from the Hallstatt period (summarized in Huth 2003; Grömer 2016, 390–403)

that show us what the clothes of men and women looked like, especially on Hallstatt period pottery (Eibner 1986; Gleirscher 2009), but also on the situla art (Turk 2006), meaning a specific decorative style carried out between 600 and 400 BC on bronze sheet artefacts such as situlae, other vessels or belt plates. On pottery, the women wear a wide skirt or dress, the men are sometimes in a knee-length smock or even shown with trousers. Even more details are visible on the situlae art, as often people in festive clothing are shown. Again, the men are dressed in knee-length to calf-length garments or trousers and short tunics as well as various types of headgear. The women depicted usually wear long dresses that reach down to their calves, with half-length sleeves. These garments can have a straight or a curved hem, which is partially decorated with ribbons. The dress is sometimes gathered around the waist with a belt, and a veil or a headscarf in different lengths is always combined.

What is striking about the images on situla art is the sometimes very detailed depiction of the chequered textile patterns, the borders and ribbons with which the clothing is adorned. These can in turn be related to the exquisite Iron Age fabrics (also striped, chequered, tablet weaving) from the Hallstatt salt mine (Grömer 2016, Fig. 99) – they are actually close to reality.

Among the human representations on bronze objects and pottery, different types of movements can be studied (Huth 2003; Turk 2005; Gleirscher 2009, 4–16). To name only the most important ones: quite often men and women are walking in a kind of procession, men are also depicted fighting, hunting or riding horses. Sometimes people are shown playing music and drinking in festive scenes.

There are also hints at dance among the Early Iron Age iconography. Ceramics of the east Hallstatt area in particular (Gleirscher 2009), women with raised hands, their garments sometimes shaken by the movement, and the musicians often depicted nearby are indications of dance. According to a different interpretation, however, the gestures of the women with raised hands suggest prayer or mourning. Famous depictions of this kind are known on the conical-necked vessels that have been found in rich tumuli from Sopron in Hungary, dated to 800–600 BC (Eibner 1986). From tumulus 27, the famous vessel with the spinning and weaving fates (Eibner 1980, pl. 17) also depicts dancing women and a man playing lyre (Fig. 8.1a). The combination of the depictions of dance, music and textile work is interesting here, but maybe can be interpreted by looking at contemporary ancient Greece. There, religion, myth, music and everyday life are strongly intertwined: musical instruments were considered to be a divine invention and the activities of spinning and weaving had mythological connotations.

A second conical-necked vessel from Sopron can be named according to dance, the item from tumulus 28 (Eibner 1980, 29; Fig. 8.1b). On this, representative pleasures of the Early Iron Age elites are shown: the neck of the vessel is dominated by the representation of a four-wheeled wagon and a hunting scene. A scene with two male lyre players is pictured on the other side of the wagon; they either play music together or compete against each other. Two women in full skirts dance around them – the shape of their skirts is exaggerated to a bell shape by the movement. Further dancers can be noted also on the shoulder of the vessel, as pairs of people facing each other: two probably represent two men, identified by the trousers, and two more women, whose bell-shaped skirts perhaps suggest a turning movement – a dance. The men, too, are shown during movement, as the tangled hair indicated by sketched lines suggests. Are they also dancing, or fighting each other?

Hallstatt period textiles and garments

There are not many complete garment pieces found from the Iron Age in Central Europe. Among the few are the leg warmers and socks from Rieserferner glacier (Bazzanella *et al*. 2012), found in the mountains in the border area of today's Austria and Italy and dated to 800–600 BC. Other garment fragments from the Hallstatt culture (Rösel-Mautendorfer 2016, figs 132, 138) are some parts of sleeves from Hallstatt salt mine or some larger sewn parts that belonged to a larger tailored garment such as a skirt composed of various cut pieces.

However, what we know about clothing in Hallstatt culture is that the selection of fabric types that was available to the people is very diverse: from veil-like loosely woven cloths in plain weave to thick 'loden'-like textiles, almost elastic twill-like fine fabrics, or thicker blanket-like textiles, various narrow and wide ribbons in grosgrain weave and tablet weaving.

The Early Iron Age fabrics from the Hallstatt salt mine (Grömer *et al*. 2013) were mostly made from single yarns and usually have a very fine thread diameter, below 0.5 mm; there is a remarkably large number of fabrics with only 0.2–0.3 mm thin yarns. Very coarse textiles with thread thicknesses over 1 mm are rather rare. Accordingly, the fabrics are also very thin and have an average thickness of approx. 0.3–0.5 mm. The fabric quality can also be read from the fabric densities. Almost half of the textiles are of fine quality with 10–15 threads per 1 cm. The finest textile from the salt mine is a basket weave with 40 threads per cm in one thread direction (0.1–0.2 mm threads). In terms of fabric densities, it should again be noted that coarser fabrics were found, mostly coarse tabby or twill. These coarser fabrics could also be felted, which then gives a rather stiff haptic impression. Some of the textiles were also dyed or patterned (chequered, striped, complex patterns in tablet weaving technology, chequerboard-like patterns in rep weave).

Sounding jewellery in Hallstatt culture

Pendants and bells used as jewellery for garments, or even attached as decorative and rattling elements to other objects

Fig. 8.1. Representations of dance on Sopron vessels, 800–600 BC: a) vessel with spinning and weaving fates, tumulus 27; b) vessel with hunting scene, tumulus 28. Image: © Natural History Museum Vienna.

such as situlae, wide-rimmed bowls or ladles are a quite common phenomenon in the Early Iron Age in Central Europe (for example, Kromer 1959, pls 92–97). Those items create a specific sound environment, a sound field, within those societies.

From the **Eastern area of Hallstatt culture**, the half-moon shaped brooches with rattling pendants are particularly striking, as can be found as paired jewellery elements in rich women's graves at the eponymous site of Hallstatt in Upper Austria (Glunz-Hüsken 2008, 42–43). Not only half-moon shaped fibulae were decorated with rattling plates, but also arm bands and belt fittings. Such objects are common finds in graves of the elite, not only at Hallstatt, but in the whole area of the Eastern Hallstatt culture. In contrast to the use of rattling pendants, items like bells, pompoms, jingles or even ball-shaped pendants are rare – known only from the Býčí skála Cave, Czech Republic in the Eastern Hallstatt area.

For the sounding jewellery, even within the Eastern Hallstatt area some regional differences can be recognized: the women of the Carniolan group (in today's Slovenia) wore splendid pectoral jewellery, as shown by finds from women's graves in Magdalenska gora and Nove mesto/ Kapitelska niva (Frey *et al*. 2009, 97). The ensemble called 'rattle bars' consists of tubes, small chains and decorated rattle plates threaded on leather bands. Small rings, hollow pompoms and sometimes tweezers were attached to the equally popular bow fibulae.

In another region, in the Inner Alpine Hallstatt Group (East Tyrol, Salzburg, Upper Austria, Upper Styria), ring pendants and pedunculated ring pendants are known, found in the chest area of buried women (Pomberger 2016, 128).

In addition to rattling plates in the **Western Hallstatt area**, especially from eastern France and Switzerland, different variants of openwork and massive ball pendants and bells are known. Of special interest are the cage-like pompoms of 2–4 cm diameter that were found in inhumation graves of female individuals (Wamser 1975, 37, 38, tab. 3, pl. 14). The pendants were possibly worn on a string or sewn onto a piece of textile or leather. Sometimes the pompoms, bells and wheel pendants are also attached to splendidly cast pectorals (Wamser 1975, pl. 4/7) and usually can be found in the graves of women. Sometimes pompoms and bells also serve as belt pendants (Drack 1966/67, pls 14–15; Ramstein and Cueni 2012, pls 3/9–10; Pomberger *et al.* 2020, tab. 4b). The pendants usually were found in the central tombs of large tumuli dating to HaC-HaD1, and such were dedicated to a high-ranked person (Wamser 1975, 44–45).

In general, these types of sounding jewellery from Hallstatt culture are usually made of copper alloys.

This short overview on archaeological evidence of sounding jewellery clearly demonstrates that the wealthy women of the Early Iron Age made a point of being heard and announced their movements with sound and rhythm.

Scientific analysis of sound

Metallic idiophones such as bells, pellet bells and objects with rattling pendants are often worn on clothing and the interactions between the sound object and the garment are of interest. The wearers create sound fields and establish their own acoustic identity, announcing a social status as well as attracting or repelling other people. The research on sounding jewellery consists of studying the acoustic features of their sound. Thus, features like sound timbre, sound level and frequency range are beig investigated via standardized sound-recordings carried out with original artefacts (where possible from a conservation point of view), made in a sound-reduced recording chamber. The objects were shaken and set into vibration before their sounds were created. The recordings will be analysed for basic spectral and temporal features, such as fundamental frequency and partials or fluctuations in time, and timbral features will be extracted (Fastl and Zwicker 2007, 111–148, 233–238, 239–246, 257–264; Mores *et al*. 2009, 1–11). Frequency ranges, for example, are measured in Hertz (Hz) and the sound pressure level in decibel (dB). Visual representations of the extracted features play a major role in the description of sound (for example, Fig. 8.2).

Psychoacoustics is part of psychophysics and deals with the relationship between human auditory perception and the physical-acoustic properties of sound. It thus attempts to find out what proportion of measurable acoustic parameters make up subjective sound characteristics such as loudness, brightness, sharpness, roughness etc. Thus, a variety of bronze costume jewellery of the women of the Hallstatt culture has also been studied by sound-recording and acoustic analysis. This could even point to different sound fields of people wearing different jewellery in different regions. For example, the sound recording of the 'rattle bars' from today's Slovenia resulted in frequency ranges from 4,800–18,100 Hz, ring pendants worn in the Inner Alpine area show frequencies of 1,400–18,700 Hz and various ornamental pendants from Hallstatt have frequencies of 3,300 Hz up to 22,000 Hz (Pomberger 2016, 125–139). However, these frequency measurements do not mean that one can infer characteristic pitches from traditional costume jewellery in different areas.

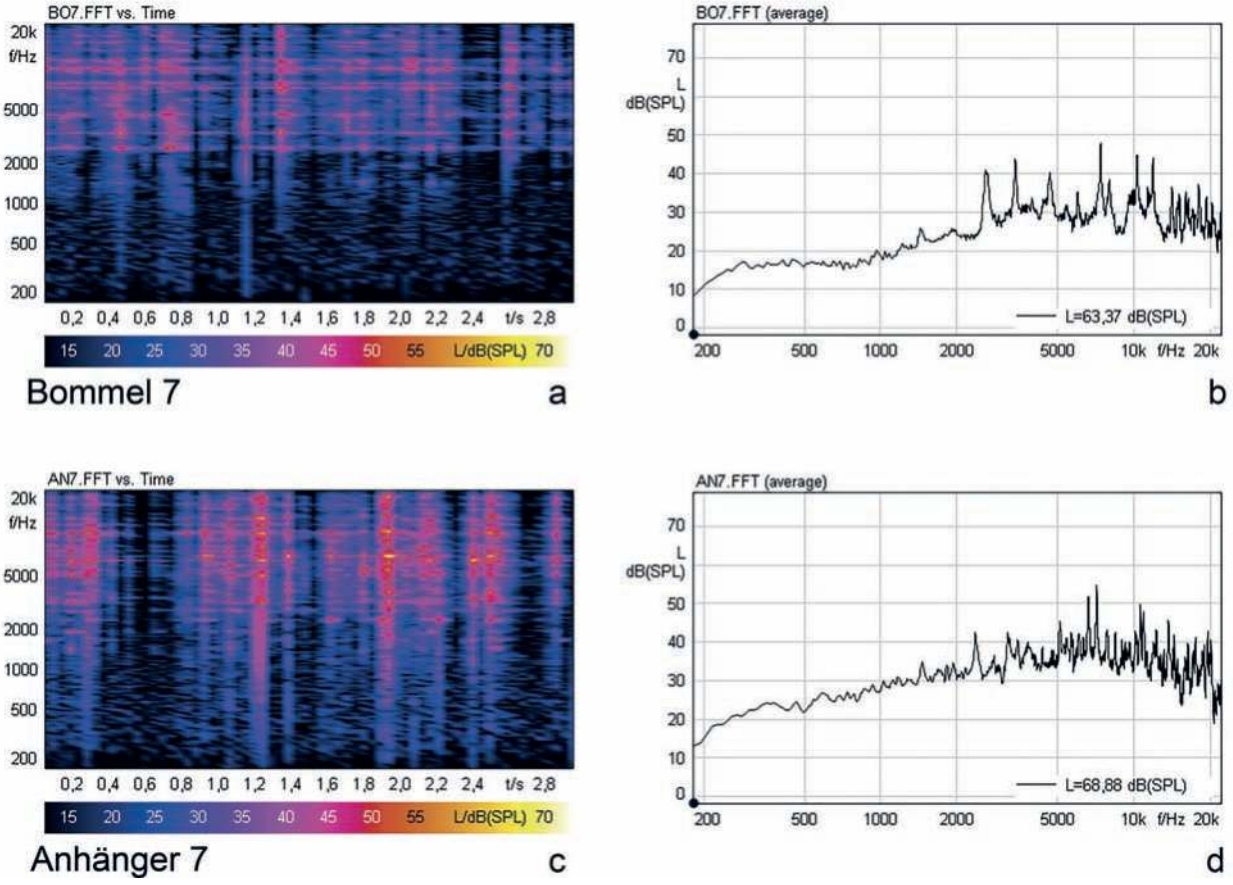


Fig. 8.2. Example of the visualization of sound recordings: spectrogram of the sound of a pompom and a rattling pendant from Býčí skála Cave, ca. 600 BC. a) Sonogram of a Býčí skála *Cave pompons; b) Spectrogram of a* Býčí skála *Cave pompons; c) Sonogram of a rattling pendant from* Býčí skála*: d) Spectrogram of a* Býčí skála *Cave rattling pendant.© Jörg Mühlhans, Universität Wien, MediaLab der Philologisch-Kulturwissenschaftlichen Fakultät.*

Experimental archaeology and psychoacoustics

Experimental archaeology is a well-established method for gaining scientific data about archaeological objects through experiments (Lammers-Keijser 2005, 18–24). There are different tasks for experiments: some focus on handcraft details of the *chaîne opératoire*, some gain from a detailed reconstruction of an ancient artefact.

Experimental archaeological reconstructions of dress are a challenge if there is no concrete evidence for a complete dress that can be reproduced 1:1. For our case study, we had to combine different sources for the reconstruction of clothing from the Hallstatt period. In addition to the findings of certain costume components in the graves, these are mainly textile remains and image sources.

In this case, experimental archaeology is also used for the investigation of ancient movements and the respective sound field it generates. Reconstructions of the costumes with sounding jewellery have been used to study the psychoacoustic impact of those garments to human well-being and also to test their interplay with body movement. The limits are clear as we are aware that a lot of different factors influence the sensory experience of a sound, including background noises and even the individual movements and body language of the person wearing garments with attached sound-making jewellery.

Dress and dance – case studies: sound fields of dance movements with rattling pendants on brooches and belts

We tried to recreate the movements known from contemporary pictorial sources from Hallstatt culture with dancing figures. The movements shown here were carried out by persons wearing reconstructed costumes with sounding jewellery, which should allow the study of sound fields of Hallstatt period dress and dance. Two case objects have been selected among the sounding jewellery, artefacts from Býčí skála Cave in the Czech Republic and Hallstatt in Austria, both dated to ca. 600 BC. Furthermore, together with replicas of the artefacts, two garments have been reconstructed and then tested with movements as depicted on the Sopron vessels, to study sound effects and psychoacoustics.

Sounding jewellery from the Býčí skála Cave

The Býčí skála Cave (Bull Rock Cave) is located in the Moravian Karst near Brno, Czech Republic. It is one of the most important Iron Age cave sacrifice sites and it contained a large number of goods of all kinds, such as a bronze figure of a bull, wheels and other parts of wagons, human and animal bones, weapons, numerous textile tools, various organic remains, jewellery, vessels and iron-working tools (Parzinger *et al*. 1995).

Among the various kinds of jewellery, seven caged ball-shaped pendants and house-shaped pendants with rattle sheets have been found (Fig. 8.3). The ball-shaped pendants and the house pendant measure between 9.5 cm and 10 cm and have a total weight of 425 g. The copper alloys of the cast parts differ from those of the rattle sheets by having a higher tin content. The softer sheets were decorated in dot-bump technique (Pomberger *et al*. 2020, 215–242). All items have been subject to acoustic studies.

In order to be able to make statements about the sounds of the individual objects and their interplay, sound recordings were made of each individual item (Fig. 8.2), as well as combinations of two items, and finally all items were played together. The sounds of the individual objects with rattling sheets show frequencies from 1.8 kHz up to 20 kHz. All ball-shaped pendants played together sounded at 2.2 kHz and pendants at 2 kHz. The sound pressure level of the individual objects is between 62.2 dB and 70.2 dB, increasing when all played together from 69.7 dB to 74.7 dB. The psychoacoustic parameter loudness is given in sone. The loudness of one ball-shaped pendant is 10.1 sone, of one house pendant 21.9 sone, which is twice as loud. The results for all objects combined was 24.2 sone. Roughness is measured in asper. The roughness of all objects combined has values of 0.06–0.09 asper and is quite low, whereas their sharpness with 4–5 acum – the measure for sharpness – is in the relatively high range. Roughly speaking, the objects are acoustically very similar both individually and in combination (Pomberger *et al*. 2020, 215–242).

Large half-moon brooches with long rattling pendants from Hallstatt

The Hallstatt site in Austria (Kern *et al*. 2008) is famous for its salt mine and a large Early Iron Age cemetery with almost 1,500 excavated burials that reflect a very wealthy community of salt miners with large-scale trade relationships. Amongst them are luxury items made from rare and valuable raw materials such as ivory, amber and glass. Like almost all prehistoric cemeteries, burial practices at Hallstatt demonstrate social differentiation. In comparison to inhumation burials, cremations are characterized by richer grave goods. Jewellery – hairpins, pairs of fibulae, necklaces and arm rings – are characteristic for the female population in the Hallstatt period.

Of interest here are the two large brooches found in grave 505 (Hodson 1990, 49, Fig. 8, 55, Fig. 12, 67; dated to HaD1, ca. 600 BC), alongside a gold-plated belt and numerous bronze vessels. The total length of each half-moon brooch with chains and rattles is 34 cm (Fig. 8.4). Originally, each fibula weighed a total of about 290 g. Numerous chains with rattling pendants are attached to the halfmoon plates, which – in contrast to other fibulae of the same type – are extraordinarily long, measuring 22.5 cm. Each chain is decorated with two small bowl-shaped cymbals of 3.2 cm diameter.

One of the two fibulae from grave 550 was subjected to acoustic analysis (Fig. 8.5). The spectrogram shows

Fig. 8.3. Artefacts from Býčí skála Cave, ca. 600 BC, sounding jewellery next to bronze discs and helmet and combined spectrogram. Image: © Natural History Museum Vienna.

Fig. 8.4. Half-moon shaped brooch from Hallstatt, grave 505, ca. 600 BC. Draped on a model for size reference. Image: © Natural History Museum Vienna.

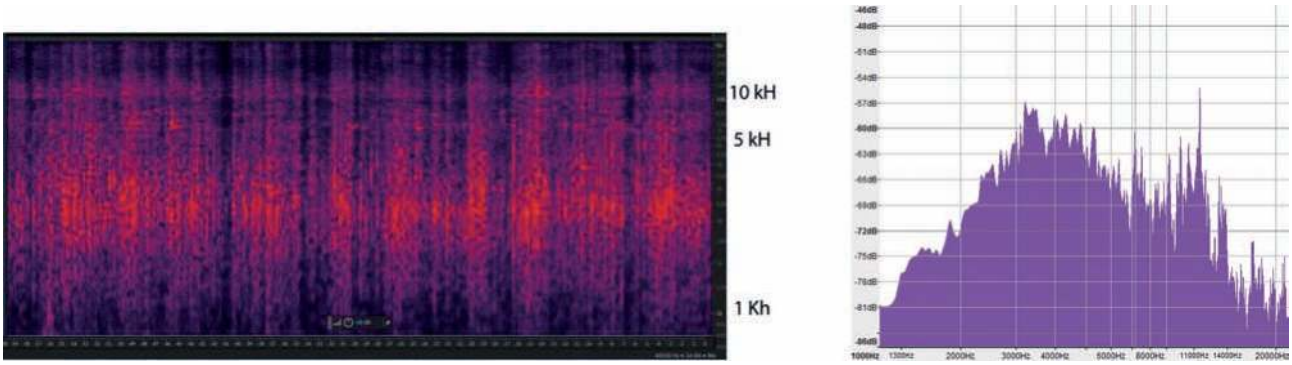


Fig. 8.5. Sonogram and spectrogram of the half-moon shaped brooch from Hallstatt, grave 505, ca. 600 BC. © Beate Maria Pomberger.

that the lowest partial tone is at 2.86 kHz. Other strongly pronounced partials are at 3 kHz, 4.15 kHz and 4.8 kHz. Overall, the sounds are located in the upper half of the human auditory area, *i.e.*, in the acoustically best range of perception.

Reconstructed costumes

For the reconstruction of the first costume that includes the Býčí skála caged ball-shaped pendants and the house-shaped pendants with rattle sheets, a simple A-shaped long dress as depicted on pottery was selected using a heavier woollen fabric with chequered design as known from Hallstatt. Underneath, a long-sleeved linen tunic was chosen. The distinctive features here, the replicas of the rattling elements, have been attached to a belt – as a comparison finding from Kernenried/Oberholz, Switzerland, from grave 4 (Ramstein and Cueni 2012) suggests.

The other reconstructed garment ensemble is centred around the brooches with the rattling pendants from Hallstatt. Typical ensembles in graves of the Early Iron Age women are paired brooches worn on the shoulders, often combined with a belt element. A distinctive item of dress that requires exactly this kind of fastening on the body is the so-called peplos-type, a tubular dress. Such a dress is known from the famous find from Huldremose in Denmark, dated to 180–50 cal BC (Mannering *et al*. 2012, 105, Fig. 3.9). This type of dress also allows for movements and generates dress silhouettes that are then comparable to the depictions of movements on the Sopron vessel. To have different kinds of fabrics in use, for this garment, light linen was selected.

Dance movements depicted on Hallstatt period vessels

In order to better observe the interplay of clothing, costume jewellery, dance movement and sound, an experiment was started: a dance choreography based on images of dance from Eastern Hallstatt area (Eibner 1986, 271–318, pl. 1–3, 9; Gleirscher 2009, 4–16), especially those on the vessels from Sopron, but also considering a depiction from Frög in Austria (Tomedi 2002). Certain distinctive movements could be identified, such as movements carried out by individual dancers, and movements performed by two dancers interacting with each other:

Single movements and arm positions (Fig. 8.6):

- ‘Arms raised’: in this position, the dancer has her slightly angled arms raised sideways with her palms pointing forward. The full movement is about turning around her own axis with arms raised.
- ‘Clapping hands’: the dancer claps her hands, with or without music accompanying. On the Sopron tumulus 28 vessel, she stands next to lyre players. She can accompany another dancer rhythmically or turn herself while clapping.
- ‘Water birds’: arms raised sideways with palms turned upwards.

Two dancers interacting (Fig. 8.7):

- ‘Swimming swans’: two dancers stand opposite each other. Their right arm is angled, their hand is also angled, with the palm of the hand facing down. This arm position is executed as follows: the outstretched arm is led forward from below in a quarter-circle movement, then elegantly slightly angled. The hand hangs loosely forward with slightly extended fingers. Arm and hand form the body and head of a swan, as in a shadow play. The dancers can now let the ‘swans’ move past each other by dancing up and down.
- ‘Touching palms’: the dancers stand opposite each other, hold both their arms or one arm slightly angled forward and touch each other with only one or both palms of their hands. Thereby they turn in a circle.
- ‘Crossing arms’: both dancers face each other, each turned sideways. Their inner arms are raised and cross each other. With small steps, turns and movements towards and away from each other can be performed in this position.

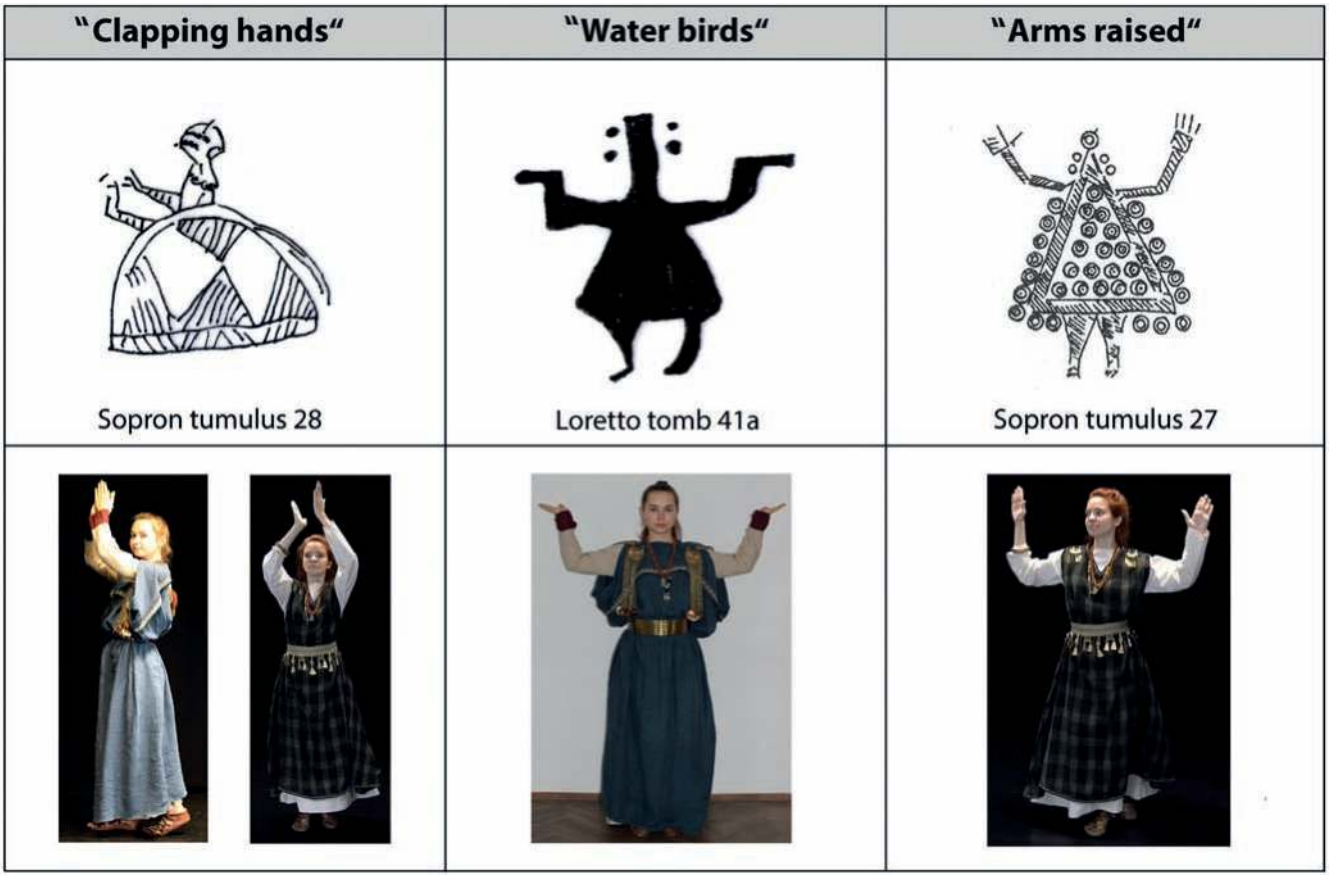


Fig. 8.6. Reconstructed dance movements, single movements an arm positions. Photos: B. M. Pomberger, graphics: NHM Vienna and Gleirscher 2009.

- 'Plate rubbing' (*Tellerreiben*): two dancers hold each other with outstretched crossed arms and whirl around in a circle.
- 'Grab hands': dancers stand opposite each other and grab hands. They dance towards and away from each other with their arms raised and angled, lowered and stretched out.

In a second step, all dance movements have been linked together to form a choreography. The Ensemble ArchäoMusik Vienna played two reconstructed Hallstatt period lyres (Pomberger 2020), as well as a frame drum playing a melody in the Laendler rhythm. The Laendler is an alpine folk dance in 3/4 time. This resulted in the alternating step as the predominant basic step. To perform this dance, the two dancers wore the reconstructed costumes from the Býčí skála Cave and from Hallstatt. The dancers performed their movements in such a way that the natural sounds of the attached rattling pendants and jingles were integrated into the overall performance and thus underlined the movements of the dance with an acoustic addition to the music.

To be able to follow every movement of the clothes and the costume jewellery a video was shot.[1] Interesting musical-acoustic observations were made: every movement of the body, such as steps, pelvic movement or movement of the shoulders and of the whole body transmits an impulse to the fibulae or belt pendants with rattling attributes with a very short delay. Therefore, the impulse sounds slightly delayed and not in time.

The half-moon brooch with cymbals on the chains applied a deeper, fuller, voluminous sound of 2.5–4 kH to the wearer, while the other dancer with belted pendants is perceived as jingling brightly at 6 kHz (upper half of the five-striped octave). Thus, not only does each dancer contribute to the enrichment of the dance melody, but also draws attention to herself with her own sound code.

Also, different kinds of interaction between the sounding jewellery and the garments could be recognized, depending on the raw material of the garments as well as on the position where the item has been attached. The items worn on the belt over a heavy woollen dress displayed a more muffled sound than the long chains with rattling pendants freely swinging from the brooches over a light linen peplos dress.

Conclusion

Dress for Dance is a concept that has not been discussed regarding the Early Iron Age in Central Europe so far. For this, music archaeology and textile archaeology and their

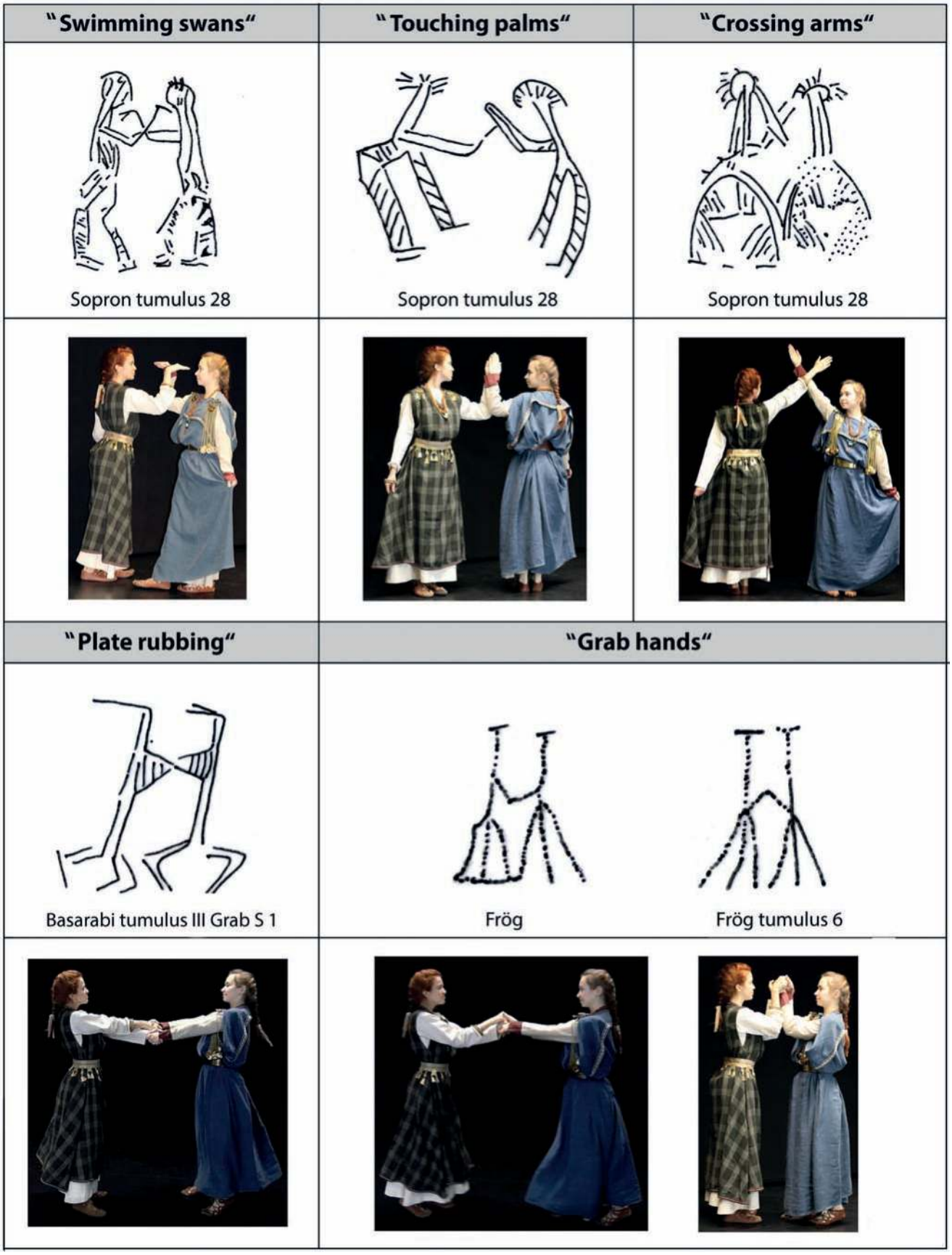


Fig. 8.7. Reconstructed dance movements, two dancers interacting. Photos: B. M. Pomberger, graphics: NHM Vienna and Gleirscher 2009.

respective methodological and theoretical frameworks have to be combined.

Musical archaeology is mostly concerned with prehistoric, ancient and early modern musical instruments, their reconstruction and their sound. Metallic idiophones rarely receive any attention in research on prehistoric societies in Europe, only a few acoustic analyses of late Bronze Age and Hallstatt period sounding costume jewellery, jingles and bells have been carried out so far (for example, Rainio 2012; Pomberger 2016; Pomberger and Stadler 2018). The situation in Asia is different, especially in China: metallic sounds, especially bells and carillons, have a remarkable status (for example, Gao 2012; Kramer 2015).

The perception and effect of clothing from the Iron Age, for example, is usually only investigated with regard to the functionality of clothing as a visual means of communication. The visual aspect of conveying information about the identity of the wearer, social status, group membership, gender and age etc. was particularly emphasized (for example, Grömer 2016, 428–444; Grömer and Bender Jørgensen 2018). Studies on sensory aspects of textiles and clothing that go beyond the visual, *i.e.*, haptics, feeling, smell and sound are part of common modern fashion concepts (for example, Johnson and Foster 2007). But such concepts have not yet been used frequently in archaeological research (for example, thoughts on haptics: soft wool vs. hard metal elements: Bergerbrant 2007, 62–65, 139–140).

Thus, studies in the interplay of dress, attached idiophones (dress accessories) and movement are of interest. When using certain items of clothing and decorative metallic objects worn on the body, people created not only a certain visual code, but also a specific sound field. Each sound field is created from a sound source and its spatial expansion.

This is particularly noticeable in the massive sheet metal brooches from the Hallstatt cemetery (Grömer 2016, 441–442), which are social markers for very rich women. If they are worn and the corresponding lady is moving (walking, dancing), the resulting background noise is considerable (Pomberger 2016, 126, 133–139). Did the sound have the desired effect of announcing and marking a member of the elite or underlining their presence?

As far as is known, sounding jewellery is only found in graves of the elite. The sound fields they create might be markers for social hierarchy. Dress as a way of communication thus not only acts in terms of visual coding; other senses such as the sound and also all aspects of body movement have to be considered. Through the lens of a specific kind of movement – dance – we get new insights into cultural and sociological effect of dress and the attached jewellery in prehistoric societies.

Acknowledgements

The studies presented here are part of the research project ‘Metallic Idiophones between 800 BC and 800 AD in Central Europe – Their Function and Acoustic Influence in Daily Life’, funded by the Austrian Science Funding Foundation FWF (Hertha-Firnberg-Programm, Project Number T 1136–G). The project was based at the Natural History Museum Vienna, January 2020–December 2022, led by Beate Maria Pomberger and Karina Grömer. We are thankful to Jörg Mühlhans (Universität Wien, MediaLab der Philologisch-Kulturwissenschaftlichen Fakultät) for providing Figure 8.2. Special thanks are given to Theresa Prem and Georgina Babinszki who performed the dance inspired by Hallstatt culture depictions. The metal rattling objects were recreated by Stefan Jaroschinsky, Germany.

Note

1 ‘Imagination of Dance in Hallstatt Culture’ is available online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PN5b1OWACPc.

Bibliography

Bazzanella, M. (2012) Italy: Bronze Age. In M. Gleba and U. Mannering (ed.) *Textiles and Textile Production in Europe from Prehistory to AD 400*, 203–214. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Bergerbrant, S. (2007) *Bronze Age Identities: Costume, Conflict and Contact in Northern Europe 1600–1300 BC*. Lindome, Bricoleur Press.

Drack, W. (1966/67) Anhängeschmuck der Hallstattzeit aus dem schweizerischem Mittelland und Jura. *Jahrbuch der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Ur- und Frühgeschichte* 53, 29–70.

Eibner, A. (1980) *Hallstattzeitliche Grabhügel aus Sopron (Ödenburg): die Funde der Grabungen 1890–92 in der prähistorischen Abteilung des Naturhistorischen Museums in Wein und im Burgenländischen Landesmuseum in Eisenstadt*. Eisenstadt, Austria, Burgenländisches Landesmuseum.

Eibner, A. (1986) Musikleben in der Hallstattzeit – Betrachtungen zur ‘Mousikè’ anhand der bildlichen Darstellungen. In M. Albrecht and W. Schubert (ed.) *Sources and Studies in Music History from Antiquity to the Present*, 271–318. Frankfurt/Main and Bern, New York.

Fastl, H. and Zwicker, E. (2007) *Psychoacoustics – Facts and Models*. Heidelberg, Springer.

Frey, A., Nickel, C. and Köster, R. (2009) Ein Bronzegehänge aus Slowenien (6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.). *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz* 56/3, 105.

Gao, X. (2012) The Way Chimes Were Assembled during the Western Zhou Dynasty. A Study Based on Chime Bells Unearthed from Western Zhou Dynasty Burials. In R. Eichmann, F. Jianjun and L.-C. Koch (ed.) *Studien zur Musikarchäologie. VIII, Klänge der Vergangenheit: die Interpretation von musikarchäologischen Artefakten im Kontext: Vorträge des 7. Symposiums der Internationalen Studiengruppe Musikarchäologie im Tianjin conservatory of music, Tianjin, China, 20.–25. September 2010*, 75–81. Rahden, M. Leidorf.

Gleirscher, P. (2009) Bildgeschichten und ihre Deutung. Zwei hallstattzeitliche Neufunde aus Kärnten. *Archäologie Österreichs* 2, 4–16.

Glunz-Hüsken, B. (2008) Neue Fibeln aus der Nekropole von Hallstatt: Mit Exkursen zu Fibelneufunden anderer Gattungen, zur Emblematik an hallstattzeitlichen Gewandverschlüssen und einem Vergleich der Friedhöfe Hallstatt und Bischofshofen. *Archaeologia Austriaca* 92, 35–71.

Grömer, K. (2016) *The Art of Prehistoric Textile Making – The Development of Craft Traditions and Clothing in Central Europe*, 216–240. Vienna, Verlag des Naturhistorischen Museums Wien.

Grömer, K. and Bender Jørgensen, L. (2018) Visuality – Movement – Performance. The Costume of a Rich Woman from Franzhausen in Austria, ca 2000 BC. In M. García Sánchez and M. Gleba (ed.) *Vetus Textrinum. Textiles in the Ancient World. Studies in Honour of Carmen Alfaro Giner*. Collecció Instrumenta 59, 211–224.

Grömer, K., Kern, A., Reschreiter, H. and Rösel-Mautendorfer, H. (ed.) (2013) *Textiles from Hallstatt. Weaving Culture in Bronze and Iron Age Salt Mines*. Budapest, Archaeolingua Publishers.

Hodson, F. R. (1990) *Hallstatt – the Ramsauer Graves: Quantification and Analyses.* Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum.

Huth, C. (2003) *Menschenbilder und Menschenbild. Anthropomorphe Bildwerke der frühen Eisenzeit*. Berlin, Reimer.

Johnson, D. C. and Foster, H. B. (ed.) (2007) *Dress Sense: Emotional and Sensory Experiences of the Body and the Clothes*. Oxford, Berg Publishers.

Kramer, K. (2015) *Klänge der Unendlichkeit. Eine Reise durch die Kulturgeschichte der Glocke*. Kevelaer, Butzon and Bercker.

Kromer, K. (1959) *Das Gräberfeld von Hallstatt*. Firenze, Sansoni.

Lammers-Keijsers, Y. (2005) Scientific Experiments a Possibility? Presenting a Cyclical Script for Experiments in Archaeology. *EuroREA. (Re)construction and Experiment in Archaeology – European Platform* 2, 18–26.

Mannering, U., Gleba, M. and Bloch Hansen, M. (2012) Denmark. In M. Gleba and U. Mannering (ed.) *Textiles and Textile Production in Europe from Prehistory to AD 400*, 91–121. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Mores, R., Smit, T. and Wiese, J.-M. (2009) Perceived Roughness – a Recent Psycho-Acoustic Measurement. *Audio Engineering Society Convention Paper Presented at the 126th Convention 2009 May 7–10 Munich, Germany*, 1–11.

Parzinger, H., Nekvasil, J. and Barth, F. E. (1995) *Die Býči-Skala-Höhle. Ein hallstattzeitlicher Höhlenopferplatz in Mähren*. Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern.

Pomberger, B. M. (2016) *Wiederentdeckte Klänge. Musikinstrumente und Klangobjekte vom Neolithikum bis zur Römischen Kaiserzeit im mittleren Donauraum*. Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 280. Bonn, Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH.

Pomberger, B. M. (2020) Stringed Instruments of the Hallstatt Culture – from Iconographic Representation to Experimental Reproduction. *Supplementum* of *Slovenská archeológia 1. Festschrift für Jozef Batorá*, 471–482.

Pomberger, B. M. and Stadler, P. (2018) Der Klang der Schellen. Schellenfunde aus dem awarischen Gräberfeld von Vösendorf-Laxenburgerstraße, Österreich. Študijné zvesti Archeologického ústavu SAV Nitra 63, 125–146.

Pomberger, B. M., Grömer, K., Mühlhans, J. and Topa, D. (2020) Schlitzbommeln und Anhänger – Klingender Trachtschmuck aus der Býčí skála-Höhle bei Brünn. *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 150, 215–242.

Rainio, R. (2008) Classifying Iron Age Bells, Pellet Bells and Bell Pendants. In A. A. Both, R. Eichmann, E. Hickmann, L.-C. Koch (ed.) *Studien zur Musikarchäologie. VI, Herausforderungen und Ziele der Musikarchäologie: Vorträge des 5. Symposiums der Internationalen Studiengruppe Musikarchäologie im Ethnologischen Museum der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 19.–23. September 2006*, 509–535.

Ramstein, M. and Cueni, A. (2012) Kernenried, Oberholz. Gräber der Hallstattzeit. *Archäologie Bern*, 95–134.

Rösel-Mautendorfer, H. (2016) Sewing and Tailoring. In K. Grömer (ed.) *The Art of Prehistoric Textile Making – The Development of Craft Traditions and Clothing in Central Europe*, 216–240. Vienna, Verlag des Naturhistorischen Museums Wien.

Tomedi, G. (2002) *Das hallstattzeitliche Gräberfeld von Frög. Die Altgrabungen von 1883 bis 1892*. Budapest, Archaeolingua Alapítvány.

Turk, P. (2006) *Images of Life and Myth.* Exhibition catalogue. Ljubljana, Narodni Muzej Slovenije.

Wamser, G. (1975) Zur Hallstattkultur in Ostfrankreich. Die Fundgruppen in Jura und Burgund. *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 56, 1–178.

9

Flowing white dresses for dancing initiates in the Mysteries of Eleusis

Aikaterini-Iliana Rassia

Very few studies to date have discussed contextualized interpretations of the sensory impact of the dresses in the dances of ancient mysteries. The aim of this paper is to assess to what extent the colour-coding of the dresses of the initiates in the mysteries facilitated or hindered their dance movements during the night. To this end, the research questions that this paper will address are the following: 1) What was the sensorial impact of the flowing and ornamented dresses of the initiate women during their nocturnal dancing? 2) Did the colour of their dresses and respective adornment facilitated their dancing in the artificial light of night? 3) Is there any archaeological and iconographic evidence that would enable us to reconstruct the sight that the dresses and the adornment of the dancing initiates would have produced?

Dancing was a ubiquitous phenomenon in most mystery cults, as Lucian narrates (*Salt.* 15):

> Ἐγῶ λέγειν, ὅτι τελετὴν οὐδεμίαν ἀρχαίαν ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ἄνευ ὀρχήσεως, Ὀρφέως δηλαδὴ καὶ Μουσαίου καὶ τῶν τότε ἀρίστων ὀρχηστῶν καταστησαμένων αὐτάς, ὥς τι κάλλιστον καὶ τοῦτο νομοθετησάντων, σὺν ῥυθμῷ καὶ ὀρχήσει μυεῖσθαι. ὅτι δ' οὕτως ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ὄργια σιωπᾶν ἄξιον τῶν ἀμυήτων ἕνεκα, ἐκεῖνο δὲ πάντες ἀκούουσιν, ὅτι τοὺς ἐξαγορεύοντας τὰ μυστήρια ἐξορχεῖσθαι λέγουσιν οἱ πολλοί.
>
> I forebear to say that not a single ancient mystery can be found that is without dancing, since they were established, of course, by Orpheus and Musaeus and the best dancers of that time, who included also this in their prescriptions as something exceptionally beautiful, to be initiated with rhythm and dancing. To prove that this is so, although it behoves me to observe silence about the rites on account of the uninitiate, nevertheless there is one thing that everybody has heard; namely, that those who let out the mysteries in conversation are commonly said to 'dance them out'. (Transl. after Harmon (1936) Loeb, LCL 302)

Dancing rituals have been identified in significant mystery cults[1] such as the Mysteries at Lycosoura in southern Arcadia (Bowden 2010, 74) or the initiations of the Dionysiac Mysteries, as mentioned in a choral song by Euripides (*Bacch.* 72–82):

> ὦ μάκαρ, ὅστις εὐδαίμων τελετὰς θεῶν εἰδὼς βιοτὰν ἁγιστεύει καὶ θιασεύεται ψυχὰν ἐν ὄρεσσι βακχεύων ὁσίοις καθαρμοῖσιν, τά τε ματρὸς μεγάλας ὄρ-για Κυβέλας θεμιτεύων, ἀνὰ θύρσον τε τινάσσων, κισσῷ τε στεφανωθεὶς Διόνυσον θεραπεύει. ἴτε βάκχαι, ἴτε βάκχαι, Βρόμιον παῖδα θεὸν θεοῦ Διόνυσον κατάγουσαι Φρυγίων ἐξ ὀρέων Ἑλλάδος εἰς εὐρυχόρους ἀγυιάς, τὸν Βρόμιον:
>
> O blessed the man who, happy in knowing the gods' rites, makes his life pure and joins his soul to the worshipful band, performing bacchic rites upon the mountains, with cleansings the gods approve: he performs the sacred mysteries of Mother Cybele of the mountains, and shaking the bacchic wand up and down, his head crowned with ivy, he serves Dionysus. (Trans. D. Kovacs, see *Euripides Bacchae*, Loeb, LCL 495, 18–19)

By the Classical period, ecstatic dances are attested not only in Dionysiac mystery cults (for example, Aristid. Quint. *Mus.* 3.25) but also in the cults of foreign deities, like Kybele and Adonis (*ThesCRA* II 2004, 318). Ecstatic dances are also attested in the cult of Artemis at Ephesus in Asia Minor (Nilsson 1906, 246–247; Lawler 1964, 92).

This paper focuses on a particular case study of the sensory experience of the ritual dances during the Eleusinian Mysteries. In this contribution, my aim is to assess to what extent the colour-coding of their dresses facilitated or hindered their dance movements during the night. In order to make sense of this connection, the discussion of this paper will unfold around two main sections. First, I will discuss the archaeological evidence associated with the ritual dances at the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis. Then, the discussion will be centred on two lines of thought: first on the assessment of the transparency and prescribed colour-coding of the dresses of the initiates and second on the conditions of human visibility during the nocturnal ritual dances. Before proceeding, however, the basic information of the Eleusinian Mysteries should be briefly outlined.

The Mysteries at Eleusis in honour of Demeter and Kore were held annually in the Attic month of Boedromion (the third month of the Attic calendar corresponding roughly to the end of September/beginning of October) (Rassia forthcoming). These Mysteries were the oldest and most revered of all the ancient mystery cults in antiquity (Nielsen 2017, 29). The large deme of Eleusis (Fig. 9.1), where the Mysteries took place, is situated 21 km west of Athens (Fachard 2021, 26). All were welcome to become initiates into the Mysteries regardless of their age (*i.e.*, young and old), gender (*i.e.*, men and women), ethnicity (*i.e.*, Athenians and foreigners), political status (*i.e.*, free or slave). Indeed, with respect to the local Athenian population, initiation was not limited to adult male citizens but was open also to socio-political groups (for example, women, metics and slaves) which were normally excluded from other Athenian civic institutions (Edmonds 2003, 189). The other definitive criteria which were common for all the potential initiates were the ability to speak Greek and not to have committed a blood-crime (Bremmer 2014, 2–3; Miles and Neils 2021, 333).

Dancing at the Kallichoron Well

The body of evidence regarding the dresses and dances at Eleusis comes from archaeological, literary and iconographical evidence. In reality, there are a few telling textual sources that point to the dances associated with the Eleusinian Mysteries. According to the myth, after the abduction of Persephone, the goddess Demeter was wandering for ten days. Afterwards, she arrived at Eleusis and sat down under an olive tree next to the well, from where the people used to draw water (ἕζετο δ᾽ ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖο φίλον τετιημένη ἦτορ Παρθενίωι φρέατι, ὅθεν ὑδρεύοντο πολῖται,

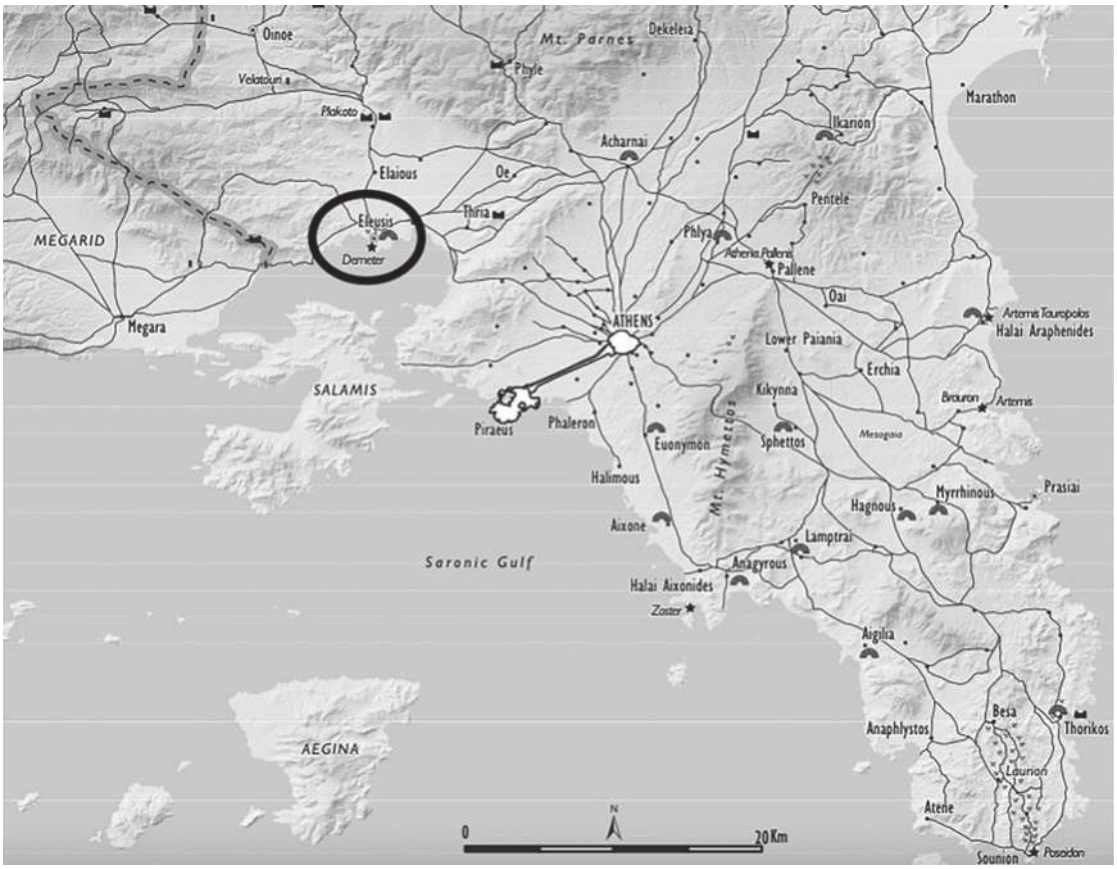


Fig. 9.1. Map of Attika: Eleusis (in circle). © Adapted photo by Fachard 2021, 22, map. 2.1.

ἐν σκιῇ, αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε πεφύκει θάμνος ἐλαίης, *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 98–100). At that place, the daughters of the king Keleos caught sight of her and invited her to follow them to their father's palace (*Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 105–112). When her divine identity was revealed, she instructed the people of the city to build in her honour a great temple with an altar below it, under the palace's wall, right above the Kallichoron Well and the hill that rises above it (ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε μοι νηόν τε μέγαν καὶ βωμὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶι τευχόντων πᾶς δῆμος ὑπαὶ πόλιν αἰπύ τε τεῖχος, Καλλιχόρου καθύπερθεν ἐπὶ προύχοντι κολωνῶι· *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 270–272).[2]

The Kallichoron Well would have been the first sacred landmark seen by pilgrims arriving from Athens on the 19th Boedromion. Following their arrival, they would start dancing around the Kallichoron Well, which is located to the left of the Propylaea.[3] The ritual dance around the well is reminiscent of the dance of the daughters of Keleos. Pausanias (1.38.6) confirms that it was in the place of Καλλίχορον φρέαρ (Figs 9.2 and 9.3) where the women of the Eleusinians first danced in honour of the goddess (φρέαρ τε καλούμενον Καλλίχορον, ἔνθα πρῶτον Ἐλευσινίων αἱ γυναῖκες χορὸν ἔστησαν καὶ ᾖσαν ἐς τὴν θεόν). With respect to sacred topography, the 'Kallichoron Well' is located just outside the entrance to the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. This architectural structure is still visible next to Greater Propylaea.

As Graf (1974, 131) notes, 'its careful walled enclosure in Archaic times and relocation in front of the later Propylaea in the time of Peisistratus demonstrates its cultic significance'.[4] As Longfellow has noted, 'the original well was covered up and a new well was dug next to the new entrance. This second incarnation of the Kallichoron Well is the one at which Hadrian and other 2nd century AD initiates danced' (Longfellow 2012, 136, no. 18; see also Clinton 1992, 27–28). The well was visible throughout the long history of the Mysteries. From a spatial perspective, dances appear to have also occurred during the long procession (21 km) from the Athenian Eleusinion to the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. From Plutarch, we learn that choral dances were usually held on the road, when the Iacchus procession was conducted from Athens to Eleusis (…καὶ χορεῖαι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν δρωμένων καθ᾽ ὁδὸν ἱερῶν, ὅταν ἐξελαύνωσι τὸν Ἴακχον, *Alc.* 34.3). Dances during the Eleusinian Mysteries appear to have been performed either on the road (*i.e.*, during the procession) or after the arrival of the worshippers at the sanctuary. In both cases, the primary evidence suggests that these dances were not part of the secretive rituals (ἀπόρρητα) of the Mysteries (Graf 1974, 130–131).

From the time perspective, it appears that dances were performed both under the physical light (i.e., moon and stars) and artificial light (*i.e.*, torch-light). We can gauge this through the following evidence. From Euripides' *Ion*

Fig. 9.2. Kallichoron Well. Reprinted with permission © Archaeological Society at Athens.

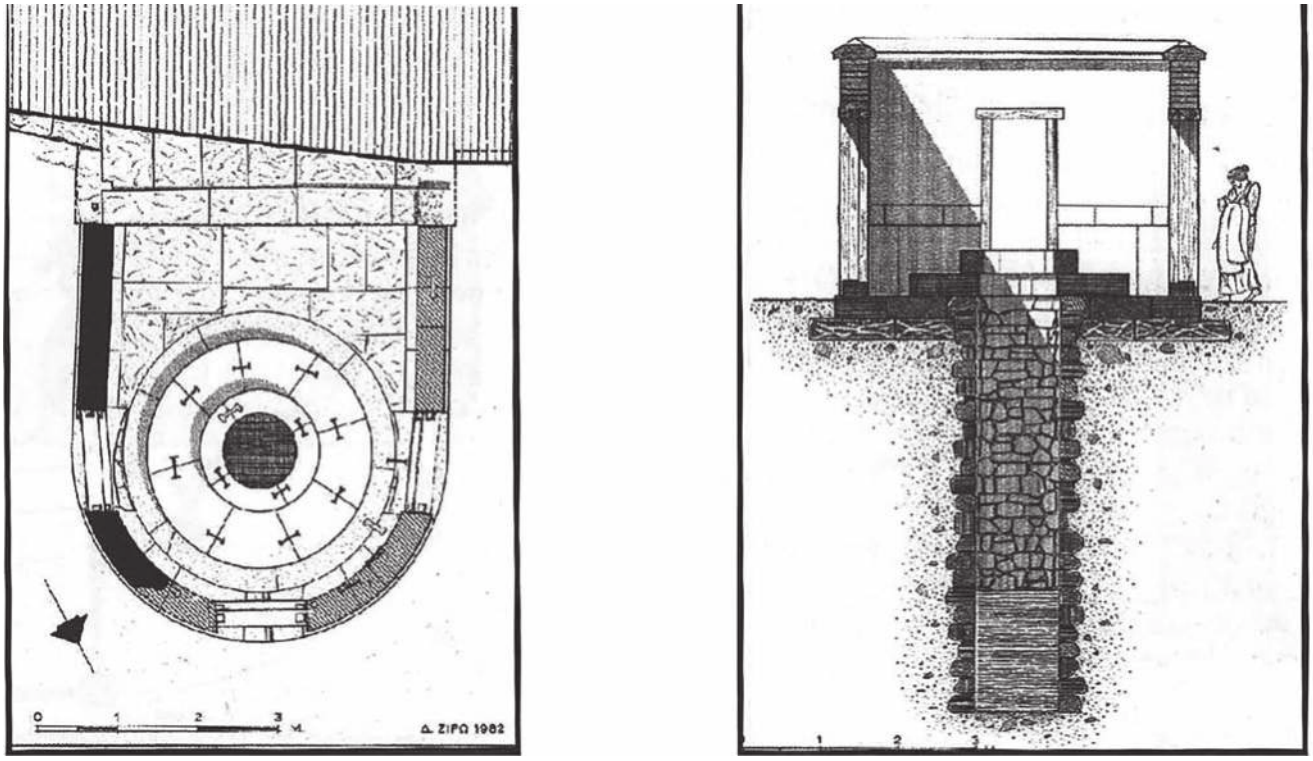


Fig. 9.3. Kallichoron Well. Reprinted with permission. © The Archaeological Society at Athens. Source: Ziro (1991) figs 10, 17.

(1075–1076), the Chorus indicates that the worshippers danced during the night 'at the festival of the twentieth by the springs of the beautiful dances' (Zeitlin 1989, 161). Likewise, in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, we learn that the dances of the initiates (μύσταισι χοροῖς, 370) were taking place during the night (παννυχίδας, 371). It has been further argued that in a 4th-century BC tablet dedicated by a woman named Ninnion (Fig. 9.4) which is in the form of a *naiskos* (small temple) with a pediment we observe scenes of initiation (Mylonas 1961, 213).

According to one scholarly viewpoint, the upper scene is thought to represent the Lesser Mysteries which were held at the deme of Agrai, while in the lower scene the viewer observes the arrival of the initiates (on the 19th of Boedromion) at Eleusis for the celebration of the Great Mysteries (Papangeli 2002, 256).[5] Pringsheim and then Kern both argued that, on the pediment of the Ninnion tablet, the viewer observes the night-long dance (παννυχίς) that began after the arrival (Nielsen 2017, 31) of the *mystai* in the sanctuary (Pringsheim 1905, 65 and following; Kern 1935, 1229). Dancing is also indicated in the Ninnion tablet (Mylonas 1961, 257; Boutsikas 2020, 160). The time of the rituals is evinced in a frieze (Fig. 9.5) illustrating different moon phases (Dallas 2018, 19).

From a choreographic perspective, we learn that women as well as girls were dancing at Eleusis in a round dance (Aristophanes, *Frogs* 445–448):

> νῦν ἱερὸν ἀνὰ κύκλον θεᾶς, ἀνθοφόρον ἀν' ἄλσος
> παίζοντες οἷς μετουσία θεοφιλοῦς ἑορτῆς:
> ἐγὼ δὲ σὺν ταῖσιν κόραις εἶμι καὶ γυναιξίν,
> οὗ παννυχίζουσιν θεᾷ, φέγγος ἱερὸν οἴσων.
>
> Dance now in the goddess's holy circle,
> playing in the flowery grove, all you who have a share in the festival
> dear to the gods. And I will go with the girls and the women, to carry my holy torch
> where they hold the night-long rites for the goddess. (Trans. Kearns 2010, 314)

Equally interesting is that the above may be seen as an imitation of Demeter's wandering, as evinced in the *Homeric Hymn* (47–48):

> … ἐννῆμαρ μὲν ἔπειτα κατὰ χθόνα πότνια Δηὼ στρωφᾶτ'
> αἰθομένας δαΐδας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσα …
>
> … Then for nine days queenly Deo kept wheeling round the earth with flaming torches in her hands …

There is a connection, therefore, between the ritual (*i.e.,* dances as part of the Mysteries) and the myth (*i.e.*, the abduction of Persephone and Demeter's wanderings to find her daughter). Likewise, in the myth (174–178), we read that the maidens were running, 'like fawns or heifers in springtime who frisk over the meadow' (αἳ δ' ὥς τ' ἠ'

Fig. 9.4. The Ninnion Tablet. Reprinted with permission. National Archaeological Museum, Athens [Inventory Number: A 11036] © ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ & ΑΘΛΗΤΙΣΜΟΥ/Οργανισμός Διαχείρισης και Ανάπτυξης Πολιτιστικών Πόρων (Ο.Δ.Α.Π.)/ Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development (H.O.C.RE.D.)

ἔλαφοι ἢ πόρτιες εἴαρος ὥρηι) while 'they drew up the folds of their lovely dresses' (ὣς αἳ ἐπισχόμεναι ἑανῶν πτύχας ἱμεροέντων) having their 'saffron-yellow hair flying about their shoulders' (ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται ὤμοις ἀΐσσοντο κροκηΐωι ἄνθει ὁμοῖαι). As Richardson has aptly remarked, 'their flowing dresses and free-flowing hair are probably features of the cult, and the initiates may have worn white clothing, in contrast to Demeter's black' (Richardson 1974, 201). Drawing on the sensory research framework,[6] it is worth exploring to what extent the colours of the dresses were chosen deliberately to aid night vision and respective movement of the dancers. By decoding the narrative of the Ninnion tablet, these questions will guide our discussion in the ensuing section.

Transparency of dresses and conditions for vision at nocturnal dances

Of all the senses, humans rely most on their senses of vision and audition which are both crucial for survival.[7] This paper focuses on the sense of vision and the adaptive sensory conditions that facilitate human navigation and movement during the night. As we have noted, the depicted torches in the tablet dedicated by Ninnion testify to the existence of nocturnal rituals associated with the Mysteries. In the tablet, we see two women depicted in flowing white dresses (*chitons*) and mantles (*himatia*). They are also wearing a myrtle wreath on their heads, while a branch of myrtle is tied in their hands with strands of wool (Mylonas 1961, 252; Agelidis 2019, 181). There is a nice colour contrast in the dresses of the female worshippers and the two goddesses. The following chromatic dichotomy is interesting. First, the seated women (on the right) are probably Demeter and Kore (Persephone). The dark colour has been associated with Demeter, who in the myth is depicted wearing a dark-blue covering over her shoulders (κυάνεον δὲ κάλυμμα, *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 42). On the opposite, two female worshippers are depicted wearing two overlapping garments: the dress (*chiton*) underneath is in the white colour while the mantle (himation) is of a darker shade (Fig. 9.4). The white colour is commonly identified as the dress-code of the ancient worshippers who wanted to be initiated in the Great Mysteria (Johnston 2004, 100). An association between ritual practice and white is clear in Plato, who mentions that (*Leg.* 12, 956a):

> Χρώματα δὲ λευκὰ πρέποντ' ἂν θεοῖς εἴη καὶ ἄλλοθι καὶ ἐν ὑφῇ, βάμματα δὲ μὴ προσφέρειν ἀλλ' ἢ πρὸς τὰ πολέμου κοσμήματα.
>
> For woven stuff and other materials, white will be a colour befitting the gods; but dyes they must not employ, save only for military decorations.

One explanation for the popularity of white as a selection for the dresses of the initiates may be identified in its symbolism. White as a colour symbolizes ritual purity (Brøns 2017, 404). This can be further observed in a sacred epigraphic text from the Alexandreion at Priene, dated to 3rd century BC (εἰσίναι εἰς [τὸ] ἱερὸν ἁγνὸν ἐ[ν] ἐσθῆτι λευκ[ῆι], *LSAM* 35, 3–5). What is more, in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, the unity of the group of initiates in the procession of the festival of *Navigium Isidis* is underscored by their common white dress attire (11.10):

> Tunc influent turbae sacris divinis initiatae, Viri feminaeque omnis Dignitatis et omnis Aetatis, linteae vestis candore puro luminosi.
>
> Then the crowds of those initiated into the divine mysteries flooded in, men and women of all ranks and ages, glowing with the dazzling whiteness of their linen clothes. (Trans. Gawlinski 2008, 161, with slight modifications)

The dazzling whiteness of the festive garments of the initiates may be explained as follows: 'a white festive garment requires from the wearer an adapted and precautionary behaviour, as white quickly gets dirty' (Grand-Clément 2020, 235). Tertullian (*de Pallio* 4.10) is critical of the dress-code of the women initiates of Ceres, whom he characterizes as shallow. To his mind, they chose to participate in the initiations in the Mysteries of Ceres just for the 'all-white dress or the honour of ribbons (vittae) and the privilege of a [religious] cap …' (Gawlinski 2008, 149). From a comparative perspective, the white colour in the dress-code of the ancient worshippers, perhaps initiates, also appear in other artworks. For instance, in the tondo of an Attic libation bowl (*phiale*) dated to 450 BC (Fig. 9.6), the viewer can observe a ritual dance around or towards an altar.

The dancing maiden are identically dressed in flowing white dresses (*chitones*) and purple mantles (*himatia*). Seven of them are holding each other by the wrist, 'but do not join at the ends, so it is unclear whether or not they are simply meant to be in a row, or a circle. One girl faces the

Fig. 9.5. A moon frieze in the Ninnion tablet. After Dallas 2018, 22, Fig. 3.

Fig. 9.6. Libation bowl (phiale) with women dancing at an altar. © Museum of Fine Arts Boston, https://collections.mfa.org/objects/154010.

altar, playing the double pipes to facilitate the dance'.[8] The dancing maidens are barefoot, and all but one have their hair tied up with a ribbon around their heads. This iconographic motif suggests that these maidens are representing either priestesses or initiates (Brøns 2017, 307–308).

Nonetheless, the absence of inscribed letters on the ceramic surface leaves the identification of the deity an obscure matter. On another level, the dress-code of the ancient worshippers was regulated through detailed sacred regulations. Such is the case in the 1st century BC inscription concerning the dress-code of the worshippers in the Andanian Mysteries in Messenia (*IG* V 1, 15–16) (see Brøns 2017, 328–329):[9]

> Those being initiated in the Mysteries must be barefoot and wear white clothes, the women wearing neither transparent clothes nor stripes on their *himations* more than half a *daktylos* wide. (Trans. Gawlinski 2017, 163)

Returning to the Eleusinian Mysteries, the transparency in the drapery of the dresses must have been another key feature that would enhance the sensory experience of dancing during the observance of the Great Mysteries.[10] For instance, the young female (on the viewer's bottom left) is wearing a belted short-sleeved long white dress (*chiton*) with ornate border around the hem. Of interest is that the dress is semi-transparent on the right leg (Fig. 9.4). The skin is clearly revealed from just over the knee and through its length, while the semi-transparent himation is hanging down to the advancing right leg. Another key point that alludes to her effortless dancing is that the female figure is shown as a modern ballerina, standing on tiptoes. The left leg is hidden through the little folds of the drapery of the *himation*. This should be seen as a reflection of an artistic tendency that began in the last quarter of the 5th century in vase painting. As Richter observes, in this period, 'the drapery clings closely to the body with multitudinous little folds clearly revealing the forms beneath it, as in the figures of the scene of women perfuming clothes by the Meidias painter in the Metropolitan Museum' (Fig. 9.7). She continues by saying that 'the late 5th century treatment of transparent garments lingers on through the early fourth century' (Richter 1970, 69). The latter date is important as it is synchronous with the Ninnion tablet. It is also worth noting that in this tablet a distinctive feature of the design of the dress (Fig. 9.4) is that the female figure wears two garments: a mid-thigh shorter dress (*mantle*) above a white semi-transparent long white dress (*chiton*). The shorter dress is also girded with a tight belt around the waist. Often a shorter dress, sometimes semi-transparent, exposed parts of the female body and further displayed the dancer's physical fitness.[11]

What is also important to note is that the painter draws attention to both the dance movement and balance of the figure. The dance movement is performed via the synchronization of the ipsilateral foot and hand (*i.e.*, right foot and hand) motion which is enhanced and developed by the arrangement of the drapery. The short sleeves enable the motion of hands whereas the see-through part of the *chiton* on the right side allows the figure to become more energetic and agile. At the same time, to keep her balance, she leans on her torch while concurrently stretching out her right hand. Such was the significance of the garments that often worshippers would dedicate them in the sanctuary, in the aftermath of their initiation. This customary behaviour is epigraphically attested. There was a special vestiary where the garments were dedicated and stored (ἱματιοθήκη) in the sanctuary at Eleusis (*IG* II^2 1672, line 229; 329–328 BC). As Parker suggests, this dedication 'is not necessarily because the clothes had become too sacred for normal use'. Instead, he suggests that this may be viewed as 'a common practice of marking a transition in status through an appropriate dedication' (Parker 1983, 180). In contrast, the candidates who had been initiated in the Lesser Mysteries at Agrai continued to wear the garments of their initiation until they were worn out (Mylonas 1961, 279–280; Gawlinski 2008, 148).

Interestingly, a further dancing accessory may have been the saffron ribbon that was tied around the hands of the initiates (for example, they are evident in the drawing of the tablet, Fig. 9.4). This was part of the following ritual. When the worshippers would reach the bridge at the Rhetoi lake, they would stop. During the procession's first stop, a small ritual would take place, the so-called κρόκοσις. The name of the ritual derives from the ancient Greek word κρόκος ('crocus').[12] The ritual was performed by the descendants of the genos Κροκονίδαι, who had the exclusive right to tie a woollen saffron-dyed (yellow) ribbon[13] around the right hand and left leg of each initiate (Benda-Weber 2014, 138). As Clinch persuasively argues, the use of saffron ribbons had a twofold aim: first, as saffron 'was one of the flowers that Persephone was collecting at the time of her abduction by Hades' (*Homeric Hymn*, lines 8–9), it would have reminded the initiates of the moment of Persephone's disappearance. The second reason for the custom of saffron ribbons can be associated with the sense of smell: 'the initiates could follow their sense, as the scent of saffron guided them onwards towards the fragrant

Fig. 9.7. Two women perfuming garments. Scene on a terracotta oinochoe (jug). Attributed to the Meidias painter. Dated from ca. 420–410 BC. Source: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/244817.

Eleusis [Ἐλευσῖνος θυοέσσης, *HH* 2 490] and the Mysteries that awaited them there' (Clinch 2022, 317).[14]

To draw on neuroscience, the actual receptors of light in human vision are the rods and cones. The rods allow us to see only black and white (the achromatic colours), and function mainly during the scotopic vision. This term is commonly referred to as '*night vision*, which is defined as low-light vision that lies below cone threshold and is thus mediated only by rods, for example under starlight' (Paulun *et al.* 2015). If we draw on the combined textual, archaeological and iconographic evidence, it can be imagined that the light spectrum of the torches combined with the pale colour of the participants' dresses and ornaments (*i.e*., yellow bracelets) would have heightened their sense of vision. Another point is that the performances of women's dances around the well were not a closed spectacle, reserved for few. Instead, everyone (men, young boys, slaves and foreigners) who would have been accepted in the sanctuary for initiation would have observed these dances, shortly after their arrival at Eleusis.

By further extension, it can be imagined that nocturnal vision would have been facilitated through the torches of hundreds and thousands of worshippers (for example, only in the year 408–407 BC, the estimated number of initiates is 2,200) who would have assembled in the sanctuary (Simms 1990, 195, n. 28). The moonlight combined with the artificial light of the torches would have enhanced the vision and respective movement of the dancers themselves as well as the 'sight' of the dancers by other viewers (i.e. the worshippers who were at the sanctuary but did not participate in the dances) during the night.

We get an impression of the imaginary illumination of this nocturnal gathering as well as the dresses of the worshippers holding thousands of torches in Paul Serusier's painting (Fig. 9.8) entitled *The Eleusinian Mysteries*. Serusier is well known for the decorative organization of his compositions and the masterful treatment of colours (for example, the degradation of the colour of the dresses in sharp contrast with the exquisite and very realistic light of the flickering flame of their torches).

Finally, the updo hairstyle of the worshippers in the Ninnion tablet may refer to the dances that occurred during the sacred procession.[15] One can easily imagine that during the ritual dance unruly locks of hair could have been easily flowing above the shoulders of the maidens. It is often

Fig. 9.8. The Eleusinian Mysteries*, painting by Paul Serusier, 1888. © https://theaesthetewants.files.wordpress.com/2016/06/wp-1467135898507.jpg. Accessed on the 24th of August, 2022.*

attested in the rituals of Demeter that women wore their hair down. Such was the case, for instance, in the Mysteries of Demeter at Lykosoura in Arkadia, where women were forbidden to have braided hair or to have their hair covered (μηδὲ τὰς τ[ρί]χας ἀμπεπλεγμένας μηδὲ κεκαλυμμένος, *IG* V 2, 154, lines 10–11, dated to the end of the 3rd century BC). Likewise, the same prohibition is attested in the sacred regulation concerning the Mysteries at Andania (Messenia): no woman is to 'have a hairband or plaited hair' μηδὲ ἀνάδεμα μηδὲ τὰς τρίχας ἀνπεπλεγμένας, CGRN 222, Face A, line 22, most probably to AD 23).

To summarize, the conceptual framework employed in this paper draws on recent analyses from sensory and neurological studies. We have discussed first the surviving archaeological evidence associated with the existence of ritual dances at the Great Mysteries at Eleusis. The main thrust of the discussion has been focused on how the sensory experience of the nocturnal dances at Eleusis would have been facilitated first by the combined physical and artificial light, and next by the see-through texture and white colour of the dresses of the initiates. The combined results of both perspectives have allowed us to reconstruct in part the sensory experience of worshippers who would dance under the moonlight and artificial light of the torches. The aim of this study can be summarized as follows. As we live in a multi-sensory world, the use of insights from new methodological frameworks (*i.e.*, sensory and neuroscience studies), can help the modern researcher to develop new ways of understanding how little and often unnoticed individual sensory details (for example, the length, texture or colour of dresses or the artificial light in a sanctuary) would have affected the worshipper's cognitive as well as affective experience during the observance of an ancient mystery cult.

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to Dr Audrey Gouy for all her help, kindness, patience, and impeccable editorial work during the writing of this paper. For image permissions, I would also like to express my gratitude to Dr. Ioanna Ninou the Head of the Archive of the Archaeological Society at Athens for granting permission to publish the photograph (9.2) and sketch plans (9.3) of the Kallichoron well, as well as to Dr. Maria Xidiroglou at the National Archaeological Museum of Athens for granting permission to publish the photograph of the Ninnion Tablet (9.4).

Notes

1 A few scholars who have acknowledged the importance of dancing in the mystery cults are the following: Mylonas 1961, 72–73; Burkert 1983, 287–288; Lada-Richards 1999, 98–102; Hardie 2004, 19–24; Bremmer 2014, 105–107; Schlapbach 2018; 2021a; 2021b.

2 See also Eur. *Supp.* 392, 619.

3 The Kallichoron Well is located next to the NE corner of the Propylaia, but at a much deeper level 1.35 m below the station of the Roman courtyard. See Papangeli 2002, 102.

4 See also Mylonas 1961, 97 and following. On its architecture, see Richardson 1974, 326; Ziro 1991; Kobusch 2020, 74.

5 For the contrary views on the representation of the Mysteries in the Ninnion tablet, see Mylonas 1961, 214–215, 220.

6 For the increasing adoption of the sensory approach, see Clinch 2022, 314–331.

7 For a different sensory approach, focusing on *kinesthesia*, see Schlapbach 2021b, 83.

8 https://collections.mfa.org/objects/154010 (accessed 31.07.2022).

9 For a concise discussion to the most pertinent sacred laws on dress-code, see Karatas 2020.

10 On the transparency of drapery in Greek sculpture, see Richter 1970, 66–70; Neer 2010, 116–17; 2019, 32–37. See also Lee 2015, 195–197.

11 On the association between the short dress and a woman's physical context, but as a hunting outfit, see Parisinou 2002, 61.

12 The process of producing a yellow dye is provided by Brøns: 'The dye stuff is made from the dried stigmas of the crocus flower (Crocus sativus), and is obtained by a very labour-intensive production process, which must be done by hand'. See Brøns 2017, 95, 97, nn. 325 and 326.

13 The yellow colour in the garments often derived from the crocus flower. See Brøns 2021, 87.

14 There would also be a third reason: Saffron and saffron-yellow had been associated with female fertility since Minoan times, and Demeter as a fertility goddess was believed to oversee the cycle of life and fertility. See Barber 1992, 116–117 and Barber 2013.

15 For the view that 'women's hair was usually veiled outdoors' as a sign of shame and modesty, see Foley 1994, 44; Karatas 2020, 152, n. 9. According to E. J. W. Barber, analysis of the very strong European tradition of taboos would show that it was not mere 'shame and modesty' but terror of viewing – and unleashing – the strong magical powers long believed inherent in women's hair. See again Barber 2013, especially 53–54, with further evidence throughout the book, see its index.

Abbreviations

CGRN	Carbon, J.-M., Peels, S. and Pirenne-Delforge, V. (2022) CGRN 222: Dossier of Regulations Concerning the Mysteries at Andania. In *A Collection of Greek Ritual Norms (CGRN)*, online since 2017 http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/ (accessed 30.12.2022).
LSAM	Sokolowski, F. (ed.) (1955) *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*. Paris, E. de Boccard.

ThesCRA II (2004) Shapiro, A. *et al.* (2004) Dance. In *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum (ThesCRA) II*, 299–343. Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

Ancient sources

Euripides. *Bacchae. Iphigenia at Aulis. Rhesus.* Edited and translated by David Kovacs. LCL 495. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2003.

Bibliography

Agelidis, S. (2019) Individuals and Polis in Cult: The Procession from Athens to Eleusis in Classical Times. In W. Friese, S. Handberg and T. Myrup Kristensen (ed.) *Ascending and Descending the Acropolis. Movement in Athenian Religion*, 179–190. Aarhus, Aarhus University Press.

Barber, E. J. W. (1992) The Peplos of Athena. In J. Neils (ed.) *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Athens*, 103–117. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Barber, E. J. W. (2013) *The Dancing Goddesses*. New York, W. W. Norton & Company.

Benda-Weber, I. (2014) *Krokotos* and *crocota vestis*: Saffron-Coloured Clothes and Muliebrity. In C. Alfaro, M. Tellenbach and J. Ortiz (ed.) *Production and Trade of Textiles and Dyes in the Roman Empire and Neighbouring Regions*, 129–142. Valencia, University of Valencia.

Boutsikas, E. (2020) *The Cosmos in Ancient Greek Religious Experience: Sacred Space, Memory, and Cognition*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Bowden, H. (2010) *Mystery Cults in the Ancient World*. London, Thames and Hudson.

Bremmer, J. N. (2014) *Initiation into the Mysteries of the Ancient World*. Berlin, De Gruyter.

Brøns, C. (2017) *Gods and Garments: Textiles in Greek Sanctuaries in the 7th to the 1st Centuries BC*. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Brøns, C. (2021) The Colours of Ancient Greek Dress. In A. J. Batten and K. Olson (ed.) *Dress in Mediterranean Antiquity: Greeks, Romans, Jews, Christians*, 77–94. London and New York, T&T Clark.

Burkert, W. (1983) *Homo Necans. The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press.

Clinch, A. (2022) Ecstasy and Initiation in the Eleusinian Mysteries. In D. Stein, S. Costello and K. Foster (eds) *The Routledge Companion to Ecstatic Experience in the Ancient World*, 314–331. London, Routledge.

Clinton, K. (1974) *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries*. Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society.

Clinton, K. (1992) *Myth and Cult: The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries*. Stockholm, Åström.

Clinton, K. (2003) Stages of Initiation in the Eleusinain and Samothracian Mysteries. In M. B. Cosmopoulos (ed.) *Mysteria: The Archaeology of Ancient Greek Secret Cults*, 50–73. London, Routledge.

Csapo, E. (2008) Star Choruses: Eleusis, Orphism, and New Musical Imagery and Dance. In M. Revermann and P. Wilson (ed.) *Performance, Iconography, Reception: Studies in Honour of Oliver Taplin*, 262–290. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Dallas, T. (2018) Are the Moons of Ninnion a Representation of Earthshine? *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 18, 19–23.

Edmonds, R. (2003) Who in Hell is Heracles? Dionysos' Disastrous Disguise in Aristophanes' Frogs. In D. Dodds and C. Faraone (ed.) *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives: New Critical Perspectives*, 181–200. London, Routledge.

Fachard, S. (2021) Asty and Chora: City and Countryside. In J. Neils and D. K. Rogers (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Athens*, 21–34. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Foley, H. (1994) *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter, Translation, Commentary, and Interpretative Essays*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Gawlinski, L. (2008) 'Fashioning' Initiates: Dress at the Mysteries. In C. S. Colburn and M. K. Heyn (ed.) *Reading a Dynamic Canvas: Adornment in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, 146–169. Newcastle, Cambridge Scholars.

Gawlinski, L. (2017) Theorizing Religious Dress. In M. Cifarelli and L. Gawlinski (ed.) *What Shall I Say of Clothes? Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*, 161–178. Boston, Archaeological Institute of America.

Graf, F. (1974) *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit*. Berlin, De Gruyter.

Grand-Clément, A. (2020) 'What colour is the sacred?' Couleurs et émotions dans les rituels grecs de l'époque archaïque à l'époque hellénistique. In P. Ducrey and K. Ierodiakonou (ed.) *Colour Psychology in the Graeco-Roman World*, 227–269. Vandœuvres, Fondation Hardt pour l'étude de l'Antiquité Classique.

Hardie, A. P. (2004) Muses and Mysteries. In P. Murray and P. Wilson (ed.) *Music and the Muses: The Culture of 'Mousikê' in the Classical Athenian City*, 11–37. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Harmon, A. M. (1936) Lucian. *The Passing of Peregrinus. The Runaways. Toxaris or Friendship. The Dance. Lexiphanes. The Eunuch. Astrology. The Mistaken Critic. The Parliament of the Gods. The Tyrannicide. Disowned*. Translated by A. M. Harmon. Loeb Classical Library 302. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Johnston, S. I. (2004) Mysteries. In S. I. Johnston (ed.) *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide*, 98–111. Cambridge, MA and London, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Karatas, A. (2020) Greek Cults and Their Sacred Laws on Dress-code: The Laws of Greek Sanctuaries for Hairstyles, Jewellery, Make-up, Belts, and Shoes. *Classical World* 113/2, 147–170.

Kearns, E. (2010) *Ancient Greek Religion: A Sourcebook*. Malden, MA, Oxford and Chichester, Wiley-Blackwell.

Kern, O. (1935) Mysterien (μυστήρια) I–VI. *RE* 16/2, 1209–1314.

Kobusch, P. (2020) Fountains and Basins in Greek Sanctuaries: On the Relationship Between Ritual Performance and Architecture. In N. Chiarenza, A. Haug and U. Müller (ed.) *The Power of Urban Water*, 69–84. Berlin, De Gruyter.

Kowalzig, B. (2005) Mapping Out Communitas: Performances of Theōria in their Sacred and Political Context. In J. Elsner and I. Rutherford (ed.) *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman & Early*

Christian Antiquity. Seeing the Gods, 41–72. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Lada-Richards, I. (1999) *Initiating Dionysus. Ritual and Theatre in Aristophanes' Frogs*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Lawler, L. (1964) *The Dance in Ancient Greece*. London, Adam and Charles Black.

Lee, M. M. (2015) *Body, Dress, and Identity in Ancient Greece*. New York, Cambridge University Press.

Longfellow, B. (2012) Roman Fountains in Greek Sanctuaries. *American Journal of Archaeology* 116/1, 133–155.

Miles, M. and Neils, J. (2021) Athenian Festivals. In J. Neils and D. K. Rogers (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Athens*, 332–344. Cambridge, The Cambridge University Press.

Mylonas, G. (1942) *The Hymn to Demeter and her Sanctuary at Eleusis*. St Louis, Washington University Studies.

Mylonas, G. (1961) *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Neer, R. (2010) *The Emergence of the Classical Style in Greek Sculpture*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Neer, R. (2019) Three Types of Invisibility: The Acropolis of Athens. In R. Neer (ed.) *Conditions of Visibility*, 7–42. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Nielsen, I. (2017) Collective Mysteries and Greek Pilgrimage: The Cases of Eleusis, Thebes and Andania. In T. Myrup Kristensen and W. Friese (ed.) *Excavating Pilgrimage: Archaeological Approaches to Sacred Travel and Movement in the Ancient World*, 28–46. London, Routledge.

Nilsson, M. P. (1906) *Griechische Feste von religioser Bedeutung mit Ausschluß der Attischen*. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner.

Papaioannou, C., Mouratidou, K., Mouratidis G., and Douka, S. (2011) Association of Dance with Sacred Rituals in Ancient Greece: The Case of Eleusinian Mysteries. *Studies in Physical Culture and Tourism* 18, 233–239.

Papangeli, K. (2002) *Eleusis: The Archaeological Site and the Museum*. Athens, Omilos Latsi.

Parisinou, E. (2002) The 'language' of Female Hunting Outfit in Ancient Greece. In L. Llewellyn-Jones (ed.) *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, 55–72. London, The Classical Press of Wales.

Parker, R. (1983) *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Paulun, V. C., Schütz, A. C., Michel, M. M., Geisler, W. S. and Gegenfurtner, K. R. (2015) Visual Search under Scotopic Lighting Conditions. *Vision Research* 113, 155–168.

Pringsheim, H. G. (1905) *Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Kults*. Munich, Kgl. Hof und Universitäts-Buchdruckerei von C. Wolf and Sohn.

Rassia, A.-I. (forthcoming) Anchored in Resilience during Wars: The Eleusinian Mysteries. In C. Tomassi and M. Ceravolo (ed.) *War, Peace, and Resilience in the Ancient World Narratives*. Rome, Sapienza University Press.

Richardson, N. J. (1974) *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Richter, G. M. A. (1970) *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*. 4th edition. New Haven and London, Yale University Press.

Schlapbach, K. (2018) *The Anatomy of Dance Discourse. Literary and Philosophical Approaches to Dance in the Later Graeco-Roman World*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Schlapbach, K. (2021a) Dancing with Gods. Dance and Initiation in Ancient Greek Religious Practices. In H. Walz (ed.) *Dance as Third Space: Interreligious, Intercultural, and Interdisciplinary Debates on Dance and Religion(s)*, 213–236. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht Gmbh.

Schlapbach, K. (2021b) Making Sense: Dance in Ancient Greek Mystery Cults and in *Acts of John*. In L. Gianvittorio-Ungar and K. Schlapbach (ed.) *Choreonarratives. Dancing Stories in Greek and Roman Antiquity and Beyond*, 82–107. Leiden, Brill.

Simms, R. (1990) Myesis, Telete, and Mysteria. *GRBS* 31, 183–195.

Skias, A. (1901) Ελευσινιακαί Κεραμογραφίαι. *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* 1901, 1–39.

Zeitlin, F. (1989) Mysteries of Identity and Designs of the Self in Euripides' 'Ion'. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 35, 144–197.

Ziro, D. G. (1991) *Eleusis: He kyria eisodos tou hierou tes Eleusinos. Vivliotheke tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Hetaireias 120*. Athens, Athenais Archaiologike Hetaireia.

10

Fashioning *sensescapes* through ancient Egyptian dance

Jordan Galczynski and Robyn Price

Sensory analyses of ancient cultures actively investigate the experiential world of ancient actors to reveal the e/affects of sensory experience on the organization of society. Such a perspective breaks down the mind/body dichotomy by demonstrating that a human is 'a mind with a body' that is limited in its understanding by the extent to which that body is embedded in the world. Ancient Egyptian dance functioned within a system that connected sensory stimulation with the experience of life. Dance incorporated a variety of sensory experiences that not only defined the extent of a ritual space, but also established a shared identity among participants, whether alive or dead, mortal or divine. In fact, the human act of dancing was both a calling for and an announcement of divine presence. Thus, dance served as a transformative ritual that facilitated the interaction between the human and divine worlds.

Integral to these processes was the dress of the participants. In this context, dress was both practical and performative. Though costumes often incorporate a variety of sensory stimuli, previous discussions on ancient dress have focused largely on the visual realm, namely the material and the aesthetic. Alternatively, in this paper, we will suggest it was the entire sensescape *produced by dress-in-motion that made ancient Egyptian dance effective. Sweet smells exuded by whirling linen garments, the quiet tinkling of hollow beads and the acrobatic movements of mostly nude bodies would only have been perceptible to nearby persons. Thus, these costume elements such as veiled nudity, perfumed linens, beaded girdles and flamboyant hair styles contributed to the bounding of a ritual space. It was the totality of the sensory attributes of the dress-in-motion that made dance effective as a transformative ritual.*

Our realities are defined by our bodies' perception of phenomena. This ability to experience the world in which we are embedded is a result of a conglomeration of biological mechanisms that process sensations. Yet, the values and meanings we ascribe to our experiences and sensations are situationally dependent (Classen *et al.* 1994). For example, in European and American cultures, white is the traditional colour of the wedding dress ever since Queen Victoria solidified the trend. However, if we look to other cultures, non-white colours dominate. Take, for instance, India, where the wedding sari (*paneter*) is mainly red due to the colour's connotation with new beginnings and feminine power (Tarlo 1996, 251).

How we sense is influenced by the way we dress our bodies. Though costumes can incorporate a variety of sensory stimuli, previous discussions on ancient dress have focused largely on the visual realm, namely the material and the aesthetic (Breward 2015). Recently, however, there has been a push to include other sensory approaches (Harris 2019). In this paper, we utilize the term costume to refer to dress worn by a specific individual in a specific context. Often 'dress' and 'costume' indicate only the garments of an individual, but we employ Eicher and Roach-Higgens' (1992) broader definition that includes everything worn on the body.

In the following discussion, we will apply a sensory perspective beyond only the visual to the costume of dancers in New Kingdom Egypt (1550–1060 BC). Our sensory perspective breaks down the mind/body dichotomy by recognizing that the embeddedness of the body defines its experiences. For example, the clothing selected for a particular activity,

such as for a dance, may intentionally restrict the wearer's ability to move and feel, to smell and be smelled, to see and be seen, or to hear and be heard. Such limitations might be set in order to achieve some culturally defined goal or experience such as a meditative state or ecstasy.

For the ancient Egyptians, sweet smells exuded by whirling linen garments and elaborate coiffures, the quiet tinkling of hollow beads and the acrobatic movements of mostly nude bodies would have been perceptible only to nearby persons. Thus, these costume elements, such as veiled nudity, perfumed linens, beaded girdles and flamboyant hair styles, contributed to the bounding of the ritual space. We argue that ancient Egyptian dance functioned within a system that connected sensory stimulation with the experience of life. Yet, dance was not only a pleasurable, visual display. Rather, it incorporated a variety of sensory experiences that defined the extent of a ritual space by creating a shared experience among all participants – alive, dead, mortal and divine. The sensory attributes of dance, as communicated through dress, defined this zone of interaction between the mundane and the sacred. It was the totality of the sensory attributes of dress-in-motion, *i.e.*, the *sensescape* it created, that made dance effective as a transformative ritual by uniting the participants through a shared experience.

Studying the senses

The mind/body dichotomy that defines much of our modern, Western sensibilities is not universal (Finnestad 1986; Hamilakis 2013, 10, 113). Rather, it is the result of a narrow, Eurocentric narrative that biases much of our modern thinking (Day 2013; Price 2018; Parkinson 2019). We humans exist individually as 'a mind *with* a body' (Merleau-Ponty 2004, 56). This means that our experiences are limited by how our bodies perceive the world. Beyond physical mechanics, however, our perception of the world is defined further by how we conceptualize our bodies and their abilities to sense.

When examining ancient cultures, it is useful to centre the body and its sensing capabilities at the critical junction between the ideological and the physical, converting these discrete categories into the fluid plane of experience (Hamilakis 2013; Ingold 2015). The sensing body simultaneously constructs and is restrained by social expectations, all of which are mediated by material culture (Meskell 2000, 180; Joyce 2005; Hamilakis 2013). Thus, sensory analyses of ancient cultures investigate the experiential world of ancient actors to reveal the effects of sensory experience on the organization of societies and peoples. In approaching the sensing body in this way, we study costume as an integral aspect of sensory research.

We propose that costumes are designed to stimulate the senses in particular ways. The specific sensory experiences awakened through the perception of costume elements, however, are dependent on the culture within which they are embedded. Thus, for the purposes of this analysis, we will be using ancient descriptions, contemporary in space and time, to inform the sensory elements of dress pertinent to our specific context: dance. We note here that the five-sense system currently popular in many cultures today, including those of the present authors, became widespread with the publication of *De Anima* by Aristotle in the 4th century (*De Anima* II, 7–11). Ancient Egyptian dance pre-dates Aristotle by thousands of years and so this sensory categorization cannot be applied uncritically.

Take for example this inscription from a large banquet scene in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100: de Garis Davies 1943). It is located on the left wall of the longitudinal hall. The deceased Rekhmire and his wife Meryt are seated occupying the entire height of the wall before eight registers of partygoers separated by sex. In the fourth register from the top, four women are engaged in both music and dance (Fig. 10.1). Above the couple, the text reads:

> Rejoicing at the sight (*mAa*) of the beautiful event: sing (*Hsi*), dance (*xb.t*), make music (*Sma*), be anointed (*wrH*) with myrrh-oil (*ant.w*), rubbed (*ms*) with *qb*-oil, with a blue water-lily (*sSn*) at your nostrils. (Authors' translation; de Garis Davies 1943, pl. XXVI)

From this inscription, the sensory qualities important to the framing of this ritual scene are readily apparent. The quote places sight as the bodily sense that perceives the scene in its entirety. While it is not possible to prove, the order of the experiences as listed in this inscription may indicate a hierarchy of sensory perception that privileges sight, followed by sound (Parkinson 2019). Nevertheless, sounds (singing; music), movements (dance), smells (myrrh; *qb*-oil; water-lilies) and touches ('being anointed'; 'rubbed') dominate both here in the inscription and in the scene as a whole. Be assured, the classifications we have employed here (sight, sound, proprioception, smell and touch) are biased toward our modern sensibilities. For example, one might distinguish smells between those that are gustatory and those that are environmental (Harris 2019, 213). This level of specificity is beyond Egyptologists at this time, though there is current research working toward this goal (Price 2018; 2022a; Relats-Montserrat 2014; 2016; Goldsmith 2019; Parkinson 2019; Steinbach-Eicke 2019).

The interaction of the visual image with the associated texts has received much attention in Egyptological scholarship. Often, the images of figures found in tombs serve as the determinative for words found at the end of columns (Robins 2008, 24). Determinatives are silent, visual icons included at the end of written words that provide categorical information. For example, the hieroglyph for the word *pr* 'house' is often included at the end of words for various buildings, functioning as a silent categorical marker rather than a phoneme. This effort to employ visual markers as a means of communicating conceptual categories may also

Fig. 10.1. Part of banquet scene from the tomb of Rekhmire (TT100). Photo by author, Jordan Galczynski.

indicate that two-dimensional images convey information beyond what is strictly visual. For example, Price (2018) has argued that the visual representation of scented icons in a tomb scene are indicative of the invisible scent of divine presence.

We can trace this logic back to the quote from Rekhmire's tomb. The hieroglyphic representations of these individual words link them to actions in the scene. For example, 'myrrh' and '*qb*-oil', both of which use small jars as determinatives, and 'blue water-lily', which has a water-lily blossom as a determinative, are repeated as actual materials in use throughout the entire banquet scene. Furthermore, the musicians, who double as singers and dancers, are representative not only of musicians but of *music.* The floral necklaces, blue water-lilies and unguent cones represent those materials, but also *scent.* Thus, it is in this way that we seek to explore the *sensescape* of the ancient Egyptian ritual space. Specifically, we take the case of dance and how the *sensescape* produced through its associated costume defines the extent of a ritual space.

Defining dress for dance

According to Eicher and Roach-Higgens (1992; Eicher 2010), costume is a type of dress that is worn for specific events, by groups of people, or in historical periods. Dress includes not only garments worn on the body, but also body modifications and supplements. Body modifications include the manipulation of hair, skin, nails, teeth and smell, for example. Body supplements, on the other hand, can be wrappings of the body, attachments to the body or hand-held items. Flügel (1950, 46) discusses how to qualify aspects of modifications and supplements, including the vertical (height), dimensional (size), directional (body movement), circular (contours) and local (focus on specific parts of the body). Transformations of or manipulations to any of these aspects would in turn change the overall effect of the dress. Many of these aspects are preserved in the archaeological record, including colour, shape, structure, size and manner of wear (Baadsgard 2008, 98–99). All of these aspects contribute to the formation of the social body (Eicher and Roach-Higgens 1992, 18).

In general, scholars have studied ancient textiles and dress elements from a production, economic or art historical lens. These more 'traditional' approaches to ancient material culture have dominated academic discussions (Taylor 2002, 1–2). While extremely valuable, more embodied or sensory approaches have been overlooked or discredited due to their apparent subjectivity and ontological focus. However, we seek to re-centre the body and its sensing capabilities in the discussion of dress to achieve a more holistic perception of human experience. After all, our perception of the world is limited by how we apply our bodies' sensing capabilities.

Dress, much like the senses, impacted ancient Egyptian ontologies. For example, dress was important both at the start and at the end of life. Papyrus Westcar (pBerlin 3033: 10–12; Blackman 1988) relates how, after a child was born and washed, he was to be wrapped in a cloth. In another example from a copy of the Book of the Dead, the deceased Maiherpri is instructed to 'put on a garment as a product of Tayet', one of the gods associated with weaving, in order to ensure his safety in the afterlife (Munro *et al.* 1994, 199). Thus, the human relationship with dress cannot be understood merely in terms of possession or as a tool for enhancing social status. Rather, dress transforms the body into a *dressed body*, whereby, through the dressing of the body, it becomes something entirely new (Ruggerone 2017). Scholars have struggled to suggest how best to study this phenomenon, but we contend that sensory theory provides us with a productive method for tackling the feeling of being dressed.

But why use the sensory aspects of dress as a lens to investigate ancient Egyptian dance practices? First, defining dance is difficult, especially in archaeological contexts, as the act of dancing rarely leaves behind perceptible remains. Thus, a sensory analysis provides us with an additional dataset from which to conduct our investigation, as we will explore below. Second, dance functions differently depending on its cultural context. For example, in many Western cultures, dance does not fulfil the same ideological role as it does in other cultures or in the past (Garfinkel 2014, 5). This modern bias may result in scholars failing to see the importance of dance in a specific context, identifying it simply as 'entertainment'. Therefore, because the senses are culturally specific, such an approach can help us to limit researcher bias and study dance in a culturally specific way.

Within Egyptological studies, the only comprehensive study of dance is by Brunner-Traut (1938). More recently, other scholars have focused on specific aspects of dance: Old Kingdom tombs scenes (Kinney 2008); gender (Meskell 1999); temple dance (Cummings 2000); archaeology of dance (Baines 2006b); cultural interaction through dance (Ashby 2008); dance through a modern lens (Lexova 2000). The costume of the dancer, however, has yet to see its own focused study within Egyptology. As discussed earlier, defining dance is difficult. Costume, however, is a universal aspect of dance, with the costume affecting both the dancer and the viewer in a myriad of ways. Additionally, costumes aid in the formation of memories of specific events. For example, Aamodt (2014) concludes that there was a specific costume for dancers in the ancient Aegean, arguing the performative aspects of the costumes, both bodily (read: dress) and emotionally, were responsible for heightening the remembrance and, so, effectiveness of the event (Hamilakis 1998, 117). Thus, in this example, the elements of the dancer's costume meant to create noise and exude scents influenced our understanding of the role and function of that particular dance.

By studying costume from a sensory perspective, researchers are better able to identify how garments construct and maintain social relationships. Intentional costume design can manipulate sensory perception to fashion a *sensescape* conducive to the formation of a shared identity among participants. In the context of dance, the act of dress-in-motion may further emphasize these sensory-minded designs – resulting in an atmosphere limited in space by the extent to which its effects could be experienced. Thus, dress contributes to the definition of space.

Dance in ancient Egypt

Dance can be broadly defined as any rhythmic movement functioning as a form of non-verbal communication (Hanna 1987, 19). Additionally, it is a multidimensional phenomenon directed towards sensory modalities (Royce Petersen 1977, 197). Defining dance concretely, however, is very difficult and often subjective (Hanna 1987; McFee 1992, 49; Schachter 2014). If dance is a repeated movement that serves to communicate, then should a greeting be seen as a form of dance? How do we separate repeated motions from rhythmic? Perhaps the most effective method of identifying dance from other types of movements is simply embedded within the culture where the act occurs. We, as researchers of ancient cultures, must define our etic perspectives as specifically as possible, incorporating the emic categories left behind in the ancient record. Thus, with regards to ancient Egyptian dance, we will be following the methodology established by Schachter (2014). The following aspects have been considered: 1) the purpose of the activity; and 2) the context in which it existed. These will both be addressed below.

Context

Dance scenes are found throughout iconographic art from all periods of ancient Egyptian history. Images of dance first appear during the Badarian period (ca. 4400–4000 BC), often on ceramics. Individuals are depicted with upraised arms, which are interpreted by Lankester (2018) as representing ritual movement or dance. Later, in the Old Kingdom (ca. 2685–2160 BC), dancers appear in the

tombs of private individuals as participants in funerary rites, banquet scenes and the cult of Hathor (Kinney 2008). Such scenes continue through to the New Kingdom, which is the focus of our study here.

It is important to note that these scenes are depictions of an *imagined* or desired interaction between the tomb owner(s) and the living. For example, notice how the banqueters are all youthful with similar features and are only distinguished through written captions that act as name cards (Fig 10.2). The associated costumes of the individuals fall within this imagined category as well – it being unclear to what degree these represent actual, lived experiences. Regardless, what is significant is that these scenes depict the idealized elements of dress and sensory attributes familiar to those embedded within this culture (Harrington 2016).

Dance scenes provide us with a unique context in which to investigate the sensory experience of dress-in-motion from a holistic perspective. It is not only the visual and textual references that might provide researchers with sensory data to inform their interpretations. Rather, these in combination with the associated material data from burial assemblages, such as actual examples of linen garments, jewellery, hair pieces, instruments and floral remains, may indicate the importance of and preference for these objects in the physical world.

Purpose

Dance can serve a variety of functions including social control, identity creation and maintenance, and communication, among others (Brinson 1985, 208; Spencer 1985, 4; Hanna 1987, 134–142; Lonsdale 1993, 259; Maners 2006; Aamodt 2014, 47). Additionally, dance can be performed as an act of devotion or as an offering to a religious figure. In order to understand how dance functions in a culture, we must consider and examine where dance occurs therein. In ancient Egypt, we see dance appearing in ideologically charged scenes in literary, religious and mortuary contexts.

Fig. 10.2. Nebamun (TT X) Banquet scene, Wikicommon. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nebamun-Bankett.jpg.

Dancers and musicians were employed during funerary processions and as *khener*-troupes working for a specific deity or the mortuary cult of a king (Nord 1981). In many Old Kingdom examples, we see professional musicians and dancers attached to temples, funerary estates and cemeteries (Spencer 2003, 115; see tomb of Niunetjer for example, Junker 1951, abb. 44).

Furthermore, dance often heralded the coming or presence of a deity. The goddess Hathor is closely associated with dance, with her being identified as the 'Golden Goddess who was pleased by dances at night' (Darnell 1995, 49). During the New Kingdom, Hathor was celebrated at various festivals, especially the Beautiful Feast of the Valley. This festival was often related to the banquet scenes under study here (Bryan 2014). Hathor is frequently mentioned in these scenes: 'For your Ka! O his beloved, Great One, your face is dazzling as you rise. You have come peacefully, that one might be drunk at your perfect sight, O Golden One, Hathor' (Scheil 1894, 549).

An associated act, nearly inseparable from dance in ancient Egypt, is music. In many instances, we see dancers and musicians performing together, with many dancers also holding instruments (for example, TT82 Djeserkareseneb: de Garis Davies and Gardiner 1915). Music is one sensory aspect that aids in the overall effectiveness of the dance ritual. Even parts of the costume can be used as an instrument, like shells or beaded jewellery. As we will continue to demonstrate below, dance in ancient Egypt is best understood as a transformative ritual whereby the dance delineated a zone of interaction between the living, the dead and the gods. An essential aspect of the effectiveness of dance was the costume of the participant(s) and, in turn, the sensory attributes of said costume.

Case study: banquet scenes

Images of dancers in the New Kingdom are largely known from 'banquet scenes', which are common scene types in Dynasty 18 elite tombs. For example, of the 51 Dynasty 18 tombs investigated by Padgham (2012), she counted 66 banquet scenes. Typically found on the walls of the transverse hall, these scenes appear both as abbreviated vignettes and as full scenes that can cover an entire wall (Harrington 2016, 4). To an observer of the tomb space, this hall would be the first space one would see. Many of these scenes are direct copies from other tombs, hinting at the notion that artists worked from pattern books (Spencer 2003, 119). This adds further evidence that having a banquet scene was an integral aspect of a functional, ritualized tomb space, and that dancers were a valued part. In these scenes, guests are typically divided by sex and are either layered to show depth or placed one behind the other along register lines. Young servants are shown holding various vessels, unguents and necklaces. They attend to the guests by pouring drinks and

anointing and dressing them. Musicians and dancers, when included, are typically grouped together to one side of the guests. They are usually depicted near to the tomb owner(s), which indicates their important position in the space (for example, TT75 Amenhotep-si-se: de Garis Davies 1923, pl. V; Fig. 10.3).

Such scenes, due to apparent themes of 'sexuality' and 'eroticism', have been interpreted as ensuring the rebirth of the deceased (Manniche 1999; Ikram 2001; Hartwig 2004; Galczynski 2022, 159–161). Other scholars have suggested they represent liminal spaces that allow for interactions between the living, the dead and the divine. Additionally, these banquets may be held to appease the goddess Hathor or Amun (Hartley 2012; Harrington 2016; Price 2018). Other suggestions have focused on the social display inherent in banquet scenes, the desire to experience pleasurable activities in the afterlife and/or the representation of actual banquets the deceased hosted or attended in life (Harrington 2016).

Kampp-Seyfried (1996, 57) notes that, as Dynasty 18 progresses, we see more living participants present in these banquet scenes. At the same time, the dancers become increasingly more detailed. This is especially useful for our study of the dancer's costume. From these added details, we are able to extrapolate more information about the sensory elements of the costumes, body modifications and supplements. We might conclude, then, that such details and their associated sensory attributes needed to be conveyed visually in the tomb for the scene to be potent.

The dancer's costume

Though there is some variation in the costume of the dancers in banquet scenes, most are a combination drawn from a standardized corpus of costume parts. These costumes range from the sparse to the exceedingly elaborate (Fig 10.4). Take for example the scene from the tomb of Nebamun from Thebes, now housed in the British Museum (Parkinson 2008; Fig. 10.5). The two dancers in the scene are mostly nude other than a belt worn around the hips, a large wig and some jewellery. The musicians to the left of the dancers, however, are elaborately costumed. They are shown wearing fine linen dresses with large sleeves, stained from the scented oils anointing their bodies. The women also have long hairpieces and heavy jewellery to add to their look and auditory appeal. In other banquet scenes, we can see similar costumes in use. From the tomb

Fig. 10.3. Facsimile of banquet scene with musicians and dancers in front of the tomb owners from TT X, Tomb of Nakht (MMA15.5.19d,j–k), MET OA Public Domain, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/548576; Wilkinson and Hill 1983.

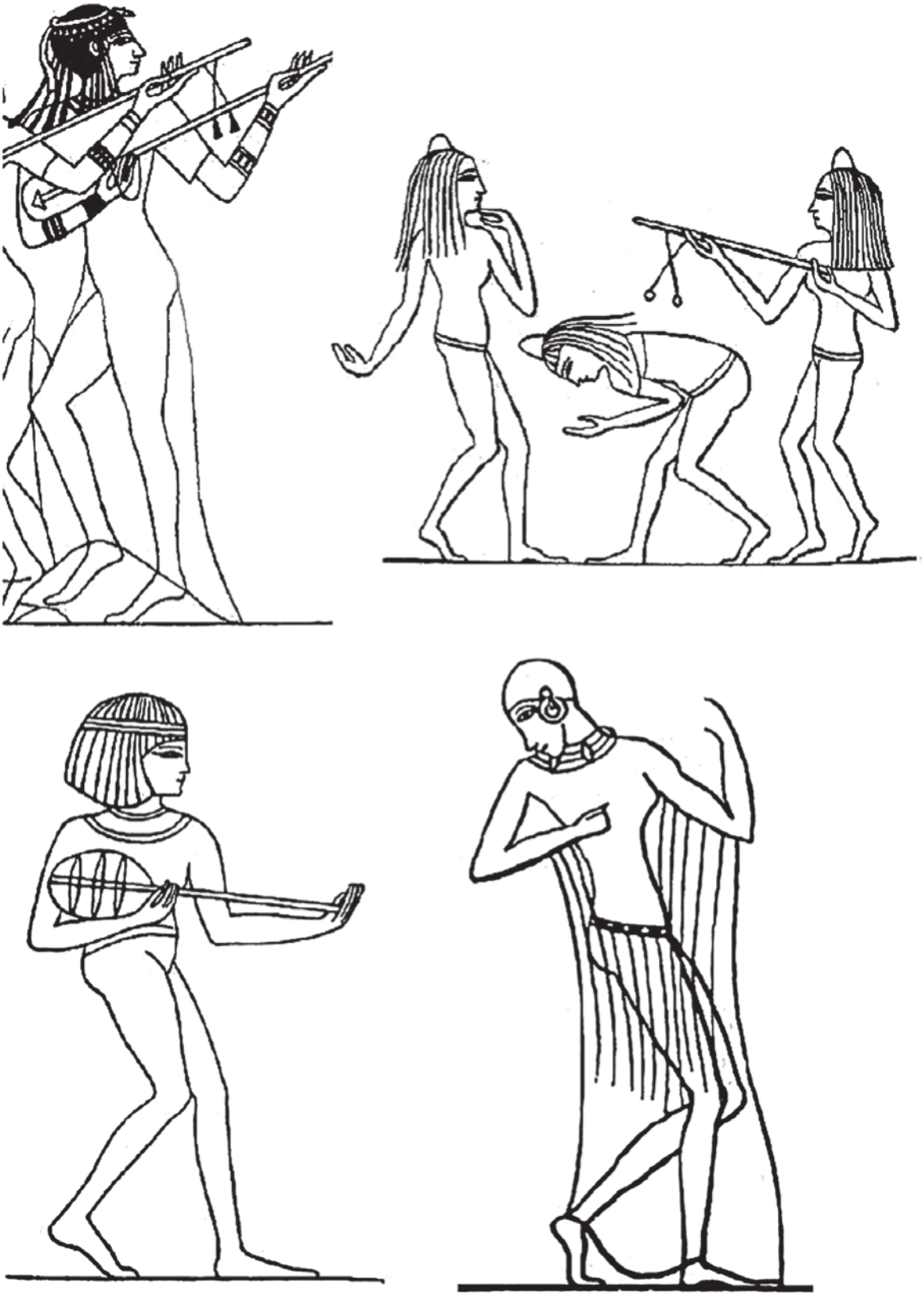


Fig. 10.4. Line drawing of a series of dancers. Top left: Wilkinson and Birch 1883, pl. XII; Top right: after le Bon 1889, Fig. 45; Bottom left: after le Bon 1889, Fig. 46; Bottom right: after Wilkinson and Birch 1883, Fig. 235. Out of copyright.

Fig. 10.5. Close up of dancers and musicians from the tomb of Nebamun, British Museum, Wikicommons. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Musicians_and_dancers,_Tomb_of_Nebamun.jpg.

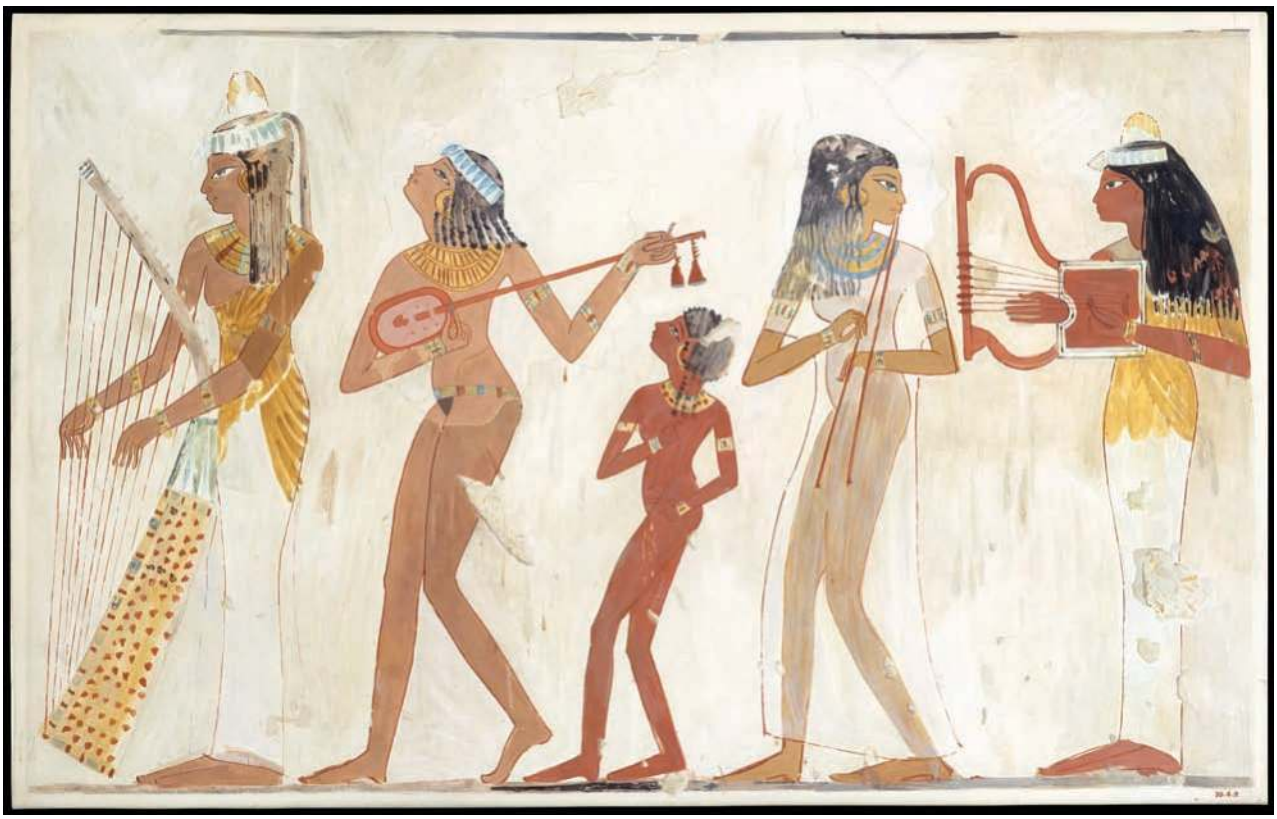


Fig. 10.6. Facsimile of TT38, Djeserkareseneb (MMA 30.4.9). MET OA Public Domain, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/55772; Wilkinson and Hill 1983.

of Djeserkareseneb (TT 38), we have dancers and musicians in a variety of costumes (Porter and Moss 1994, 69–70; Manniche 1997; Fig. 10.6). The harpist and lute players wear opaque dresses stained with scented oils. The lute player/dancer and the other dancer are nude except for a necklace, bangles and a girdle of beads around their hips. The pipe musician wears a gauzy, sheer dress through which much of her body is visible.

To summarize, the costumes of the dancers always include a selection of the following: jewellery (necklace, bracelets, anklets, earrings, girdles); garments (sheer, pleated, stained, diaphanous); coiffures (wigs, crowns, flowers, unguent cones). At a minimum, a dancer may wear only jewellery and hair accessories, while the most elaborate costumes may involve a wrapped or layered dress with heavy jewellery and hair accessories. This spectrum of costume design insinuates that there was no fixed costume for a dancer. Rather, the dancer might wear some combination of costume elements. What is key in many of these depictions is the context in which these costumes appear.

The only clear costume that is completely relegated to dancers is nudity. Nudity and semi-nudity are not part of the regular dress trends of non-dancer adults. Children are often depicted nude, but once maturity is reached individuals are usually dressed. In the past, nudity was viewed in a negative context, but, as Galczynski (2022, 158 and 161) has shown, nudity serves a specific ritualized, elite role. Nude or semi-nude women are not lower status or sex workers as traditionally assumed, but these women are usually dancers and/or participants in cultic rituals. Perhaps, then, we can say that the sparser costume does signal a specific role (*i.e.*, dance), as more elaborate dress is shared by other individuals in ancient Egyptian society.

Sensory elements of dress-in-motion

For this study, we examined Theban tombs dating from Dynasty 18. We narrowed our focus to tombs that were readily available via publication and contained well-preserved painted scenes. From these, we have listed in Table 10.1 the tombs that have at least one scene that includes dancers and/or musicians. By no means is this list exhaustive, but for the purposes of this study this corpus contributes a significant number of examples with which to work. To supplement tomb scene data, textual and archaeological materials are referenced.

We will be employing 'thick description' to explicate the sensory dimensions of the various costume elements of the artistic scenes (Geertz 1973). With this approach, we identify what Geertz (1973, 314) terms as a 'multiplicity of complex structures, many superimposed upon or knotted into one another … which [we] must contrive somehow first to grasp and then to render'. To assess ephemeral markers like sensory experience, therefore, we must first grasp them through description to render them perceivable.

The following sections will be organized by the sense paradigm expressed in the harper's song quoted above as it relates to motion – what we argue is the main identifier of dance. Though this study does not encompass all or even the most prominent examples of dance from the ancient Egyptian evidence, this study employs a new approach, the sensory, to elucidate details that have typically been overlooked in the study of ancient Egyptian dance in the past. For the following sections, we pull a number of examples

Table 10.1. Dynasty 18 banquet scenes featuring dancers (after Porter and Moss 1994 and Bueno 2020).

Tomb Name	*Reign*
TT 1 – Djehuty	Thutmose III
TT 18 – Baki	Thutmose III
TT 22 – Meryamun/Wah	Thutmose III–Amenhotep II
TT 38 – Djeserkareseneb	Thutmose IV
TT 40 – Huy	Tutankhamun
TT 42 – Amenmose	Thutmose III–Amenhotep II
TT 49 – Neferhotep	Ay
TT 52 – Nakht	Thutmose IV–Amenhotep III
TT 53 – Amenemhat	Thutmose III
TT 56 – Userhat	Amenhotep II–Thutmose IV
TT 75 – Amenhotep-si-se	Thutmose IV
TT 78 – Horemheb	Thutmose IV–Amenhotep III
TT 79 – Menkheper	Thutmose III–Amenhotep II
TT 80 – Tutnefer	Thutmose III–Amenhotep II
TT 82 – Amenemhet	n/a
TT 92 – Suemnut	Amenhotep II
TT 93 – Kenamun	Amenhotep II
TT 95 – Mery	Amenhotep II
TT 96 – Sennefer	Amenhotep II
TT 100 – Rekhmire	Thutmose III–Amenhotep II
TT 109 – Min	Thutmose III
TT 129 – Unknown	Thutmose III–Amenhotep II
TT 130 – May	Thutmose III
TT 175 – Unknown	Thutmose IV–Amenhotep III
TT 176 – Userhet	Amenhotep II–Thutmose IV
TT 179– Nebamun	Hatshepsut
TT 192 – Kheruef	Amenhotep III
TT 249 – Neferrenpet	Amenhotep III
TT 251 – Amenmose	Hatshepsut–Thutmose III
TT 254 – Mesy	Late 18th
TT 276 – Amenemopet	Thutmose IV
TT 297 – Amenemopet	Thutmose IV–Amenhotep III
TT 342 – Thutmose	Thutmose III
TT 367 – Paser	Amenhotep II

to demonstrate how a sensory approach can be applied to the costume components of dancers in ancient Egyptian banquet scenes. In turn, we argue that the sensory attributes of these elements contribute to the overall effectiveness of the dance, itself.

Sight and movement

While an exact definition of dance according to the ancient Egyptians might be beyond the scope of this study, the evidence first points to an emphasis on repetitive motion. We can see how motion is emphasized in dance through the usage of dance as a metaphor to convey various emotional states. For example, in an ostracon from Deir el Medina that records a poem expressing a desire to return to Thebes, the author writes *jb[A] xr.t=(j)* '(My) being dances' (Černý and Gardiner 1957, pl. 8–8a [3]). This is glossed as 'I am nervous' (Burkard 2004). The speaker's state of being is 'dancing' as a result of having to leave Thebes (*prj m wAs.t*) – a thing that he hates (*msdj.t=j*). The use of dance to communicate a state of nervousness suggests that the significant element of dancing that is being highlighted here is its similarity to quick nervous movements, or shaking.

In another example, this one from a Middle Kingdom (2055–1650 BC) context, the twinkling of the stars in the sky is used as a metaphor for jubilation, 'I danced like the stars in the sky' (*xbb=j m xr.jw wnw.t nt p.t*) (Sethe 1935: *Urk. VII* 1–5, 14; Meyer-Dietrich 2009, 7). Here, the Governor of Elephantine Sarenput I is celebrating a promotion. In both of these examples, the act of dancing is employed to communicate the emotional state of the speaker, one of which is negative and the other positive. The use of physical descriptors to communicate emotional states as conceptual metaphors is typical of ancient Egyptian speech (Steinbach-Eicke 2019). The significance for this discussion, however, is in the emphasis of the visual observation and physical experience of motion regarding the act of dance. In this, it is both the ability to *see* the motion by outsiders and the *experience* itself of motion (*i.e.,* proprioception) through which meaning is communicated.

Given the nature of ancient Egyptian artistic depictions, motion is best conveyed visually. The usual ancient Egyptian image is overwhelmingly stylized and static – representing figures with the head in profile and the eye and shoulders shown frontally, the torso twisted at the waist so that the legs and feet are again shown in profile. Yet, the image of the musician/dancer is regularly shown mid-motion, with legs and/or arms raised, torsos twisting, hair swinging, backs bending and, sometimes, faces peering out of the image directly at the viewer. While this last feature is rare, it has been suggested that it is meant to invoke the goddess Hathor, she of fertility, drink and dance (Volokhine 2003). The drawing in of the viewer, in combination with (as we will make clear) the sensory overload produced by visual stimuli, may also have been meant to include the viewer (or the body of the deceased) into the revelry by engaging them through the sense of sight. We see from ancient Egyptian linguistic metaphors that making eye contact with someone by turning the head was understood generally to be equivalent to 'paying attention'. For example, *pxr Hr=k*, lit. 'turn your head' is used in Pyramid Text spell 219, 'Turn your head and look at this Unas' (Pyr. § 186b). In another example, the scribe Kawiser states, 'I did every job, [to] which my master drew my attention [lit. placed my face to *rDj.n pAy=j nb m Hr=j*]' (Gardiner 1937, 135, 4–5). When brought back to our discussion of the forward-facing musician-dancers, these examples further support the suggestion that this artistic form may be designed to attract the viewers' attention.

Thus, we have discussed a few examples to demonstrate that the visual cues regarding motion in dancing were a way of communicating emotional states such as jubilation. Now, we must draw our attention back to the importance of dress in this context. Motion can also be emphasized through the design of costume.

Hair, for example, was often invoked in parallel to sex, though we see it equally important in the context of dance (Fletcher 2000; Valdesogo 2019). We know from the elaborate coiffures depicted atop the heads of dancers throughout ancient Egyptian history that it was an important element of the dancer's ensemble (Fig. 10.4). This observation is further supported in a Dynasty 20 magical papyrus apparently from Deir el Medina that acted as protection against poison. In the relevant passage, the poison is said to be a being:

> 'der ohne Hals rennt, der tanzt, ohne Haare zu haben … der kopulieren kommt ohne Penis' ('who runs without a neck, who dances without having hair...who comes to copulate without a penis'). (Papyrus Genève MAH 15274: German trans. Katharina Stegbauer)

As a result, the poison will be subject to torment at 'the place of the crocodile'. Such a list of undesirable states of being would have been thoroughly recognized by those who were a part of the culture that produced this document. The 'dancing without having hair' would have been seen as ridiculous as trying to 'copulate without a penis!' We offer this example as an illustration of how foundational hair, as a costume supplement, was to the act of dance. Not only can hair in a two-dimensional representation indicate motion (see Fig. 10.8) but it was an element integral to its visual recognition and to the physical act of the dance itself.

Other dress elements that likely contributed important visual elements to dance included the shining colours of beaded jewellery and appliqué, the whiteness of the linen dresses, the yellowed glossiness of anointed skin and textiles and the shadows produced by movements interfering with the light of oil lamps. For example, the ancient Egyptians acknowledged the various properties of linen for its ability to be transparent. In one love song, a woman wishes to bathe in her garment in front of her love interest 'so that [she]

may show [him] [her] beauty in a tunic of the fine royal linen, which is drenched in *tishpes*-oil …' (oCairo 25218: Fox 1985, 32). The woman desires to *show* her love her beauty, which is enhanced by her fine garment.

The whiteness of linen was also noted by the ancient Egyptians and linked to a higher quality garment. The ancient Egyptian word for white (*hedj*) could also mean 'bright', and, as Warburton notes, when the ancient Egyptians painted linen garments in tomb scenes, they chose a 'real, bright, white' to reflect the desired reality (Thavapalan and Warburton 2020, 30). From Middle Kingdom wisdom literature, the reader is told about how the palace stores are empty and how 'it should have white cloth, fine linen, copper, and oil' (Lichtheim 2006a, 159). Another text recounts how only a wealthy man 'has bright clothes, [and] fine linen' (Lichtheim 2006a, 228). The Tomb of Rekhmire's linen list places 'bleached linen' as the second most valuable type, only behind 'king's linen' (de Garis Davies 1943, 47). This desire for clean, white clothing is attested also via the large number of laundry scenes in tomb contexts, ostraca recording laundry lists and laundry marks (Vogelsang-Eastwood 1992, 40–42). Thus, the dressing of dancers and musicians in such bright, white clothing was a visual marker of their respected social status.

Additionally, the physical act of movement is complimented by other visual elements of a dancer's dress. This is true even to such a degree that dancers might be identified solely by their dress supplements. In a story recorded in the Papyrus Westcar, the divine beings Isis, Nephthys, Meskhenet, Heqet and Khnum are asked by the king to assist the woman Ruddjedet with her delivery of triplets. The story reads:

> Then these gods proceeded after they had transformed as *khener*-troupes [*jr.n=sn xprw=sn m xnyt*] … Then they arrived at the house of Reuser and found him standing with his kilt upside down. Then they presented him with their *menat*-necklaces and sistra [*wn.jn=sn Hr ms n=f mnj.t=sn sxm.w*]. (Author's translation, Berlin Papyrus 3033, following transcription of Blackman 1988, 9.22–10.5)

Reuser accepts these items as identification and begs the performers to assist Ruddjedet with her difficult labour. Because the dancers/goddesses were 'knowledgeable about childbirth' (*m.k n rx.wjn smsj*), they were permitted to enter. As briefly noted earlier, *khener*-troupes were attached to ideological institutions (temples, mortuary cults, king's cult) as musicians and dancers during ritual performances. In this story, the costume elements most revealing of their occupation were that of their necklaces and instruments. Through visual confirmation of these costume supplements, Reuser recognized their identities and allowed them into his home. No demonstration of skill in motion was required.

Such a story, in addition to the other examples above, suggests that the visual recognition of musician/dancers was an important element of their effectiveness. Had these divine beings not disguised their costumes so well, their identities would not have so easily been established and, thus, they may not have been able to assist Ruddjedet. We emphasize this point here, and relate it back to the function of dance in the banquet scenes, to highlight the importance of being able to *see* the dancers for them to be functional. If banquet attendees needed to be able to view the dancers as part of their experience, this ultimately defined the limits of the space in which a ritual dependent on dance could be carried out.

The need to see the dancers to recognize their costume and appreciate its effect on their movements is further supported by the role of *muu*-dancers in the funeral procession. The *muu*-dancers have yet to be fully understood by Egyptologists, and their exact nature is beyond the scope of this chapter. Thus, we are only going to focus on their costumes here. Since the Old Kingdom, these dancers are typically portrayed wearing *shendyt*-kilts and crowns made of reeds that seem to invoke the white crown of Upper Egypt or the central part of the Atef crown (Junker 1940; Fig. 10.7). They are typically portrayed in the New Kingdom either 1) in a pair, facing one another, with their fists together and standing on one leg; or 2) in a row, leaning backward, raising their front leg straight into the air, and pointing to the ground. Their purpose seems to be related to the funerary procession, perhaps as gatekeepers welcoming the deceased into the afterlife, as they are often located at the beginning or end of the offering bearers and sarcophagus transport (Altenmüller 1975). For example, in the story of Sinuhe, a refugee who fled Egypt and then returned, the king informs Sinuhe that he will prepare 'a funeral procession made for you on the day of burial … oxen drawing you, musicians going before you. The dance of the *Muu* will be performed at the entrance of your tomb' (Lichtheim 2006a, 229). Such an inclusion in a literary story suggests that the employment of such dancers was recognized as part of the procession of the deceased's body to the tomb.

The location of the *muu*-dancers within the funeral procession, their depiction as bodies-in-motion and the easy visibility of their costumes (*i.e.*, the elongated, vertical crowns) suggests their dancing was indispensable to the ritual safety of the transport of the deceased. As we have discussed, both motion and visibility are key elements for ensuring the function of ritual dance. The crowns worn by these dancers would not only have been visible from a distance due to their height, but would have exaggerated the motion of the dancers, attracting the eye of any observer. Thus, again, we see the definition of ritual space, this time defining the beginning and/or end of a ritual procession in motion, separating those within the procession from those without. It was not just being able to see the *muu*-dancers that would have included you as part of the event, but your placement in relation to them. Here, too, we can see dance

Fig. 10.7. Line drawing of muu-*dancers from the New Kingdom tomb of Tetiki (TT15). Drawing by author, Jordan Galczynski; after Reeder 1995, Fig. 2.*

functioning as a form of social control, as mentioned earlier. The king is able to assert ideological power in non-royal mortuary space through the dancers' employment of royal iconography in the form of their crowns and kilts. Thus, again, it is the dress-in-motion and its visibility that contributes to the definition of ritual space.

Sight unseen (veiling)

Interestingly, vision is further emphasized through the act of veiling and unveiling. The importance of veiling to ancient Egyptian culture is addressed by Christina Riggs in her book, *Unwrapping Ancient Egypt* (2014). In this book, Riggs argues that the act of wrapping and unwrapping contributes to the efficiency of ancient Egyptian rituals. For example, both the wrapping of a deceased individual and of a divine statue were essential to their transformation. Many of the examples we have of dance from the New Kingdom onward indirectly reference this importance of veiling and unveiling by invoking a scene from *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* (pChester Beatty I: Wente 2003). In it, Pre-Horakhty becomes upset and is only appeased when his daughter Hathor reveals (*i.e.*, unveils) herself to him, at which point he laughs and then returns to the business at hand. The passage reads:

> And so, the great god spent a day lying on his back in his pavilion very much saddened and alone by himself. After a long while, Hathor, Lady of the Southern Sycomore, came and stood before her father, the Universal Lord, and she exposed her private parts before his very eyes. Thereupon the great god laughed at her. Then he got up and sat down with the Great Ennead. (Wente 2003, 94)

Morris (2007) details how the sun god's choice to sequester himself in his tent constitutes a cosmic crisis. Through Hathor's *anasyrmenê* ('skirt raising') which causes Re to laugh and return to his duties, she ensures the continuation of the universe. Therefore, the examples of dancers performing backbends that unveil their genitals may serve as a re-enactment of Hathor's mythic act. This dance, thus, both invokes the goddess and ensures Re's continual rising. These consequences of the performance reiterate the cultic function these dancers served, with the element of nudity playing a key role.

Scholars have identified implied references to this act throughout ancient Egyptian material remains, particularly from the New Kingdom and later (Reeves 2015). For example, any image of a female dancer performing a backbend is thought to be a reference to this story. Notice in this example (oTurin 7052, Fig. 10.8) (Brooklyn 13.1024; Lythgoe and de Garis Davies 1928, Fig. 4) how the costume design emphasizes the element of the female's anatomy meant to be revealed through this physical motion. The skirt, which is shorter in the front, is designed to lift when the dancer takes up this position, thus revealing her genitalia. It is in this making visible through unveiling that the significance of the dance is achieved.

To veil and then unveil the body-in-motion requires intentionally designed costume elements. A material example of this action is a mechanical figure discussed by Reeves, now located in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (MMA 58.36a–c; Reeves 2015; Fig. 10.9). Reeves situates this Third Intermediate Period (1086–664 BC) statuette as part of a larger corpus of female figures, which grow in popularity in the Late Period. He suggests these figures were clothed in their original contexts and were meant to reference Hathor revealing herself to please and entertain Re. In this particular example, the figure's arms are connected by a spool which allows the user to lift and lower its arms. While at rest, one hand covers her genitalia while

Fig. 10.8. Ostracon depicting acrobatic dancer (oTurin7052). Photo by author, Jordan Galczynski.

the other would have been bent over the torso. Raised, her genitals would be revealed through the bent arm's lifting of her dress (now lost). Damage to the nose and forehead suggest the missing left arm of this example was bent. It is likely that the costume of the figure was somehow connected to the arm that the figure might reveal herself through the raising of her arm. If we were to identify this figure as a dancer, then this three-dimensional representation would support our analysis of the above examples which suggest visibility and motion, as made potent through dress, were vital to the effectiveness of dance.

Sound and motion

In the Middle Kingdom biography of Sarenput I quoted above, it is not only the motion of dancing that he references but its sound: 'My town was in festival, my young people rejoicing when they heard dancing' (Authors' translation; Sethe 1935; *Urk. VII* 1–5, 14–15). In this example, it is not the visual appreciation of physical movement that is being remarked upon, but the noise produced by and/or accompanying the act of rhythmic movement that caused the joy of the youths. We know from the examples of the banquet scenes of the New Kingdom that dancing was regularly accompanied by musicians, though the inclusion of musicians seems to become more popular at this time than it was before. This is in comparison to Old and Middle Kingdom tomb scenes where dance is depicted sans instruments, perhaps due to the lack of available instruments at the time (Kinney 2008). It is not uncommon for the musicians themselves to be represented as dancers. In the tomb of Djeserkareseneb, dance is prioritized over music, wherein is shown a dancer with an instrument rather than a musician in dance (Fig. 10.6). It is motion that is highlighted by the positioning of the dancer, rather than the act of playing the instrument she holds. Notice how the dancer (second from the left) is depicted in dramatic motion, head thrown back, hips angled, with one leg back and arched. Additionally, this woman is nude as opposed to her fellow musicians. As nudity was atypical for figures other than dancers, it suggests this particular figure should be identified as a dancer, rather than as a musician.

Fig. 10.9. Statuette of a 'mechanical' dancer (MMA 58.36a–c). MET OA Public Domain, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/566713.

These visual markers, we suggest, communicate the presence of *sound* rather than only musicians. The representation of musicians as dancers indicates the importance of both of these elements within the scene. This idea is likened to how jars filled with scented oils would be drawn with floral decorations to represent their invisible scent, visibly (Price 2022b). The consequence of this artistic choice is that the definition of ritual space is set by those who could experience the implied sounds. Thus, as indicated in the above example, the youths become part of the festival (*nhm* 'rejoicing') upon hearing (*sDm*) the dancing (*xbb*).

Costume elements that would have contributed to this sound included supplements such as the necklaces and sistra referenced in the Papyrus Westcar example above. Additional elements include beaded girdles, anklets and bracelets. For example, this beaded girdle and anklet set from the tomb of Sithathoryunet which dates to the Dynasty 12 (1887–1813 BC), now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (MMA 16.1.5; Fig. 10.10), includes several hollowed-out, golden beads in the shape of cowrie shells with small inclusions hidden away inside them. These inclusions would have rattled inside the beads, accentuating the movements of the dancer. One of Sithathoryunet's other jewellery sets, this one with feline shapes, is mirrored in a two-dimensional representation from the tomb of Wahka II at Qaw el-Kebir (Oppenheim *et al.* 2015, 119).

Beaded girdles are common in depictions of dancers in the New Kingdom, as well. The tomb of Djeserkareseneb depicts one such individual (Fig. 10.6). The second dancer-musician from the left is nude except for a beaded girdle. As the women swayed and moved the belt would have jingled, heightening the rhythmic nature of her dancing. While the music of the lyre, flute and drums may have drowned out the quiet tinkling of these beads, when absent their sounds would have accentuated the movements of the dancers. The dancer herself would have been aware of the jewellery sounds and also would have felt the shifting weight of the belt on her body.

Fig. 10.10. Cowrie shell girdle of Sithathoryunet (MMA16.1.5). MET OA Public Domain, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545533.

Fig. 10.11. Ostracon depicting humoristic drawing of a hyena playing a pipe. WikiCommons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Humouristic_drawing-E_14368-IMG_4473-white.jpg.

Furthermore, the sounds of these costume elements are directly connected to the presence of the goddess, Hathor. From the Ptolemaic temple of Dendera, a song recites: 'We beat the drum to her spirit, we dance to her grace, we raise her images up to the heavenly skies; she is the lady of the sistrum, Mistress of jingling necklace' (Darnell 1995, 49). The 'jingling' items of jewellery were crucial elements to the efficacy of the dance to herald the goddess. In a satirical reference to dance, a Deir el Medina ostracon depicts a pipe-playing hyena serenading a dancing ungulate (oLouvre E 14368, Fig. 10.11). Typically, figural ostraca of this type reverse the roles of the depicted individuals – for example, in an ostracon from the Brooklyn Museum (37.51E), a cat is shown presenting offerings to an enthroned mouse. Similarly, in this example, the hyena-musician is heralding the dancing ungulate, who perhaps here is meant to be the divine being drawn in by the sound of promised revelry. Thus, again, the hearing of sound is integral to the effectiveness of the ritual.

Returning to our banquet scenes and the visual markers of sound, the body itself also functions as a (percussive) instrument. Again, here we see nudity and semi-nudity functioning as the costume of the dancer. The stomping of feet and clapping of hands, for example, would have enhanced the sensory experience of both the participant and viewers. The tomb of Amenemhat (TT 82) depicts an individual clapping and tapping her foot, indicated by the slight lift of her front foot (Fig. 10.12). In front of her, men are clapping their hands and using clappers to keep the rhythm. The caption labels them as music-makers (*iH.w*). The front individual leaps into the air, hand over head, with both feet off the ground. In the use of the body in dance and as an instrument, the main costume, which is nudity or semi-nudity, would have allowed for more freedom of movement. If you look at the individuals who are solely musicians, they are usually clad in elaborate garments, while the dancers are freed from such constrictions.

A shared experience among the revellers would thus be created as a result of these elements of sound, which were produced or enhanced by the dancers' costumes. Such noises not only called to divinities and mortals alike, inviting them to participate, but united all present through shared consumption. Being united in this way – mortal and divine, living and dead, was permitted through the creation of a ritual *sensescape* enhanced by the sensory stimulation produced by the dress-in-motion.

Smell and motion

Scent was also an element of the dancers' ensemble. Depictions of unguent cones perched precariously upon the heads of dancers in motion may have indicated the presence of a sweet scent about the body of the wearer. A long history of Egyptological scholarship has debated the nature of these rounded cylinders seen upon the head of a variety of figures and materials in tomb scenes from the New Kingdom period onward. The debate largely has focused on whether or not these cones were actual, material representations or metaphorical suggestions. Two partial examples of these cones were excavated from a cemetery at Amarna (Stevens *et al.* 2019). Residue analysis conducted on these cones failed to identify the presence of scented materials, though, given their age and the volatility of scent molecules, this is not conclusive. We would suggest that the two-dimensional representations of these unguent cones, as suggested for the musician-dancers indicated above, reference less their material components and more the invisible, sensory experience

Fig. 10.12. Image of dancers from the tomb of Amenemhat (TT 82). © Osirisnet.net; permission given by Dr Thierry Benderitter.

of *scent* (Price 2022b). The two material examples of these cones may be three-dimensional translations of this popular artistic tool used to represent the intangible, the invisible, visually. Through their creation as material objects, the need for actual scent is diminished, as a result of their being a recognized visual marker for the presence of scent. This suggestion is particularly interesting given the unlikelihood that the scent of these cones would have withstood the test of time. Their survival through to the moment of their modern excavation and recognition as similar in form to the two-dimensional artistic representation of head cones attests to this.

In addition to the unguent cones, the floral supplements worn by both the ancient Egyptian dancers and banquet attendees would have contributed to a shared atmosphere heavy with sweet scents. Floral supplements might take the form of a headband with a blue water-lily attached hanging over the head of the figure, as a flower held to the nose or as decorative elements on jewellery and as wall elaboration. These floral decorations as beaded necklaces and as wall décor visually referred to an implied scent, rather than necessarily exuding a scent themselves. For example, compare the floral broad collar found in Tutankhamun's embalming cache (MMA 09.184.214) with this example of a beaded broad collar (Fig. 10.13). While the organic collar includes olive leaves, corn flowers, blue water-lily blossoms, persea leaves and poppies, the beaded version (which has been restrung) includes cornflowers, dates and blue water-lily petals. Thus, again, as with the suggestion for the unguent cones above, we see the translation of materials across mediums, wherein the visual representation was intended to enhance (or even replace) the scent. These costume elements of the banqueters and the dancers contributed to a shared identity through collective experience.

Paired with the unguent cones and floral designs was the presence of anointing oils on the bodies, wigs and linens of the dancers and banquet attendees. As Manniche (2003, 84) has argued, the yellow 'staining' on individual's garments may have been caused by the application of scented oils. Again, this interpretation aligns with the idea of representing the invisible experience of scent visibly and to the common identity produced by this shared *smellscape.*

Evidence of the popularity of scented garments might be further supported by a love poem of the later New Kingdom:

> Would that I were the washerman of my sister's clothes for a single month! I would be renewed by taking {the clothes} that were near her body, and it would be I who washed out the ointment [*baq.w*] that was in her kerchief. I would wipe my limbs with her cast-off clothing (?) and she … I would be in joy and rapture; I would make my body young. (oDeM 1266+oCairo 25218; Posener 1972, pls 74–79; Fox 1985)

This example tells of the need of the wistful lover to wash his desire's clothing that he might wash out the ointment in her clothes. Given the genre of this text, the idea that one's clothing may need its perfume washed out must have been an expected social norm. This example also indicates how scent might represent the identity of an individual,

Fig. 10.13. Comparison between Tutankhamun's floral collar (MMA 09.184.214) and a New Kingdom broad collar (MMA 40.2.5). MET OA Public Domain, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/548831 and https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/549199.

wherein the lover would be 'in joy and rapture' were he able to, presumably, take on her scent by taking her clothes (cf. Hoch 1994, stanzas 13 and 17). Ideologically, too, scent was related to one's identity. For example, in the Book of the Dead, the deceased needed to smell like the gods in order to live among them. Anubis says of the deceased man, 'I am satisfied with him. I smell his odor as belong to one among you' (Spell 125; Faulkner 1994, pl. 30). Thus, divine identity was defined by their scent.

Given this, a scented atmosphere in the context of the banquet scenes might reveal the invisible presence of divinity, thus ensuring the success of the ritual by attesting to the gods' presence (Price 2022b). *Smellscapes* are both 'fragmentary in space and episodic in time' (Porteous 2006, 91). Additionally, scent can only travel so far and so can be an indicator of nearness. And yet, through the movement and spinning of the ancient Egyptian dancer anointed with perfumed oil, wearing an elaborate wig drenched in unguent, with a flower upon her head, the *smellscape* of the ritual space would be renewed through the exudations of her costume. Sensory adaptation occurs when one becomes accustomed to a scent and is no longer able to consciously smell it. However, similar to passing close by someone wearing perfume on the sidewalk, each twirl or step would have renewed the scent, thus accounting for sensory adaptation.

The repetition of scented imagery throughout the banquet scenes, in addition to the dancers, contributed to the definition of the ritual space through a shared identity. The dancers themselves and their associated movements refreshed these scents through their wafting garments, keeping the participants aware of their shared space. Such an experience would have been locked in their memories thus contributing to the continued success of the event every time it was relived through the observation of an associated two- or three-dimensional representation or the experience of a transient scent.

Feeling and motion

The feel of various dress elements for both the wearer and the viewer is something the ancient Egyptians were keenly aware of. This section focuses especially on the garments of the dancer given that they were the main costume element coming in contact with the body. We see linen, the main fabric of the ancient Egyptians, connected to being clean and pure (*wab*), 'cleanse yourself in the river; wear the best linen' (Lichtheim 2006, 69). The feeling of fine linen on the body is further connected to love with one song citing 'your love is as desirable … as fine linen to the bodies of noblemen, as garments to the bodies of the gods' (oCairo 25218; Fox 1985, 31). These examples emphasize the high status accorded good-quality linen.

Turning to the tactility of the costume and its effects on the efficacy of the dancers in banquet scenes, the following aspects are taken into consideration: texture, weight and structure (Harris 2014, 40). The tactile nature of the various aspects of the costume, the weight of the jewellery, the feel of the linen and the move of it against the body, for example, should be considered along with the visual aspects of the dance as it contributed to the creation of the total *sensescape*.

Texture refers to how soft or rough the fabric is against the body. Structure identifies the degree of porousness of the fabrics or wig, the flexibility of the fabrics, the wig and/or the jewellery on the body. These are major factors when it comes to dance, given that the body is frequently in

motion. Again, we can see this in how the more movement that a dance requires, the less costume elements the dancer is shown wearing. In most instances, we think of dance from the perspective of the viewer, but the experience of the performer should also be included in the discussion. The ancient Egyptians acknowledged this dual perspective, as can be seen through the use of first-person pronouns (Dendera Hymn, for example). How the costume effects the performer and heightens their experience contributes greatly to not only the ideological power of the event, but also in memory formation (Hamilakis 1998, 117).

Linen, the predominant fabric used in ancient Egypt, was and is still known for its cool, non-irritating feel, and quick wash-and-wear properties (Barber 1991:15; Fig. 10.14). The weave of the fabric also makes a difference. Gauze weave is known from the Middle Kingdom onward and would have created a sheer, diaphanous fabric (Barber 1991, 151). From the tomb scene examples, we typically see the dancers wearing little clothing or only a single layer of linen. This indicates that the dress elements of the dancer's costume would not inhibit their ability to move. Further, we can conclude that the dance movements might have required being very physically fit, as displayed on the famous Turin acrobatic ostracon (Cat. 7052, Fig. 10.8).

Weight is another important aspect to consider, in regard to the degree of lightness or heaviness of the fabrics, wig, jewellery and other accoutrements. Linen overall is on the lighter side (Barber 1991; Harris 2019), but if it were layered, the weight could build up and restrict the ability to move. For example, the drape of a fabric is understood to affect the sensation of movement in freely hanging textiles. In the experiment conducted by Mitschke to see the variations in the drape of cotton, linen, silk and wool textiles, she found that linen was the stiffest with the lowest number of folds but the deepest drapes (Mitschke 2013, 231). Given that linen was the preferred fabric in ancient Egypt, it is important then to keep in mind how the fabric would have interacted with the body. The opacity of the garment also plays a role, especially in regard to the interplay between veiling and unveiling, as discussed earlier.

The jewellery, on the other hand, would add more weight and affect how the dancer moved. For example, the *menat*-necklaces make a frequent appearance in the tomb scenes (Manniche 1991; Fig. 10.12). These necklaces have a counterweight that hangs on the back of the wearer. This added weight on the upper chest would restrict the amount and type of movement possible. In more gymnastic dance scenes, these necklaces are not worn due to the movements

Fig. 10.14. Close-up of very sheer linen cloth from the tomb of Hatnofer and Ramose, New Kingdom (MMA36.3.111). MET OA Public Domain, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545138.

required. The ideological significance of such necklaces also plays a role, as mentioned in our discussion of sound above. Perhaps, given the high ideological value of the sound effects of these pieces of jewellery, the movement became less emphasized in certain situations.

From the tomb of Amenemhat (TT 82), we can see how these various parameters affect the dance (Fig. 10.12). The dress worn and the lack of hair accessories allow for more freedom of movement. Loincloths, kilts and the short dresses allow for greater movement of the limbs, exhibited by the individual on the far right leaping into the air. In other tomb scenes (TT192 Kheruef; TT78 Horemheb) we can see the costume playing a similar role. In scenes where the individuals are engaged in more kinetic, dynamic movements there is generally less clothing and accoutrements worn. Perhaps in this case, the focus is more on the movements themselves, as additional fabric would hamper the activity. From the same scene, the dancers are wearing *menat*-necklaces, holding clappers, clapping hands and leaping, placing more emphasis on sound, rather than the tactile feel of the dance.

The tactility of the various aspects of the costume contribute significantly to the overall effectiveness of the dance in New Kingdom banquet scenes. It is significant that we ended our discussion with touch. Touch, as a sense, is often integral to contextualizing the other senses like smell and sound. As the song from the tomb of Rekhmire details, in order to smell the myrrh-oil it must be anointed (*wrH*) or rubbed (*ms*). To activate the smell or sound of an object it must come in contact with or through the body. Touch is both something the individual dancer would have experienced – the linen dress against the body, the feel of the cold jewellery on the skin – but it also would have been part of the collective experience. For example, the application of scented oils by servants or the interactive touches between friends helped to promote social relationships that advanced the collective identity of the participants (Fig. 10.2). The feeling of the various costume elements on the dancers' bodies created a *sensescape* through which the dance could be experienced both by the performers and attendees.

Conclusions

Costume elements associated with dancers are a useful lens to analyse sensory experience. Archaeologically, the act of dance leaves no remains, but the costume and its associated elements are preserved to us both in artistic depictions and material culture remains. Through an investigation of the sensory attributes of a dancer's costume, this study has argued that the sensory domain is intrinsic to the function of dance in ancient Egyptian banquet scenes.

Sensory experience in ancient Egypt was an expression of being alive. This fact is exemplified by the story of Khonsu-em-heb, in which he meets an unhappy spirit who shows him what it truly means to be dead:

> Khonsu-em-heb sat and wept beside him, with a face [full of tears, and he addressed the] spirit, saying [how miserable are these spirits] without eating, without drinking, without age, without youth, without the sign of the sun's rays, or the smell of the north wind. Darkness is in [their] eyes every day and they shall not rise in the morning to depart! (McDowell 1999, 150)

This description of death, one where you do not change or feel or breathe, is dreary indeed and contrasts perfectly with the banquet scenes explored in this chapter. Dance, with its smells and sounds and motion is, at its core, a celebration of life. As the *Teachings of Ani* instruct us, 'song, dance, and incense are [the god's] foods. Receiving prostrations are his health' (Lichtheim 2006, 136). The sounds of music, the motion of dance and the smell of incense are here described in this New Kingdom wisdom text as the food of the gods. Leaving aside this apparent reference to synesthesia, we see here these sensory-dependent experiences being identified as the necessities of life.

Dance, in addition to being an expression of life, is deeply significant for the gods. In a hymn to the Aten disc, its rising is celebrated for the life it brings. The hymn reads 'all you have created dances before you' (Lichtheim 2006, 91). Thus, the act of dance both heralds the coming of the Aten as well as celebrates the life it provides. As discussed earlier, various gods, especially Hathor, were expected participants in these banquet scenes, these dance rituals often being recreations of mythic events.

The fact dance is so affective is further enhanced by its costume design which, as we have demonstrated, functioned to stimulate the body's senses: sight, sound, smell, touch and proprioception. In turn, the associated costume elements of dance, many of which have additional ideological connotations beyond the sensory (for example, whiteness: purity), combine to intensify the *sensescape* through which gods are invoked, individuals transform from life to death and ancestors are propitiated.

As the Memphite Theology recounts, when humanity was created, the first gift humans were given was the movement of our hands, legs and arms. This was immediately followed by the provision of the senses, namely vision, audition and olfaction:

> Now life is given [by Ptah] to those who are at peace; death to those who kill; Now, every work and every craft were made; the doing of the arms, the walking of the legs; the moving of all the limbs, the seeing of the eyes; the hearing of the ears, the breathing of air for the nose … (Authors' translation, Breasted 1901, pl. 2)

In emphasizing the ability to affect change ('the doing of the arms') and move ('the moving of all the limbs'), so the primary element of creation was defined by the gods. While the exact date of this text has been debated (Hawary 2010), the story it tells is as old as time: to move is to live, to live

is to move. Dance and, by extension, motion celebrate life and so connect all things. Furthermore, the sensory stimuli included in the design of dance's associated costume, as discussed above, served to amplify that intended function by creating a collective experience and shared identity among the participants.

Without putting in effort to explore the role of the senses in our daily lives, they become background noise to our everyday tasks. As Lefebvre (2004) writes, 'To grasp a rhythm, it is necessary to have been ***grasped*** by it; one must *let oneself go*, abandon oneself to its duration' (27, emphasis original to text). To live in the moment, to celebrate the life around us and running through us, is to lose ourselves in experience. Beyond any need for psychotropic substances, simply to exist is enough to 'grasp a rhythm'. For the ancient Egyptians, life and its many pleasures were both created by and celebrated through dance. Sensory experience was so indicative of life that, as both Khonsu-em-heb and Big Yellow Taxi realized, 'you don't know what you got 'til it's gone'.

Bibliography

Aamodt, C. (2014) Dance in the Prehistoric Aegean. In K. Soar and C. Aamodt (ed.) *Archaeological Approaches to Dance Performance*, 47–58. Oxford, Archaeopress.

Altenmüller, H. (1975) Zur Frage der mww. *Studien Zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 2, 1–37.

Ashby, S. (2008) Dancing for Hathor: Nubian Women in Egyptian Cultic Life. *Dotawo* 5, 63–90.

Austin, A. and Gobeil, C. (2016) Embodying the Divine: A Tattooed Female Mummy from Deir el-Medina. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 116, 23–46.

Baadsgard, A. (2008) *Trends, Traditions, and Transformations: Fashions in Dress in Early Dynastic Mesopotamia.* PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Baines, J. (2006a) Visual, Written, Decorum. In J. Baines (ed.) *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt*, 3–30. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Baines, J. (2006b) Public Ceremonial Performance in Ancient Egypt. In T. Inomata and L. Hoben (ed.) *Archaeology of Performance: Theaters of Power, Community, and Politics*, 261–302. Lanham, MD, AltaMira Press.

Barber, E. (1991) *Prehistoric Textiles: The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages with Special Reference to the Aegean*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Blackman, A. (1988) *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians: Transcribed from Papyrus Westcar (Berlin Papyrus 3033)*. Reading, J. V. Books.

Bleiberg, E. (2005) *Arts & Humanities through the Eras*. Michigan, Gale Publishing.

Breasted, J. H. (1901) The Philosophy of a Memphite Priest. *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 39, 39–54.

Breward, C. (2015) *The Culture of Fashion: A New History of Fashionable Dress*. Manchester, University Press.

Brinson, P. (1985) Epilogue: Anthropology and the Study of Dance. In P. Spencer (ed.) *Society and the Dance. The Social Anthropology of Process and Performance*, 206–214. Cambridge, University Press.

Brunner-Traut, E. (1938) *Der Tanz im alten Ägypten nach bildlichen und inschriftlichen Zeugnissen*. Glückstadt, J. J. Augustin.

Bryan, B. (2014) Hatshepsut and Cultic Revelries in the New Kingdom. In J. M. Galán, B. M. Bryan and P. F. Dorman (ed.) *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut: Papers from the Theban Workshop 2010*, 93–123. Chicago, Oriental Institute.

Bueno, M. (2020) La representación de la danza en las tumbas tebanas privadas del Reino Nuevo egipcio. *Trabajos de Egiptología* 11, 43–62.

Burkard, G. (ed.) (2004) *Kon-Texte Akten des Symposions 'Spurensuche – Altägypten im Spiegel seiner Texte'* München 2. bis 4. *Mai 2003. ÄAT 60*. Wiesbaden.

Černý, J. and Gardiner, A. H. (1957) *Hieratic Ostraca*, vol. I. Oxford, Griffith Institute, Oxford University Press.

Classen, C., Howes, D., and Synnott, A. (1994) *Aroma.* London, Routledge.

Cummings, J. (2000) *Temple Dance in Ancient Egypt*. PhD dissertation. New York University, School of Education.

Darnell, J. C. (1995) Hathor Returns to Medamud. *Studien zu Altägyptischen Kultur* 22, 47–94.

Day, J. (2013) *Making Senses of the Past: Toward a Sensory Archaeology*. Carbondale, Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University Carbondale and Southern Illinois University Press.

de Garis Davies, N. (1923) *The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth (nos. 74 and 90)*. Cairo, Egypt Exploration Society.

de Garis Davies, N. (1943) *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Re' II*. New York, Arno Press.

de Garis Davies, N. and Gardiner, A. H. (1915) *The Tomb of Amenemhēt (no. 82). Theban Tombs Series* 1. London, Egypt Exploration Fund.

Dils, P. and Stegbauer, K. (2021) Papyrus Genf MAH 15274 and Turin CGT 54063. In *Science in Ancient Egypt*. https://sae.saw-leipzig.de/en/documents/papyrus-genf-mah-15274-and-turin-cgt-54063?version=13.

Eicher, J. (ed.) (2010) *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion: Global Perspectives*, vol. 10. Oxford, Berg.

Eicher, J. and Roach-Higgens, M. (1992) Dress and Identity. *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 10, 1–8.

Faulkner, R. O. (1994) *The Egyptian Book of the Dead: The Book of Going Forth by Day*. San Francisco, Chronicle Books.

Finnestad, R. B. (1986) On Transposing Soul and Body into a Monistic Conception of Being. An Example from Ancient Egypt. *Religion* 16, 359–373.

Fletcher, J. (2000) Hair. In P. T. Nicholson and I. Shaw (ed.) *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 495–501. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Flügel, J. (1950) *The Psychology of Clothes*. London, Hogarth Press.

Fox, M. (1985) *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs*. Madison, University of Wisconsin.

Galczynski, J. (2022) Orientalizing the Ancient Egyptian Woman. In D. Candelora, N. Ben-Marzouk and K. Cooney (ed.)

Ancient Egyptian Society: Challenging Assumptions, Exploring Approaches, 152–162. London, Routledge.
Gardiner, A. H. (1937) *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*. Bruxelles, Éditions de la Fondation Egyptologique de la Reine Elisabeth.
Garfinkel, Y. (2014) Archaeology of Dance. In K. Soar and C. Aamodt (ed.) *Archaeological Approaches to Dance Performances*, 5–14. Oxford, Archaeopress.
Geertz, C. (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York, Basic Books.
Goldsmith, D. (2019) Fish, Fowl, and Stench in Ancient Egypt. In A. Schellenberg and T. Krüger (ed.) *Sounding Sensory Profiles in the Ancient Near East*, 335–360. Atlanta, SBL Press.
Hamilakis, Y. (1998) Eating the Dead: Mortuary Feasting and the Politics of Memory in the Aegean Bronze Age. In K. Branigan (ed.) *Cemetery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age Societies*, 115–132. Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press.
Hamilakis, Y. (2013) *Archaeology and the Senses: Human Experience, Memory, and Affect*. New York, Cambridge University Press.
Hanna, J. (1987) *To Dance is Human. A Theory of Nonverbal Communication*. Chicago, Chicago University Press.
Harrington, N. (2016) The Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian Banquet: Ideals and Realities. In C. Draycott and M. Stamatopolou (ed.) *Dining and Death: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the 'Funerary Banquet' in Ancient Art, Burial and Belief*, 129–172. Leuven, Peeters.
Harris, S. (2014) Sensible Dress: The Sight, Sound, Smell, and Touch of Late Ertebølle Mesolithic Cloth Types. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 24/1, 37–56.
Harris, S. (2019) The Sensory Archaeology of Textiles. In R. Skeates and J. Day (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of Sensory Archaeology*, 210–232. London, Routledge.
Hartley, M. (2012) The Eighteenth Dynasty Banquet: Portal to the Gods. *The Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 23, 25–44.
Hartwig, M. (2004) *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419–1372 BC*. Bruxelles, Brepols Publishers.
Hawary, A. El (2010) Wortschöpfung: die Memphitische Theologie und die Siegesstele des Pije - zwei Zeugen kultureller Repräsentation in der 25. Dynastie. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*, 243. Fribourg and Göttingen, Academic Press; Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.
Hoch, J. (1994) The Teachings of Dua-Kheti: A New Look at the Satire of the Trades. *Journal for the Society of Egyptian Antiquities* 21–22, 88–100.
Ikram, S. (2001) Banquets. In D. B. Redford (ed.) *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egypt*, 564–569. Cairo and Oxford, American University in Cairo Press and Oxford University Press.
Ingold, T. (2015) *The Life of Lines*. London, Routledge.
Joyce, R. (2005) Archaeology of the Body. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34, 139–158.
Junker, H. (1940) Der Tanz Mww Und Das Butisch Begräbnis Im Alten Reich. *Mitteilungen* 9, 1–39.
Junker, H. (1951) *Gîza X. Der Friedhof südlich der Cheopspyramide*. Vienna, Rudolf M. Rohrer.
Kampp-Seyfried, F. (1996) *Die Thebanische Nekropole: Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. Bis zur XX. Dynastie. Theban 13*. Mainz am Rhein, Philipp von Zabern.
Kinney, L. (2008) *Dance, Dancers and the Performance Cohort in Old Kingdom*. Oxford, Archaeopress.
Lankester, F. (2018) The Predynastic 'Dancing' Figures. In D. Huyge and F. van Noten (ed.), *What Ever Happened to the People? Humans and Anthropomorphs in the Rock Art of Northern Africa. International Conference (Brussels, 17, 18 and 19 September 2015)*, 509–519. Bruxelles, Royal Academy for Overseas Sciences.
Le Bon, G. (1889) *Les premières civilisations*. Paris, C. Marpon et E. Flammarion.
Lefebvre, H. (2004) *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time, and Everyday Life*. London and New York, Continuum.
Lexová, I. (2000) *Ancient Egyptian Dances*. Mineola, N.Y., Dover Publications, Inc.
Lichtheim, M. (2006a) *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings. Volume I: The Old and Middle Kingdom*. 2nd edition. Berkeley, University of California Press.
Lichtheim, M. (2006b) *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings. Volume II: The New Kingdom*. 2nd edition. Berkeley, University of California Press.
Lichtheim, M. and Manning J. (2006) *Ancient Egyptian Literature: Volume III: The Late Period*. 2nd edition. Berkeley, University of California Press.
Lonsdale, S. (1993) *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion*. Baltimore, The John Hopkins University Press.
Lythgoe, A. M. and de Garis Davies, N. (1928) The Egyptian Expedition 1925–1927 The Graphic Work of the Expedition. *BMMA* 23/2, 59–72.
Maners, L (2006) Utopia, Eutopia, and EU-topia: Performance and Memory in Former Yugoslavia. In T. Buckland (ed.) *Dancing from Past to Present: Nation, Culture, Identities*, 75–96. Wisconsin, University Press.
Manniche, L (1991) *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt*. London, British Museum Press.
Manniche, L (1997) Reflections on the Banquet Scene. In R. Tefnin (ed.) *La peinture égyptienne ancienne. Un monde de signes à préserver*, 29–36. Bruxelles, Éditions de la Fondation Egyptologique de la Reine Elisabeth.
Manniche, L. (1999) *Sacred Luxuries: Fragrance, Aromatherapy, and Cosmetics in Ancient Egypt.* Cornell, NY, Cornell University Press.
Manniche, L. (2003) Ancient Scent: An Evaluation of the Sources. In C. Leblanc (ed.) *Parfums, onguents et cosmétiques dans l'Égypte ancienne. Actes des rencontres pluridisciplinaires tenues au Conseil National de la Culture, Le Caire 27–29 avril 2002*, 81–89. Le Caire, Centre Française de Culture et de Coopération, Association pour la Sauvegarde du Ramesseum.
McDowell, A. (1999) *Village Life in Ancient Egypt: Laundry Lists and Love Songs*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
McFee, G. (1992) *Understanding Dance*. London, Routledge.
Merleau-Ponty, M. (2004) *The World of Perception*. London, Routledge.
Meskell, L. (1999) *Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class etcetera in Ancient Egypt*. Oxford, Blackwell.
Meskell, L. (2000) Embodying Archaeology: Theory and Praxis. *The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 37/1, 171–192.
Meyer-Dietrich, E. (2009) Dance. In W. Wendrich (ed.) *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 1–14. Los Angeles, https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5142h0db.

Mitschke, S. (2013) Textile Qualitäten im römische Heer der Rheinprovinzen. In M. Tellenbach, R. Schulz and A. Wieczorek (ed.) *Die Macht der Toga: Dress Code im Römischen Weltreich*, 229–237. Regensberg, Schnell and Steiner GmbH.

Morris, E. F. (2007) Sacred and Obscene Laughter in The Contendings of Horus and Seth. In T. Schneider and K. Szpakowska (ed.) *Egyptian Stories: A British Egyptological Tribute to Alan B. Lloyd on the Occasion of his Retirement*, 197–224. Münster, Ugarit-Verlag.

Munro, I., Helck, W. and al-Miṣrī, M. (1994) *Die totenbuch-handschriften der 18. Dynastie im* Ägyptischen Museum *Cairo (Agyptologische Abhandlungen, Bd. 54)*. Wiesbaden, Harrosowitz.

Nord, D. (1981) The Term Hnr: 'Harem' or 'Musical Performers? In W. K. Simpson and E. S. Meltzer (ed.) *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Sudan: Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham*, 137–145. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

Oppenheim, A., Arnold, D., Arnold, D. and Yamamoto, K. (ed.) (2015) *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*. New Haven and London, Yale University Press.

Padgham, J. (2012) *A New Interpretation of the Cone on the Head in New Kingdom Egyptian Tomb Scenes*. Oxford, Archaeopress.

Parkinson, R. (2008) *The Painted Tomb-Chapel of Nebamun: Masterpieces of Ancient Egyptian Art in the British Museum*. London, British Museum Press.

Parkinson, R. (2019) The Sensory Worlds of Ancient Egypt. In R. Skeates and J. Day (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of Sensory Archaeology*, 413–433. London, Routledge.

Porteous, J. D. (2006) Smellscape. In J. Drobnick (ed.) *The Smell Culture Reader*, 89–106. Oxford and New York, Berg.

Porter, B. and Moss, R. (1994) *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, 2nd edition, vol. I, 69–70. Oxford, Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum.

Posener, G. (1972) Catalogue des ostraca hieratique litteraires de Deir el Medineh. *DFIFAO* 18/3. Cairo, IFAO, 311–318.

Price, R. (2018) Sniffing out the Gods: Archaeology with the Senses. *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 17, 137–55.

Price, R. (2022a) Stop and Smell the Flowers: A Re-assessment of the Ancient Egyptian 'Blue Lotus'. In D. Candelora, N. Ben-Marzouk and K. Cooney (ed.) *Ancient Egyptian Society: Challenging Assumptions, Exploring Approaches*, 325–335. London, Routledge.

Price, R. (2022b) *Sensing the Fundamentals: An Examination of Scent as Integral to Ancient Egyptian Society*. PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Reeder, G. (1995) The Mysterious Muu Dancers and the Dance they Do. *KMT* 6/3, 68–77.

Reeves, N. (2015) A Rare Mechanical Figure from Ancient Egypt. *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 50, 42–61.

Relats-Montserrat, F. (2014) Le signe D19, à la recherche des sens d'un déterminatif (I): La forme d'un signe. *Revue numérique d'Égyptologie* 1, 130–170.

Relats-Montserrat, F. (2016) Le signe D19, à la recherche des sens d'un déterminatif (II): Les usages d'un signe. *Revue numérique d'Égyptologie* 4, 77–121.

Riggs, C. (2014) *Unwrapping Ancient Egypt*. London, Bloomsbury Publishing.

Robins, G. (2008) *The Art of Ancient Egypt*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

Royce Peterson, A. (1977) *The Anthropology of Dance*. Indiana, University Press.

Ruggerone, L. (2017) The Feeling of Being Dressed: Affect Studies and the Clothed Body. *Fashion Theory* 21/5, 573–593.

Schachter, B. (2014) Who is the Ancient Egyptian Dancer? In K. Soar and C. Aamodt (ed.) *Archaeological Approaches to Dance Performance*, 15–29. Oxford, Archaeopress.

Scheil, V. (1894) Tombeaux thébains de Mâi, des graveurs, Rat'eserkasenb, Pâri, Djanni, Apoui, Montou-m-hat, Aba. *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire* 5, fascicule 4, 541–656. Cairo, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

Sethe, K. (1908) *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte, Bd. I*, Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

Sethe, K. (1935) *Urkunden des aegyptischen Altertums, Bd. VII*. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

Spencer, P. (1985) Introduction. In P. Spencer (ed.) *Society and the Dance: The Social Anthropology of Process and Performance*, 1–46. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Spencer, P. (2003) Dance in Ancient Egypt. *Near Eastern Archaeology* 66/3, 111–121. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Steinbach-Eicke, E. (2019) Taste Metaphors in Hieropglyphic Egyptian. In L. Speed, L. O'Meera, L. San Roque and A. Majid (ed.) *Perception Metaphors*, 145–164. Netherlands, John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Stevens, A., Rogge, C., Bos, J. and Dabbs, G. (2019) From the Representation to Reality: Ancient Egyptian Wax Head Cones from Amarna. *Antiquity* 93, 1515–1533.

Tarlo, E. (1996) *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Taylor, L. (2002) *The Study of Dress History. Studies in Design*. Manchester, Manchester University Press.

Thavapalan, S. and Warburton, D. (ed.) (2020) *The Value of Colour: Material and Economic Aspects in the Ancient World*. Berlin, Edition Topoi, Topoi Excellence Cluster.

Valdesogo, M. R. (2019) *Hair and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mourning Rites in the Pharaonic Period*. Zandvoort, BLKVLD.

Vogelsang-Eastwood, G. (1992) *The Production of Linen in Pharaonic Egypt*. Leiden, Stitching Textile Research Centre.

Volokhine, Y. (2003) La frontalité dans l'iconographie de l'Égypte ancienne. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 62/2, 141–142.

Wilkinson, J. G. and Birch, S. (1883) *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*. Boston, S. E. Cassino.

Wilkinson, C. K. and Hill, M. (1983) *Egyptian Wall Paintings: The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Collection of Facsimiles*. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Wente, E. F. (2003) The Contendings of Horus and Seth. In W. K. Simpson (ed.) *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*, 91–103. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Part 5

Images and metaphors

11

Dancing around the goddess' dress

Angela Bellia

The aim of this paper is to enhance our knowledge of dance and musical performances depicted on the dresses of female divinities in the ancient world, and in particular in Sybaris, a Greek city in the West. Accordingly, it will explore how these representations on cultic images are related to dancing and musical activities performed in the sacred sphere, providing us with information concerning body movements, sounds and aspects of rituals in the context of processions and festivals related to weaving activities. By combining archaeological records and written sources, dance and music performances depicted on the dresses of female cult images seem to recall rituals performed in sacred spaces on the occasion of the epiphany of deities.

Cult images played a primary and essential role in the ritual performances related to many cults. Cult statues in particular were the focal point at ritual actions such as prayers, sacrifices and processions. The practice of processioning the cult images might have been an essential act in rituals of bathing, feeding and clothing. Statues may have been touched and kissed, and they had to be small, because otherwise the rites of bathing and clothing or holding them at the altar could not be performed. Moreover, the practice of dressing early cult images, especially of goddesses, in real clothing was probably one of the most important rituals and a common one in ancient world (Bald Romano 1988, 127–129; Donohue 1997, 31–45). Rituals relating to the dressing of early Greek cult images and the giving of gifts of clothing, jewellery or other accoutrements are well attested (Neils 2009, 135–147; Brøns 2017, 251–263). Although most of the evidence comes from post-Archaic Greek and Roman literary sources and from Hellenistic inscriptions, we know that the presentation of garments to a deity was practised at least as early as the 8th century BC in Greece: Homer (*Ilias*, V, 87; VI, 301) relates that Hecuba propitiated Athena by presenting her with a gift of her finest robe, and in the 7th century, Alcman records the ceremony of the presentation of a robe to Orthia in Sparta (*Parthenion*, I, 60f.).

The poet Kallimachos (ca. 310–ca. 240 BC) was particularly interested in ritual dances performed around cult statues. As Ivana Petrovic has argued, the settings of three of his six *Hymns* are festivals in which a cult statue plays a prominent role. A ritual of washing and dressing a cult statue is mentioned in the *Hymn to Athena* (vv. 9–19) and a procession with a cult statue is in the *Hymn to Demeter* (vv. 1–6) (Petrovic 2010, 205–206). Moreover, at the beginning of the *Hymn to Apollo* (vv. 5–15), the poet recounts the opening of the temple doors and greeting of the god statue by the chorus of youths and the gathered worshippers. In the *Hymn to Delos*, the arrival of the ancient statue of Aphrodite at Delos (vv. 300–309) is described: local rituals as well as dance and singing activities were performed in honour of the goddess around her statue. The *Hymn to Artemis* offers an *aition* for the Ephesian statue of the goddess and the ritual dance performed by the Amazons. Even when Kallimachos describes such unusual images as the Ephesian Artemis in the *Hymn to Artemis* (vv. 237–250), he pays close attention to dance performances related to rituals connected to cult statues and their dressing, as well as the presentation of garments to cult images (Brøns 2017, 239–248).

Dancing around cult images (Timaeus, *FGrHist* 566 F 32 in Athenaeus, VI, 250a) which were adorned in special dresses was a common custom for worshippers given that,

since the 8th century BC, representations of dance performances on statues (Aston 2011, Fig. 30; Bellia 2020, 32–34), on terracotta figurines (Lonsdale 1993, 112, Fig. 13) and on busts of female goddesses (Pautasso 2007, 216, figs 35–36) show these dances depicted on the subject's clothes. One of the most interesting examples of ritual dances is depicted on the dress of the so-called 'Sybaris Goddess' represented on the fragments of mouldmade votive terracotta plaques or *pinakes* decorated in relief: this is the oldest representation of a cult image of a deity in Francavilla Marittima, near Sybaris – possibly the ancient Lagaría – an Achaean colony in Magna Graecia of extreme wealth, located in south Italy (Fig. 11.1) (Kleibrink Maaskant 1993, 168, Fig. 1a; 2018, 2–4).

Dances for a 'weaver goddess'

On the fragments of terracotta *pinakes*, dating from 650–640 BC, two lines of dancers are depicted on the dress of a goddess represented as a cult statue wearing an embroidered robe (Fig. 11.2a) (Zancani Montuoro 1972, 68, Fig. 1; Kleibrink and Pace 2018, 128, Fig. 9). Given that the *pinakes* (known as the 'Sybaris Goddess' figurines) have been found most prominently in the sanctuary on the hilltop of Timpone Motta in Francavilla Marittima where an important cult was devoted to Athena (Granese and Tomay 2001, 137–140), the images have been identified as a representation of this particular deity (Paoletti 2014, 17–20). There is no evidence to suggest that this ancient city, which was formed both by Sybarites and local people and named 'Oenotrians' by the Greeks, suffered a violent Greek takeover and there is no knowing whether the Athena cult and the related rituals were carried out by the native elite or by the first Greek colonists.

One of the most important issues raised by these terracotta *pinakes* is how one should consider the figure's clothing. Given that some of its iconographic details are reproduced as realistically as possible, and that one of the most evident features is the symmetry in the figures' placement, much like that of a weaving scheme, we could consider the dress as the reproduction of an actual embroidered sacred garment belonging to the goddess's dress (Gleba 2008, 16–20; see also Barber 1991, 358–365).

On these terracotta plaques, Athena is represented frontally. Our attention is captured by her dress where an elaborate and complex decoration is depicted. Her dress consists of a 'shingled' blouse and a skirt decorated with figural bands in three levels. Under the bodice and the high and rigid belt tightening her waist, the goddess's dress is decorated

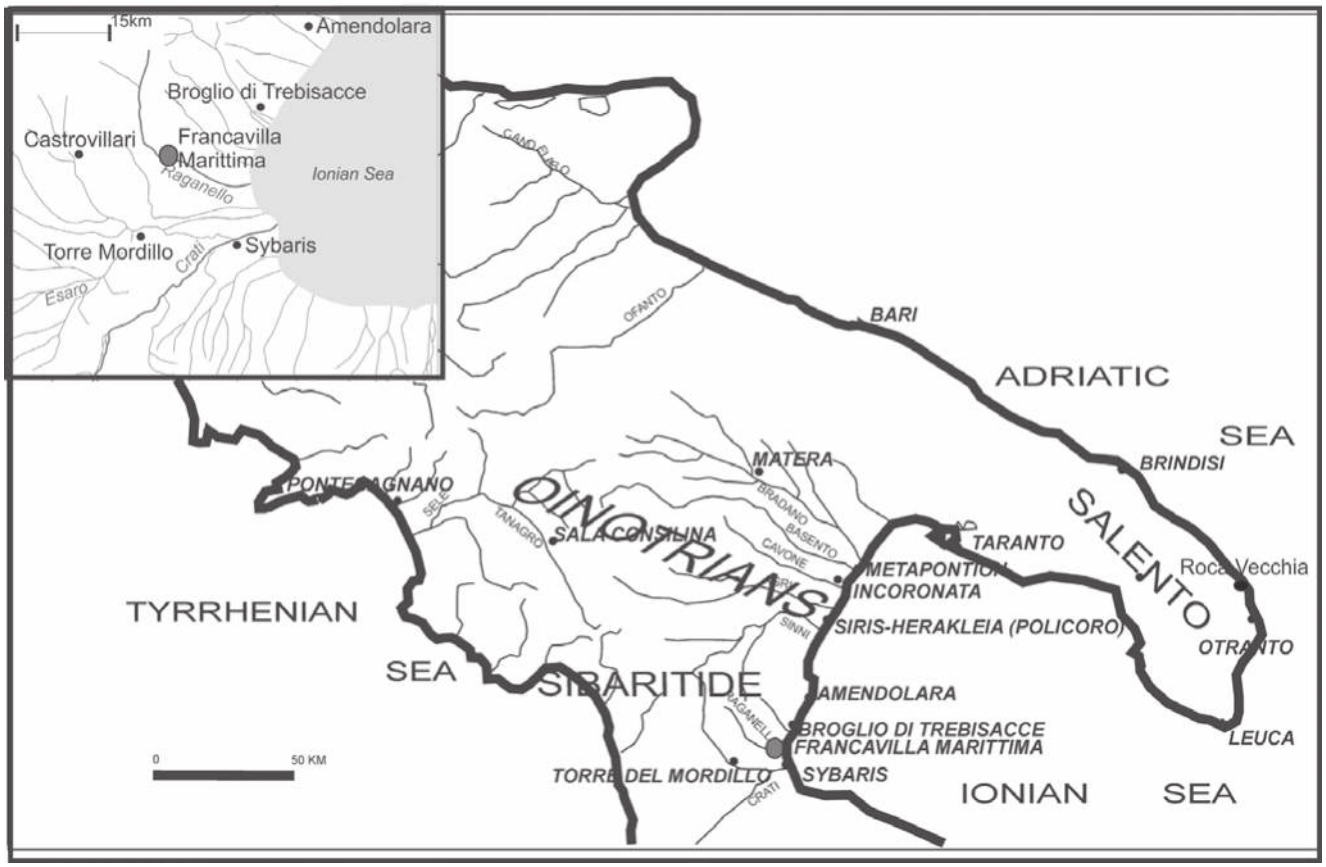
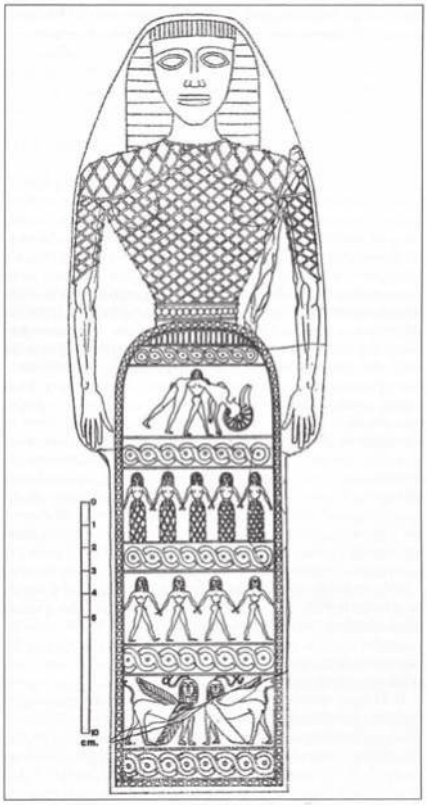


Fig. 11.1. Map of Francavilla Marittima, near Sybaris in South Italy. Kleibrink Maaskant 2018, 168, Fig. 1a.

(a)



(b)

Fig. 11.2. Terracotta figurines representing with two lines of dancers depicted on the cult statue of the so-called 'Sybaris Goddess' and its reconstruction, 650–640 BC. From Kleibrink-Maaskant and Pace 2018, 128, Fig. 9; Zancani Montuoro 1972, 68, Fig. 1 (reconstruction).

in a symbolic narration in superimposed bands. The top of the skirt is decorated with Ajax carrying the dead body of Achilles; in the middle, five girls are dancing holding one another's wrists in the same gesture as the four boys in the row below (Colas 2002, 227–232); two antithetic sphinxes are at the bottom. The female dancers are of the same stature and are represented in a frontal position; they are wearing long dresses decorated with a diamond pattern. The male dancers are naked; the head and the bust are represented frontally, but their pelvis and legs are three-quarters to the right, apparently taking in long strides. The two facing sphinxes are represented on their legs; their bodies are seen horizontally in profile and their heads are adorned with the so-called 'multi-storey' maze hairstyle.

Athena holds an object in her right hand which could have been immediately recognized by her worshippers as an object related to her cult and religious sphere (Paoletti 2014, 19–20) (Fig. 11.2b). It is a small, straight stick, until now often overlooked due its doubtful meaning. Due to the difficulty from the rendering perspective, the small stick is depicted crushed and made adherent to the hand and wrist of the goddess. Whilst this detail does not seem to have aroused particular interest so far, it is important to consider its connection with Athena and other representations of the goddess at the sanctuary of Sybaris, especially those on the *pinakes* in the Dedalic style, where a similar small stick is held by the 'weaver goddess', Athena *Ergane*, the patron goddess of female and male craftsmanship and artisanship, and especially of weaving (Burkert 2003, 285).

Fig. 11.3. 'Sybaris Goddess' holding a spindle in her right hand, 650–640 BC. From Granese and Tomey 2001, 142, Fig. 12.

Fig. 11.4. Female figurines holding fabrics dating to the first quarter of the 6th century BC. From Granese and Tomey 2001, 149, Fig. 17.

Fig. 11.5. Goddess depicted within a naiskos, holding a mantle rolled up in her lap (a peplos?). 640–630 BC. From Granese and Tomey 2001, 148, Fig. 16.

On the votive *pinakes* the 'Sybaris Goddess' is represented in an immobile, rigid posture and frontal position (Kleibrink Maaskant 1993, 12–13). She is holding a spindle in her right hand, a textile tool as well a specific and symbolic attribute closely related to spinning and weaving (Fig. 11.3) (Granese and Tomay 2001, 142, Fig. 12). Her posture recalls another Dedalic figurine of Athena *Ergane* wearing a *polos* and a richly decorated dress, which also has a ball of wool next to its right foot (Paoletti 2019, 130, Fig. 5).

The *pinakes* of the 'Sybaris Goddess' could be related to the weaving activities that took place in the sanctuary from the 7th century BC, given the discovery of countless loom weights (Kleibrink Maaskant 2018, 169–170; Saxkjær *et al.* 2017, 91–103) and female figurines holding fabrics dating to the first quarter of the 6th century BC (Fig. 11.4) (Granese and Tomay 2001, 149, Fig. 17). Moreover, the weaving activities under the goddess's protection might be recalled by the terracotta of an enthroned 'Lady of the loom', a sort of 'Athena seated in her house' (640–630 BC), where the goddess is depicted within a *naiskos* and is holding a mantle rolled up in her lap (possibly a *peplos*): she appears depicted in the act of benignly accepting offerings from her worshippers (Fig. 11.5) (Granese and Tomay 2001, 148, Fig. 16; Kleibrink Maaskant 2001, 51–55).

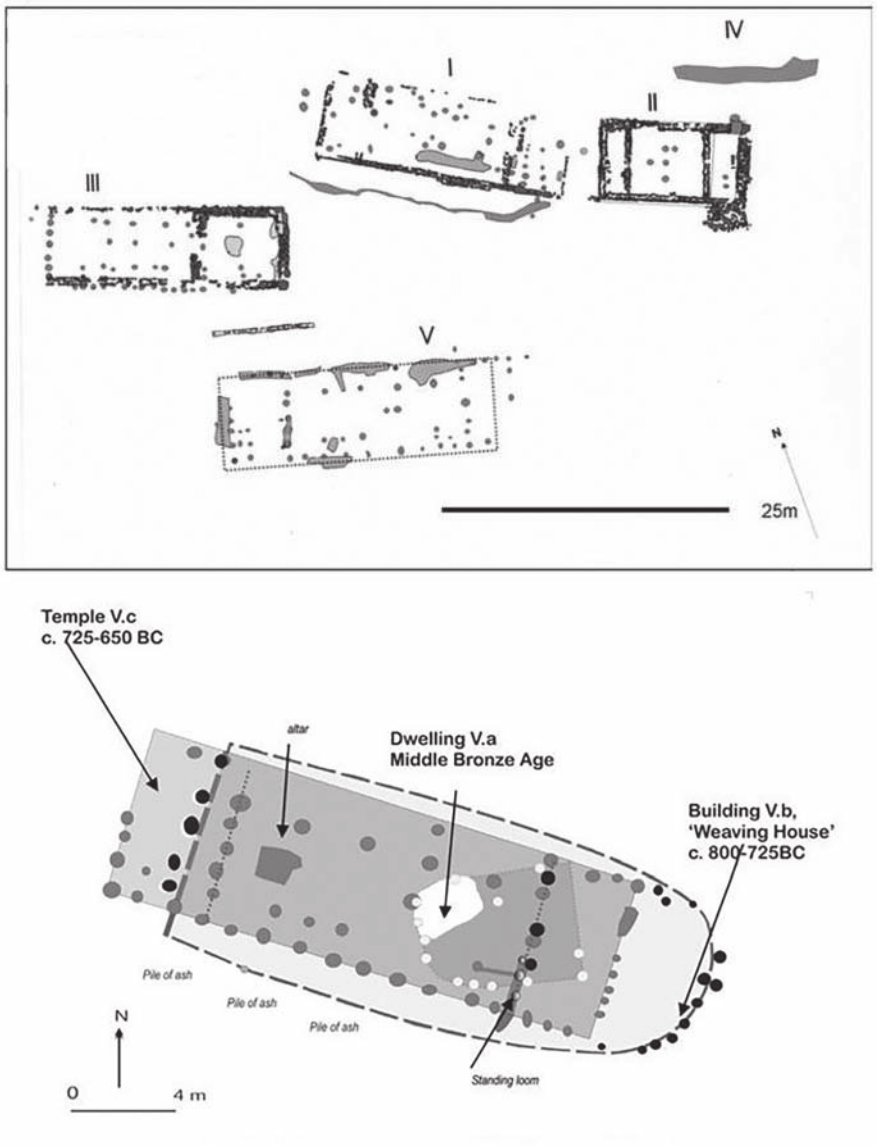


Fig. 11.6. Plan of the sanctuary on the summit of the Timpone Motta and Plan of the various phases of Building V, including the 'Weaving House'. From Kleibrink Maaskant 2016, 238, Fig. 1b–c.

Weaving activities were carried out not only to serve a ritual function in the sanctuary where the so-called 'weaving house' was placed (Fig. 11.6) (Kleibrink Maaskant 2016, 238, Fig. 1b–c), but also in the domestic environment by women of the ancient city, given that weaving was the main activity of female life (Kleibrink Maaskant *et al.* 2004, 43–47). As the *pinakes* featuring the representation of a procession discovered in the same sanctuary at Sybaris seem to recall, the sanctuary might have been the final place of a processional route, which most likely included offerings to the goddess (Granese 2013, 68, Fig. 9).

As François Croissant has argued, it cannot be excluded that the actions of devotion by Athena's worshippers might include offerings of modest and small *ex-voto* reproducing her cult statue as well as of actual fabrics and dresses, which were most likely offered during a public ceremony (Croissant 1993, 539–559). Moreover, it is not surprising that the activities of which Athena was the patroness were recalled by special objects which were added to her statue, as well as by performances depicted on her dress, given that her worshippers could immediately recognize the most important festivals celebrated around her cult statue in these images.

It is possible that weaving as a ritual act also took place at the sanctuary on Timpone Motta. It cannot be discounted that there might have been a specific ritual around Athena's dress similar to the dressing ritual actions represented on some terracotta *pinakes* from Locri Epizefirii, dating to the 5th century BC, where a

Fig. 11.7. Sybaris, National Archaeological Museum. Rattle in form of a clay pomegranate. From the sanctuary of Athena in Sybaris, 6th century BC. From Bellia 2012, 26, Fig. 27.

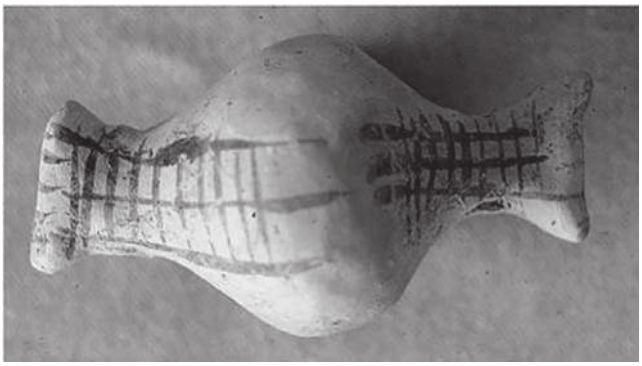


Fig. 11.8. Sybaris, National Archaeological Museum. Rattle in form of a little barrel. From the sanctuary of Athena in Sybaris, 8th century BC. From Kleibrink Maaskant 2003: 71, Fig. 24.1.

procession of a female figure holding up a sceptre and a bowl, and followed by four girls walking two-by-two and holding a large garment between them, is depicted (Marroni and Torelli 2016, 54–56, Fig. 34). It is reminiscent of the Panathenaic procession in which a *peplos* for Pallas Athena was carried to the Parthenon and was accompanied by music and ritualized movements (Neils 2001, 125–201; Marconi 2013, 425–426). A local version of such a ritual might be considered for Sybaris-Lagaría as well, considering the presence at the sanctuary of the representation of particular attributes on the cult images and special objects related to weaving, including loom weights, found in the sacred place.

For this reason, the dance performances depicted on the dress of the 'Sybaris Goddess' *pinakes* could allow us to explore some aspects of the rituals that were enacted in the sanctuary at Francavilla and the relationship between dance and mythical themes recalled by the scenes (Granese 2013, 67–69). If we consider the dance performed by adolescents in a row depicted on the dress of the 'Sybaris Goddess' as a mimetic image of civic texture of young people ready for marriage, it is possible that the related ceremonies were performed under the protection of Athena during significant ceremonies for the whole community. In this case, girls and boys engaged in the *choros* prefigure the future citizens of the 'ideal city' of the Archaic period, and the dance is therefore a necessary initiatory test to overcome the condition of marginality and to gain access to a defined social role.

Dancing and sacred sounds around the cultic statue

Although the depictions of dancers on these *pinakes* are not unequivocal proof that dances were performed around Athena's cult statue, the presence of rattles in form of pomegranates (Fig. 11.7) (Bellia 2012, 26, Fig. 27), and in form of small barrels (Fig. 11.8) (Kleibrink Maaskant 2003, 71, Fig. 24.1) as well as other percussion instruments (Papadopoulos 2003, 110–115, figs 137–145) in the area of the Timpone Motta sanctuary could be evidence that dances accompanied by music and sounds were performed at this sacred place from the late 8th century BC onwards. Moreover, Late Geometric style vases were found in the sanctuary (illegally removed from the site during the massive plundering of the 1970s), which depicted dance and musical activities in a ritual context (Fig. 11.9) (Granese and Tomey 2001, 148, Fig. 16; Kleibrink Maaskant 2020, 21, Fig. 1a–b). The scenes painted on a *pyxis* in particular (attributed to the Francavilla Marittima Painter) are instructive on the development of the cult in the sanctuary at Timpone Motta, and the late 8th-century society that surrounded it. It cannot be discounted that the painter wanted to show the cult of the specific goddess through processions, dance and music (Kleibrink Maaskant 2004, 48–55). These depictions could be a recollection of the solemn rituals performed to the 'presence' of the goddess, given that male dancers are following female dancers and a *phorminx* player toward a 'living goddess' (in epiphany or as a cult statue), and are dancing around her. This dance could be related to the idea that epiphany in the context of performative rites was intended to provoke the appearance of the deity (Liveri 2008, 11–15), possibly through an impersonating priestess, as 'an enacted epiphany' (Blakolmer 2010, 49).

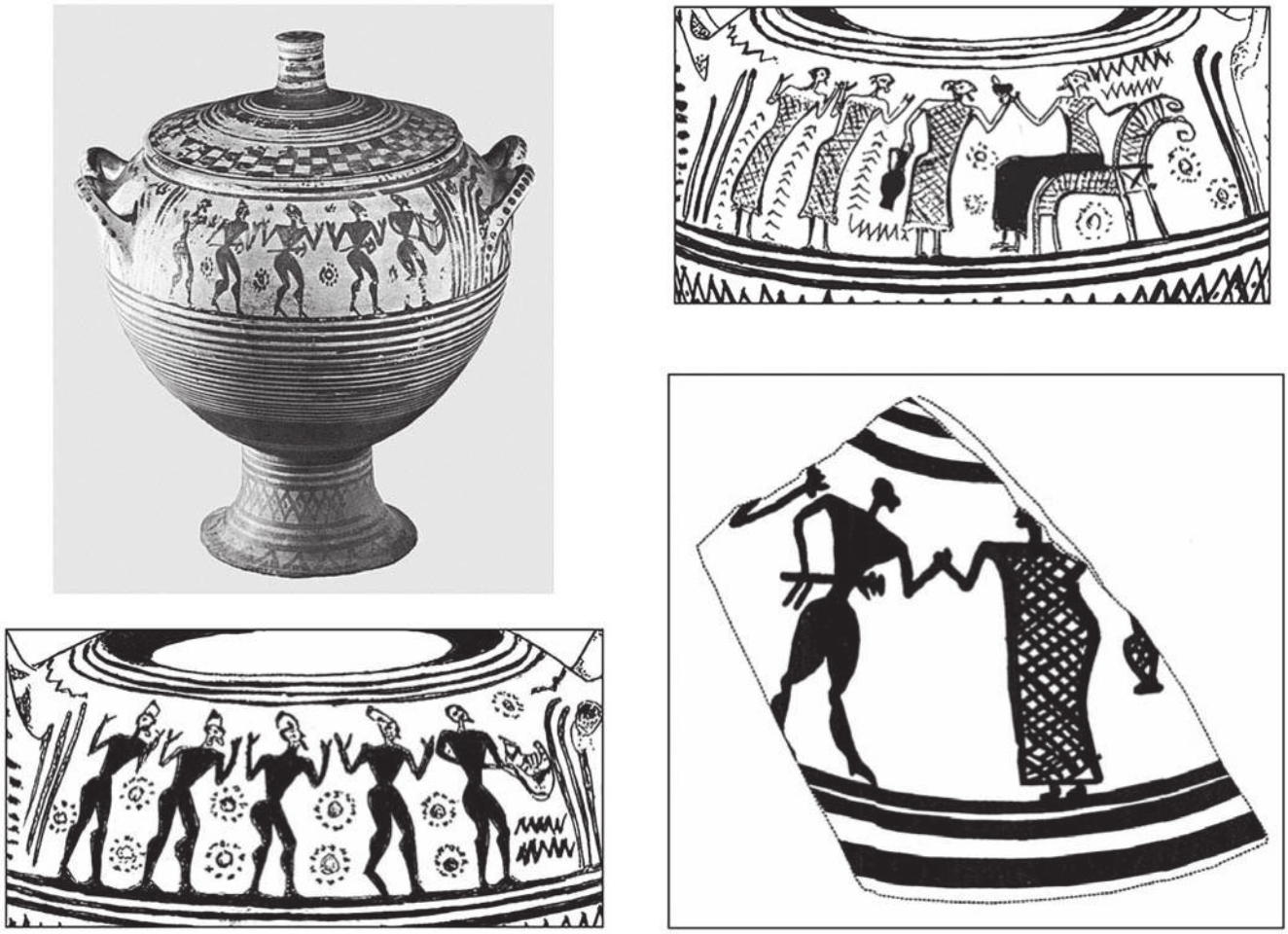


Fig. 11.9. Pyxis in Late Geometric Style. From Francavilla Marittima. From Granese and Tomey 2001, 148, Fig. 16.

Placed at the head of the dancing group, the musician should be identified as the *choregos*, or chorus leader, who is often represented in literary and visual sources as holding and playing a musical instrument (Calame 2001, 43–73). The *phorminx* was far less commonly played at dances than the *aulos*; usually, this string instrument accompanied singing, which makes it likely that the boys and girls on the *pyxis* are depicted as singers while moving forward or performing dance steps. Given that one girl of the female group holds a *hydriska*, a smaller version of the vessel that in the Greek world always contained water, a sort of purification action with water, springs and streams seems to be being performed. It seems not too far-fetched to interpret these scenes as coming-of-age rituals to prepare young people for marriage. The rendering of this dance in choral performance groups of identical young people creates a focus on the group: they might not be a generalized youth population, but specifically a community of adolescents on the brink of marriage. Moreover, judging by the vegetal and solar elements represented on these dance and musical scenes, as well as the discovery of a significant amount of *hydriskai* decorated with simple bands dated to the 7th century BC and related to ceremonies in the sanctuary, these rituals might also have been linked to the cycle of vegetation as well as to status changes.

Considering that bronze objects that could be used as sonic elements of female dresses were also found in the sanctuary, it cannot be excluded that these dresses were offered or worn by women during important rituals for the whole community (Papadopoulos 2003, 111–112, Fig. 138). Many pendants may also have had a sonic function in real life as they could have clashed together given that they were sewn on to the dresses. However, it is likely they had a primary function as ritual sound objects. Moreover, bracelets, which can also be used for sound effects, were in some instances found at the sanctuary. In addition, certain chains or pendants could have been sewn as sonic embellishment on female dresses (Fig. 11.10) (Bellia 2009, 53, figs 1–2; Saltini Semerari 2019, 13–47): they could have been used in the ritual context in order to produce a rhythmic

sound useful to the accompanying dance movements and to create a sacred soundscape at the ritual's location. The loosely hanging chains in particular might have produced a sound when the wearer moved. The attention given to fine jewellery indicates the importance of the attire, which is clearly out of the ordinary.

It is worth noting that similar sound objects were found at the Macchiabate necropolis, located close to Francavilla (Bellia 2009, 29–44; Colelli and Fera 2013, 823–825), where figurines of female dancers were also found (Zancani Montuoro 1983, 175–177, Fig. 45). These bronze objects were buried in tombs belonging to women with a high social status who might have played a special role in the community. In some cases, as in the grave T. 60, the presence of five or maybe six musical instruments in the same rich tombs suggests that women may have been priestesses – possibly assigned to the preservation and care of objects of the cult – as well as musicians or dancers in festivals or public ceremonies (Bellia 2009, 52).

According to Bruno Chiartano, it cannot be discounted that these bronze sound objects were sewn onto female dresses for special public ceremonies (Chiaratno 1994, 198–199). In this case, we cannot discard the possibility that the special clothing could have been for wedding rituals or ceremonies for transitions under the protection of Athena. If they were for wedding ceremonies, it is possible that women were buried wearing their wedding 'sonic' dresses as a memory of the most important moment of their lives and the ceremony through which they entered into the adult community as wives and mothers. In the context of intermarriage, where male migrants married local women, such a setting and the specific attention to marriage would not be surprising. Within this context, dance performances could have functioned as a means to establish and maintain new social groupings. Instruction in dance and singing could have been intended to educate young people in local myth, history and identity, while dancing reinforced the memorization of words and exercised the body (Plato, *Laws*, 672e).

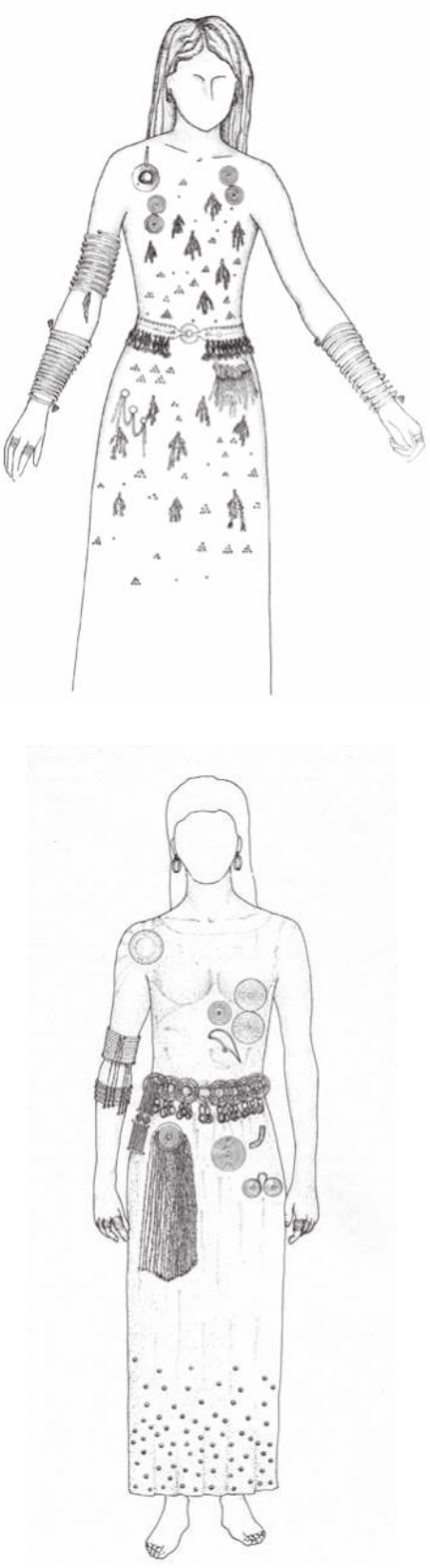


Fig. 11.10. Reconstruction of sonic elements on female dresses. From Bellia 2009, 53, figs 1–2.

Moving in unison around the goddess's dress

The depiction of the scene on the 'Sybaris Goddess' recalls the aristocratic ideals and the Homeric world not only through the depiction of Achilles, but also due to the dance performances depicted on Athena's dress (Granese 2013, 67–68). These dances could be related to the desire expressed by the Greek aristocratic elites in the western colonies to identify themselves with the world celebrated by the Homeric poems, as well as to self-represent themselves through images that refer directly to those models as a constitutive element of their cultural, social and religious heritage.

Indeed, dances depicted on the deity's dress correspond with the description of the *choroi* performed by young

girls and boys on the hero's shield mentioned by Homer. A solemn dance seems to be represented on the dress: it could be a circular dance, closed or unclosed, in a sacred space recalling the dancing posture and gesture reported in *The Iliad* (18, 593–594), where a dance performed by girls and boys holding one another's wrists is described (Steiner Tarn 2021, 25–74). This choral dance features multiple performers moving in unison, and their synchronicity is an important element of the aesthetic impact of the ritualized dancing movements depicted on the dress (Olsen 2021, 28). According to Claude Calame, this choral dance was sometimes performed in a circle, and sometimes in lines that moved towards each other (Calame 2001, 39). It is most likely that the chorus was separated in two lines, which performed the circular dance in opposite directions. The presence of these two dancing groups on the goddess figurine expresses the essential nature of ritualized movements in the performance and in defining the space of rituals as a dancescape (Naerebout 2017): the depiction of dancing groups on the dress serves as an invitation to the audience to engage with special gestures within a well-defined place around the goddess's statue.

Dancing girls and boys appear on two separate groups, revealing an important dance feature: the dissociation of the two sexes, as opposed to the mixed *choroi* marked by the alternation of girls and boys in the same group. Moreover, boys on the fragments are performing the same movements as the girls. However, according to Fabienne Colas (Colas 2002, 227–228), the absence of a figure among the male dancers could be explained as a way of representing their lively rhythmic movements in the scene, creating an interplay of composition in contrast with the slower female choreography. It is worth noting that the Laconian dance called the 'dance of the necklace' is described by Lucien (*The Dance*, 12) as a 'dance of boys and girls together who move in a row and truly resemble a string of beads. The boys precede, doing the steps and postures of young manhood, and those which later they will use in a war, while the maidens follow, showing how to do the womens' dance with propriety; hence the string is beaded with modesty and with manliness'. In this respect, the required qualities of representatives of each of the two sexes are choreographically transferred by the liveliness of ritualized movements, which were likely faster for boys. Taking this into account, we can see a dissimilarity between the attitudes of female dancers and male dancers on the Sybaritic fragments: the slow steps of the former, and the lively steps of the latter.

Moreover, on the depicted dance performance the identification of the age group to which these two dancing groups belong is an interesting issue. Indeed, the male figures can provide us with some information. Given that they are naked and hairless and their bodies, especially the torso and thighs, appear muscular and relatively developed, it is plausible that they are adolescents. More precisely, we can consider them as young pubescent men who have not yet been integrated into the adult male community as citizens.

If the *choroi* formed by boys and girls might be related to the rites of passage for the initiation of young people into adulthood (in which, as it is well known, dances played a fundamental role) (Soar 2014, 137–138), the scene representing Ajax carrying the corpse of Achilles on the upper register of the dress seems recall another 'form of transition'. Indeed, given that Achilles was considered as a hero linked to the rites of passage for boys and connected to the competitive and warrior values in the colonial Achaean world, this scene could be related to the moment of transition between two existences: on the one hand, it is a symbolic representation of the 'ritual death' of teenage boys; on the other, it is an allusion to their rebirth in a new life in a different existential context as members of the adult warrior community.

Dancing around the temple

The scenes on the 'Sybaris Goddess' dress must have had a strong visual impact and been of great symbolic meaning for the worshippers at Athena's sanctuary on the Timpone Motta. On another later figurative example in Sybaris – the poorly preserved ionic frieze belonging to an unattributed building and most likely located in a sacred architectural structure – there is a depiction of a group of girls who are dancing in a *choros* holding one another's wrists and shaping their movements in a 'V' (Fig. 11.11) (Heiden 1996, 187, figs 3.2a, 3.2c). They are the same lively movements represented on Athena's dress. As an important medium though which social and cultural messages were communicated, these ritualized movements seem to suggest that the girls are moving metaphorically in an uninterrupted flow of dancers around the temple or around the *adyton*, where the cultic statue was placed. The degree of coordination required would mean the worshippers had to gather at specific times, at specific places, and that members of community would have to perform the same actions at the same time and in the same direction: focusing solely on the events which were taking place in the space of performances, the worshippers would have been disconnected from the outside world within the dancescape, the sacred space delineated by dance (Bellia 2021, 405–427). Most typically, cult images were set up in a temple on a raised base or podium on an axis, with the front door of the building toward the rear of the cella. However, during ceremonies, cult images were removed from their temple on special days and set up elsewhere for viewing or worship as well as for performing ritual actions around them. As Joan Breton Connelly has argued, from their original location near the *adyton*, the dancing group could move toward a new spot in a shrine where the cultic statues were transported on occasion of the festival devoted to their return and for the celebration of their 'presence' in their

worship community (Connelly 2011, 334–338). It would not be surprising if, at the beginning of the 6th century BC, the sculptors carved in the frieze of Sybaris a processional dance to record and memorialize a significant event for the community, probably in reference to a more ancient time.

It is worth noting that, as Anne Jaquemin has argued (Jaquemin 2007, 393–394), the goddess's sumptuous garment on the *pinakes* found in Francavilla Marittima seems to recall the expensive cloak, which was made for Alcimenes, the Sybarite mentioned by the Pseudo-Aristoteles in *On Marvellous Things Heard* (Pseudo-Aristoteles, *Mirabilia*, 96, 838a). As an expression of Sybaritic luxury, his garment was so expensive that it was exhibited at Lacinium at the festival of Hera – to which, at least from 6th century BC, all Italiots came – and was admired more than anything else displayed there. Moreover, according to the written sources (Philarch, *FGrHist* 81 F 45 = Athenaios, 12 421c; Plutarchos, *Moralia*, 147e), Sybaris was known all over the ancient world for the richness of its costumes and lifestyle (De Sensi Sestito 2013, 489–490). The Achaean Greek

Fig. 11.11. Sybaris, Frieze representing a dancing group with an aulos *player. 530 BC. From Heiden 1996, 187, figs 3.2a, 3.2c and Zancani Montuoro 1974, 65, Fig. 5a–c.*

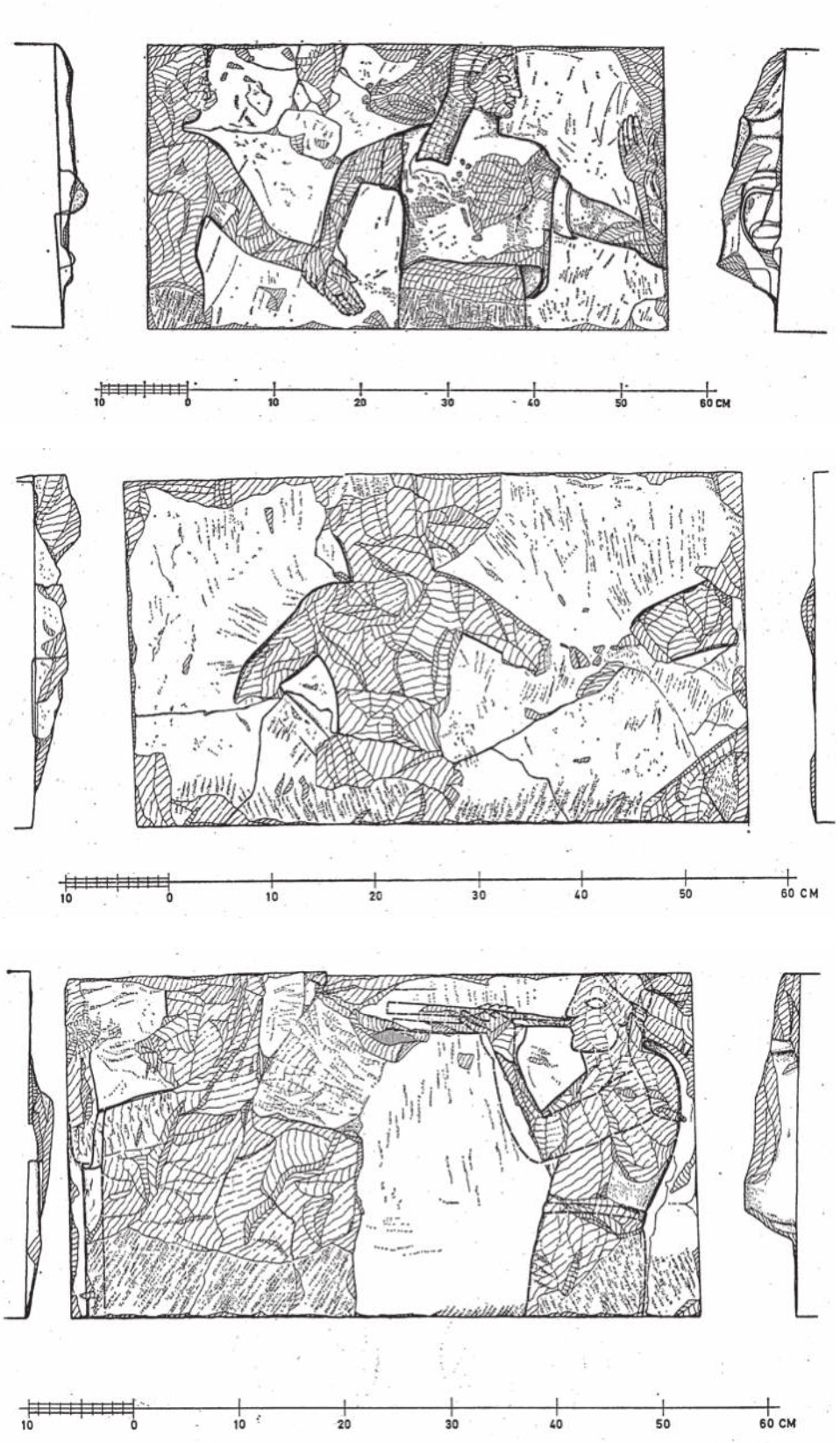


Fig. 11.11 (continued). Sybaris, Frieze representing a dancing group with an aulos *player. 530 BC. From Heiden 1996, 187, figs 3.2a, 3.2c and Zancani Montuoro 1974, 65, Fig. 5a–c.*

city in the West was also recognized as a rich centre of production of precious wool cloaks in the Milesian fashion. It cannot be ruled out that the festival devoted to the goddess as the Greek city patroness could have been a sort of traditional festival that also included the carrying of the goddess's garment, binding generations of Greeks together with one another in the celebrations through their divinities, their performances and their memories.

Conclusion

The desire to retain a tangible memento of dance and music performances in a sacred setting during significant events for individuals and for the whole community could have brought dedicants to offer images representing 'petrified dances' on the goddess's dress that recalled the ritual actions performed in the sanctuary in Francavilla Marittima. As a result of their portability, accessibility and tactility, these small-scale cult images provide invaluable evidence for the relationship between the cult devoted to the goddess and the religious lives of individuals (Platt and Squire 2018, 98).

This may have contributed to evoking the presence of the goddess in the worshippers by recalling ritualized movements, songs and sounds related to the soundscape in her sacred sphere. Moreover, in this cultic context, the ritual act of touching terracotta *pinakes* of the goddess at the sanctuary of Timpone Motta could affirm the material presence of the deity that her worshippers instantiated. By offering an opportunity for devotees' hands to reach into the realm of the goddess, touch provided an opportunity to make tactile contact with her, reinforcing an understanding of the statue as a conduit for the divinity' (Platt and Squire 2018, 85). As tangible and physical objects, these *pinakes* are a combination of tactile replications and bodily movements, which go hand in hand with the use of the statuettes of the goddess as a memory of sensory perception in her rituals (Platt and Squire 2018, 82).

Keeping this perspective in mind, the dancing performances depicted on Athena's dress could be associated not only with a specific idea of ritual and performances in the cult of the goddess in Sybaris, but also to an explicit preservation of their memory. These images of dance were intended to evoke the performances that young people, holding their hands, once performed for Athena. In this regard, this configuration would render their movements everlasting, a perpetual gift of sacred and ritualized movements ever pleasing to the goddess.

The representations of ritualized movements on the deity's dress appear also to communicate the function of dance performances: that is, to accompany the epiphany of goddess (Platt 2011, 120–121). It cannot be excluded that the rituals celebrated at the sanctuary of Timpone Motta might also have included a festival devoted to the manifestation of the goddess to her worshippers through dance performances in an open space of the shrine and other places where the cultic statue was placed. As an offering to the goddess after her epiphany, dance could have been performed by a member of the priesthood, such as a high priestess playing the role of the deity, and by her worshippers as individuals fused into the dancing group, which become one entity in an initiatory ritual framework.

The lively and, most likely, sonic bodily movement served to emphasize the presence of the goddess in the sanctuary, creating a sacred dancescape around her idol as well as a sacred soundscape as a distinct element of her ritual sphere and the related religious experience linked to the weaving activities. Given that epiphany in a sacred space was usually established in places where divinities had chosen to 'reveal' themselves, dance and sacred sounds served to add prominence to their appearances. Thus, dance, alongside music as a component inseparable from choral performances in the sacred sphere, strengthened the power of performances, which relied in great part on the effect of the heightened multisensory experience in a special space for dance performances (Bell 1997, 159–164), the dancescape, where a sense of movement and touch, along with sounds, smells and emotions, was seen as the lifeblood.

Bibliography

Aston, E. (2011) *Mixanthrôpoi: Animal-Human Hybrid Deities in Greek Religion*. Liège, Centre International d'Étude de la Religion Grecque Antique.

Bald Romano, I. (1988) Early Greek Cult Images and Cult Practice. In R. Hägg *et al.* (ed.) *Early Greek Cult Practice*, 127–134. Stockholm, Paul Åstrom Förlag.

Barber, E. W. (1991) *Prehistoric Textiles: The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages: With Special Reference to the Aegean*. Princeton, University Press.

Bell, C. (1997) *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*. Oxford, University Press.

Bellia, A. (2009) Strumenti musicali e oggetti sonori dell'Età del Ferro in Sicilia e nell'Italia Meridionale. *Sicilia Antiqua* 6, 9–55.

Bellia, A. (2012) *Strumenti musicali e oggetti sonori nell'Italia meridionale e in Sicilia (sec. VI–III sec. a.C.). Funzioni rituali e contesti*. Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana.

Bellia, A. (2020) Danzare attorno alla statua: Rituali, schemata e suoni nelle epifanie divine. Un approccio archeologico alla performance. *Mantichora. Periodico del Centro Internazionale di Studi sulle Arti Performative* 10, 29–44.

Bellia, A. (2021) Dance Performances in Greek Temple Decorations. *Choroi* in Greek Sacred Buildings. In M.-H. Delavaud-Roux (ed.) *Dramaturgias é uma publicação quadrimestral do Laboratório de Dramaturgia (LADI) da Universidade de Brasília 18 (Nouvelles tendances de la recherche dans les danses grecque et* étrusque *antiques)*, 405–427. Brasília, Universidade de Brasília.

Blakolmer, F. (2010) A Pantheon without Attributes? Goddesses and Gods in Minoan and Mycenean Iconography. In I. Mylonopouloulos (ed.) *Divine Images and Human*

Imaginations in Ancient Greece and Rome, 21–61. Leiden and Boston, Brill.

Brøns, C. (2017) *Gods and Garments: Textiles in Greek Sanctuaries in the 7th to the 1st Centuries BC*. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Burkert, W. (2003) *La religione Greca*. Trad. Giampiera Arrigoni. Milano, Jaca Book.

Calame, C. (2001) *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece*. New York and Oxford, Rowman and Littlefield.

Chiartano, B. (1994) *La necropoli dell'età del Ferro dell'Incoronata e di S. Teodoro*. Galatina, Congedo.

Colas, F. (2002) Choeurs de danse sur des fragments de statuettes de style dédalique. *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 80/1, 221–238.

Colelli, C. and Fera, A. (2013) Bronze Chalcophones in Southern Italy Iron Age? A Mark of Identity? In L. Bombardieri *et al.* (ed.) *SOMA 2012. Identity and Connectivity: Proceedings of the 16th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Florence, Italy, 1–3 March 2012*, 823–832. Oxford, Archaeopress.

Connelly Breton, J. B. (2011) Ritual Movement through Greek Sacred Space. In A. Chaniotis (ed.) *Ritual Dynamics in the Ancient Mediterranean: Agency, Emotion, Gender, Representation*, 313–346. Stuttgart, Steiner.

Croissant, F. (1993) Sybaris: la production artistique. In *Sibari e la Sibaritide, Atti del trentaduesimo Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto-Sibari, 7–12 Ottobre 1992*, 539–559. Tarente, Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia.

De Sensi Sestito, G. (2013) Olimpiadi e potere in Magna Grecia: il caso di Sibari. In F. Raviola *et al.* (ed.) *L'indagine e la rima. Scritti per Lorenzo Bracce*, 485–501. Rome, L'Erma di Bretschneider.

Donohue, A. A. (1997) The Greek Images of the Gods. *Hephaistos* 15, 31–45.

Gleba, M. (2008) *Textile Production in Pre-Roman Italy*. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Granese, M. T. (2013) Un luogo di culto del territorio di Sibari: il santuario di Francavilla Marittima (CS). In G. Delia and T. Masneri (ed.) *Sibari. Archeologia, storia, metafora*, 57–84. Castrovillari, Edizioni Il Coscile.

Granese, M. T. and Tomay, L. (2001) Immagini e rituale nel santuario arcaico di Francavilla Marittima (CS). In S. Estienne *et al.* (ed.) *Image et réligion dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine*, 137–152. Naples, Publications du Centre Jean Bérard.

Heiden, J. (1996) Santuari arcaici della Sibaritide. L'architettura arcaica. In E. Lattanzi *et al.* (ed.) *Santuari della Magna Grecia in Calabria*, 184–188. Napoli, Electa.

Jaquemin, A. (2007) Un an pour être la plus belle des Sybarites … (Athénée, *Banquet des sophistes*, XII 421c; Plutarque, Banquet des sept sages, 147E). *Revue des Études Grecques* 120/2, 788–795.

Kleibrink Maaskant, M. (1993) Religious Activities on the 'Timpone Motta', Francavilla Marittima – and the Identification of Lagaría. *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving: Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology* 68, 1–47.

Kleibrink Maaskant, M. (2001) The Search for Sybaris: An Evaluation of Historical and Archaeological Evidence. *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving: Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology* 76, 33–70.

Kleibrink Maaskant *et al.* (2004) Water for Athena: Votive Gifts at Lagaria (Timpone della Motta, Francavilla Marittima, Calabria). *World Archaeology* 36/1, 43–67.

Kleibrink Maaskant, M. (2003) *Dalla lana all'acqua. Culto e identità nell'Athenaion di Lagaría, Francavilla Marittima*. Rossano, Grafosud.

Kleibrink Maaskant, M. (2016) Into Bride Ritual as an Element of Urbanization: Iconographic Studies of Objects from the Timpone Della Motta, Francavilla Marittima. *Mouseion* 3/13, 235–292.

Kleibrink Maaskant, M. (2018) Textile Utensils from Francavilla Marittima (Lagaría), Italy. In M. S. Busana *et al.* (ed.) *Textiles and Dyes in the Mediterranean Economy and Society Proceedings of the VIth International Symposium on Textiles and Dyes in the Ancient Mediterranean World (Padova – Este – Altino, Italy 17 – 20 October 2016)*, 167–175. Zaragoza (España), Libros Pórtico.

Kleibrink Maaskant, M. (2020) Crateri e crateri-pissidi attribuiti al Pittore di Francavilla Marittima e uso rituale di tali recipienti. In P. Altieri (ed.) *Atti della XIV Giornata Archeologica Francavilllese 'Omaggio a Silvana Luppino' (14 novembre 2015)*, 20–79. Rende, Italy, Universal Book.

Kleibrink Maaskant, M. and Pace, R. (2018) Materiali e Culti sul Timpone della Motta a Francavilla Marittima. In C. Malacrino *et al.* (ed.) *Tanino de Santis: una vita per la Magna Grecia*, 121–130. Reggio Calabria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Reggio di Calabria.

Liveri, A. (2008) Representations and Interpretations of Dance in the Aegean Bronze Age: Ritual Dances in Cycladic and Minoan Religions. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 123, 1–38.

Lonsdale, S. H. (1993) *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion*. Baltimore and London, The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Marconi, C. (2013) Mirror and Memory: Images of Ritual Actions in Greek Temple Decoration. In D. Ragavan (ed.) *Heaven on Earth: Temples, Ritual, and Cosmic Symbolism in the Ancient World*, 425–446. Chicago, University of Chicago.

Marroni, E. and Torelli, M. (2016) *L'Obolo di Persefone. Immaginario e ritualità dei* pinakes *di Locri*. Pisa, ETS.

Naerebout, F. G. (2017) Moving in Unison. The Greek Chorus in Performance. In L. Gianvittorio (ed.) *Choreutika: Performing and Theorising Dance in Ancient Greece*, 39–66. Pisa and Rome, Fabrizio Serra.

Neils, J. (2001) *The Parthenon Frieze*. Cambridge, University Press.

Neils, J. (2009) Textile Dedications to Female Deities: The Case of the Peplos. *Kernos* (Suppl.) 23, 135–147.

Olsen, S. (2021) *Solo Dance in Archaic and Classical Greek Literature: Representing the Unruly Body*. Cambridge, University Press.

Paoletti, M. (2014) La necropoli enotria di Macchiabate, Lagaria e la 'dea di Sibari'. In P. Brocato (ed.) *Studi sulla necropoli di Macchiabate a Francavilla Marittima (Cs) e sui territori limitrofi*, 7–21. Arcavacata di Rende (Cs), Università della Calabria.

Paoletti, M. (2019) Un gesto di devozione per la dea nel santuario di Timpone della Motta. Le statuette di terracotta. In G. Mittica (ed.) *Francavilla Marittima. Un Patrimonio ricontestualizzato*, 125–142. Vibo Valentia, Adhoc Edizioni.

Papadopoulos, J. K. (2003) Francavilla Marittima. The Archaic Votive Metal Objects. IV. Musical Instruments. In J. K. Papadopoulos *et al.* (ed.) *La dea di Sibari e il santuario ritrovato: studi sui rinvenimenti dal Timpone Motta di Francavilla Marittima 2.1*, 110–114. Rome, Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato.

Pautasso, A. (2007) *Picture in textili* on Shouder Busts in Hellenic Sicily? In C. Gillis and M. L. Nosch (ed.) *Ancient Textiles: Production, Craft and Society*, 215–219. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Petrovic, I. (2010) The Life Story of a Cult Statue as an Allegory: Kallimachos' Hermes Perpheraios. In I. Mylonopouloulos (ed.) *Divine Images and Human Imaginations in Ancient Greece and Rome*, 205–224. Leiden, Brill.

Platt, V. (2011) *Facing the Gods. Epiphany and Representation in Graeco-Roman Art, Literature and Religion*. Cambridge, University Press.

Platt, V. and Squire, M. (2018) Getting to Grips with Classical Art: Rethinking the Haptics of Graeco-Roman Visual Culture. In A. Purves (ed.) *Touch and the Ancient Senses*, 75–104. Routledge, New York.

Saltini Semerari, G. (2019) Calcophones in Context. Gender, Ritual and Rhythm in Early Iron Age Southern Italy. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 125, 13–47.

Saxkjær, S. G., Jacobsen, J. K. and Mittica, G. P. (2017) Building V and Ritual Textile Production at Timpone della Motta. In C. Brøns and M. L. Nosch (ed.) *Textiles and Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean*, 91–103. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Soar, K. (2014) Circular Dance Performances in the Prehistoric Aegean. In S. Leopold (ed.) *Ritual Dynamics and the Science of Ritual*, 137–156. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.

Steiner Tarn, D. (2021) *Choral Constructions in Greek Culture: The Idea of the Chorus in the Poetry, Art and Social Practices of the Archaic and Early Classical Period*. Cambridge, University Press.

Zancani Montuoro, P. (1972) Statuetta dedalica incompleta. *Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia* n.s. 11–12, 67–74.

Zancani Montuoro, P. (1974) Divinità e templi di Sibari e Thurii. *Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia* n.s. 13–14, 57–68.

Zancani Montuoro, P. (1983) Francavilla Marittima. Necropoli e ceramico a Macchiabate, Zona T. *Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia* n.s. 24–25, 7–110.

12

‘Wearing’ tattoos in ancient Egypt. Evidence from Middle Kingdom mummies and feminine figurines

Vittoria Rapisarda

This article provides new suggestions regarding the meaning of geometric tattoos and aims to look at clothing from a new perspective. Our goal is to propose a new understanding of how khener *dancers perceived the clothes and decorative ornaments worn during their dancer performances. In ancient Egypt* khener *dancers were linked to Hathor, as she was the goddess of female sexuality* par excellence*. They performed naked or partially dressed, not only because nudity exalted eroticism, but also because wearing light clothing – or wearing nothing at all – allowed them freedom of movement while performing acrobatic dances. It has been suggested that the dancers were often immortalized in artistic representations, such as the Middle Kingdom* faïence *figurines or the paddle dolls. Moreover, the discovery of mummies from the funerary complex of Nebhepetra Mentuhotep II in Deir el-Bahari has improved our understanding of dancing practitioners. Remarkably, these mummies display geometric lozenge-shaped tattoos on their body, showing an impressive similarity with the models depicted on the female figurines. Additionally, it is surprising that these tattoos have strong stylistic similarities with the ornaments and textile decorations found on some of the dancers’ dresses represented in iconography. We find other signs with a shape similar to those found on the Middle Kingdom statues and on the Deir el-Bahari mummies, both on the clothes worn by some paddle dolls and in those worn by professional dancers depicted on the wall. We also find analogy with some real garments. In this paper, special consideration is also given to the position of the tattooed signs on the dancers’ bodies. We set out that the signs tattooed on their skin could have a twofold decorative and practical function. Finally, we argue that tattoo was seen as a real ‘dress’ of the skin.*

The practice of tattooing has been of great importance within ancient Egyptian society and its sphere of influence extends from predynastic to modern times, assuming different forms and, probably, different meanings.[1] In this work, we will focus only on the geometric tattoo in the shape of lozenges, lines and dots, which retains a stable link with the Hathoric cults and at the same time with the *ḫnr* dancers. The signs associated with the geometric tattoo are particularly widespread in the Middle Kingdom[2] and can be found on some types of female fertility statuettes, on one example of a wall representation and on three mummies, all belonging to the same period.[3] Surprisingly, as will be argued in this paper, this geometric pattern seems to ‘evoke’ textile elements or substitute the symbols usually worn by the women dancers on their clothes.

Can we consider tattoos as a garment? This work sets out to offer a new approach in relation to the meaning of a specific category of tattoos, but above all to look at clothing from a new perspective. We aim to propose a new understanding of how *ḫnr* dancers perceived the clothes and decorative ornaments worn during their performances. Considering also the position of the tattooed signs on the *ḫnr* dancers’ bodies, we argue that the symbols depicted on their skin could have also a twofold decorative and practical function. We argue that geometric tattoos typical of the Middle Kingdom period were seen as a real dress of the skin.

General context: the *ḫnr* dancers and tattoos

In ancient Egypt the dances in which *ḫnr* dancers participated were of an extremely varied nature and were mainly related to the religious, funerary and, obviously, festive and entertainment spheres. As argued in Callender

(1994, 8) and in Graves-Brown (2010, 92), while groups of musicians and dancers are shown in earlier times, they are not named as *ḫnr* prior to the Dynasty 5. There were mainly three groups: the *ḫnr nsw* group, associated with the sovereign, whose dances accompanied the different important moments in the king's life, from his birth to his rebirth, *i.e.*, death. The second group of *ḫnr* was linked to the cults of the deities. The role of music, in this context, maintained order and restored balance. Dancing, as Meyer-Dietrich (2009, 7) states, 'expressed mythological acts and religious concepts'. Finally, the third group, called *Drt*, performed dances in funerary contexts in general, where the presence of ritual dancers and their dances at a funeral, whether for a king or a private person (or a sacred animal), helped relatives to grieve and celebrate the transition to the next world (see Spencer 2003, 116; Morris 2011, 73–74; and Graves-Brown 2010, 92–96 also for the role of music and dance). Typically, the dances, as Morris (2011, 74) claims, were a mythical ritual re-enactment in which the *ḫnr* assumed the guise of Hathor, daughter-consort of the sun god, whose dances were nothing more than a means of stimulating the generative powers of the sun and restoring her own maximum power. As supported in scholarship, the priestesses of Hathor[4] might occasionally act as *ḫnr* dancers or supervise groups enjoying a loftier social status than *ḫnr* women, and were often the daughters or female descendants of the king, whose role was to restore their father's soul. The king's wives also occasionally served as priestesses of Hathor, although this role during the Dynasty 11 was held almost exclusively by the king's secondary wives.

The *ḫnr* women's institution was a much more complex and administrative type of women's institution linked to royal women and royal palaces, where other tasks probably also took place, such as the education of royal and non-royal children and the work of weaving, as discussed by Roth (2012, 1–16). A striking example is the site of Medinet Gurob (Mi-Wer), located in the Fayum, founded during the reign of Pharaoh Thutmosi III (1479–1425 BC) and identified as a '*harem*'.[5] While the site's inscriptions record the titles of officials associated with the *pr- ḫnr* of Mi-Wer, who were probably involved in music and dance, the archaeological evidence suggests an interesting fact, namely that these *ḫnr* women were heavily involved also in textile production.[6]

The *ḫnr* dancers performed naked or partially dressed. On the one hand, nakedness emphasized the link between music, dance, nudity, eroticism and Hathor, who embodied all these aspects, as she was not only the goddess *par excellence* of fertility and sexuality, but also of music, drunkenness and dance. On the other hand, light clothing or absence of garments would enable a greater freedom of movement when performing acrobatic dances (see Goelet 1993, 27–28; Morris 2011, 84). The dancers were often immortalized in artistic representations, such as the Middle Kingdom *faïence* figurines or the paddle dolls (see Pinch 1993, 211–214; Morris 2011, 71–103; 2017, 310). Additionally, our understanding of dancing practitioners was enhanced through the discovery of three mummies from the funerary complex of Nebhepetra Mentuhotep II in Deir el-Bahari, whose role was inextricably linked to the goddess Hathor.

The first mummy with tattoos was found in 1891 by the French Egyptologist Grébaut, north of the temple of Nebhepetra Mentuhotep, and perhaps buried in tomb 25 (see Morris 2011, 78, fn. 51). The mummy belonged to a woman called Amunet, whose titles, as recorded from the inscriptions on the coffins, define her as one of the priestesses of the goddess Hathor. The other two female mummies were found later in 1923 by H. E. Winlock, also at Deir el-Bahari, in the same funerary complex of Nebhepetra Mentuhotep II, more precisely in the north court of the temple and from pit 23 and pit 26 respectively. However, unlike the tomb of Amunet, the two burials were not found intact. The names and titles of the women buried there are unknown to this day, and both were identified by Winlock (1942, 74) as 'dancing girls who had once been inmates of Nebhepetre's harim', on the grounds that the two mummies displayed tattoos similar to those found on the *faïence* figurine (Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 47710) from Neferhotep's tomb TT 316 in Deir el-Bahari (see Keimer 1948, 8–15; Porter and Moss I 1960, 390; Morris 2011, 76–79; Roehrig 2015, 527–536).

The mummies show geometric signs in the shape of lozenge-diamond which were tattooed on the body (for more details and other objects inside the tomb, see Ward 1986, 108; Roehrig 2015, 527–528; Müller 2018, 395–396, Fig. 2). Remarkably, these signs show an impressive resemblance with the models depicted on the *faïence* figurines, both regarding the lozenge-diamond signs and the shell belt. Until the discovery of the mummies, these signs had been interpreted as mere artistic decoration, but the recovery of human remains has shed a completely new light on the subject, enabling them to be identified with tattoos (see Winlock 1942, 74; Keimer 1948; Bianchi 1988, 21–28; Tooley 1989, 305–368; Tassie 2003, 93–94; Poon and Quickenden 2006, 124). However, as Müller (2018, 393) argues: 'Today it is not possible to decide which reality the craftsmen and owners of the figurines had in mind, *i.e.*, whether they were thinking of tattoos, body painting or actual three-dimensional objects when they looked at the ornaments. In the case of the shell belt, the two tattooed mummies of the Dynasty 11 that Winlock found in the temple quarter of Mentuhotep II in 1923–1924 suggest the idea of tattoos'.

What is most surprising about these tattoos is that they have strong stylistic similarities with the ornaments and textile decorations found on some of the dancers' dresses represented in iconography. Müller (2018, 398–399) offers a partial study of the issue and focuses mainly on the relationship between textiles and the representations of tattoos

found on some female statuettes, while on the mummies she makes other considerations solely related to belts. We find other signs with a shape similar to those found on the Middle Kingdom statues and on the Deir el-Bahari mummies, not only on the clothes worn by some paddle dolls (for example, that of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 31.3.38, see Morris 2011, 87–90, Fig. 8, left), but also on the clothes of the professional dancers depicted on the wall (see de Garis Davies 1930, 40–41, tab. XLI; Betrò 2014, 18–19, Fig. 13 and Petrie 1930, 14, pl. XXIV; Morris 2011, 81, 88, Fig. 4, Fig. 7).

The tattoo in the Middle Kingdom: previous theories

Tattoos and the therapeutic function

The practice of tattooing in ancient Egypt has stimulated the interest of scholars who have formulated several hypotheses to explain the meaning and function of this custom.[7] At first, Fouquet (1898, 270–279) assumed that tattoos in ancient Egypt could have a therapeutic function. He claimed that these tattoos, in the case of Amunet, would have been made following surgical treatment. However, the hypothesis was later questioned following an examination of the bodies of the two mummies of Deir el-Bahari near the abdomen. The two women show similar traces of scarification that cannot be attributed to surgery (see the letter by Douglas Derry and published *in extenso* in Keimer 1948, 14–15; Poon and Quickenden 2006, 134, fn. 19). Moreover, this hypothesis can be discarded since, as will be seen later, the geometric tattoos, rather than having a curative function, must have had a practical and ornamental function with the purpose of reproducing the *ḫnr*'s clothing.

Tattoos and sexuality

For some scholars like Winlock (1923, 20), Keimer (1948, 103) and later Manniche (2002, 18) the tattoos, associated with frivolous and worldly women, were also ineluctably linked to the sexual sphere. For Manniche's assessment of this very idea, some of the tattoos, such as those depicting the god Bes on the thigh, were intended to protect against venereal diseases such as gonorrhoea, already known in ancient times. Others like Bianchi (1988, 21, 23–24), Tassie (2003, 88, 95) and Fletcher (2005, 12) have considered the possibility that this custom was not related to prostitutes, but was intended for women in general. However, a new programme for the preservation and research of predynastic mummies at the British Museum in London has revealed ancient traces of tattooing on two mummies from Gebelein, one female EA 32752 and the other male EA 32751 (see Friedman 2017, 11–36 and Friedman *et al.* 2018, 116–125). This exceptional discovery, although the tattoos are not geometric and represent two animals (presumably a Barbary sheep and a bovid, probably wild cattle), not only confirms the use of tattooing in Egypt in the predynastic period (Naqada IID–IIIB), but also shows its practice on male individuals. It is the only attestation in Egypt found to date. The male mummy of Gebelein EA 32751 may not have been an isolated case, and future investigations could lead to new discoveries and reshaping our understanding of this practice, even in relation to men. Unfortunately, our current knowledge is still too limited. We do not know if men were tattooed only in the predynastic period and if the custom stopped for some unknown reason with the beginning of the dynastic age. There seems to have been a continuity in the use of this practice even among males. For example, the Middle Kingdom stele CG 20138 (see Rapisarda 2018/19, card no. 33, 100, Fig. 44), exceptionally depicts a man with a series of dots on his chest and shoulders, similar, as Keimer (1948, 10–11, Fig. 7) said, to those found on the mummy of Amunet. For this reason, therefore, we should not conclude that tattooing in Egypt was the prerogative of female individuals. Today we can only assume that tattooing was perhaps a more common practice among women than among men, but it is no longer possible to say that only women were the recipients of tattoos.

Tattoos and Hathoric cults

Scholars like Bianchi (1988, 27–28), Fletcher (2005, 12) and then Tassie (2003, 95–96), Poon and Quickenden (2006, 127), Graves-Brown (2010, 118) and Roehrig (2015, 530–532) have supported the hypothesis that tattoos were linked to Hathoric cults and the magical-religious sphere, rather than to the mere sexual sphere. In their concept, the idea that tattoos were linked to prostitution was due to a misinterpretation of the role of these dancers within Egyptian society. Tassie (2003, 95) suggests that these women were not synonymous with prostitutes in Egypt, and their nudity was not connected to the sphere of prostitution as we understand it in modern times. Graves-Brown (2010, 113) goes further, assuming that 'ideas of the past are strongly coloured by modern preconceptions. In our own society the wearing of tattoos has been negatively associated with immorality and low social status and this preconception seems to have influenced an understanding of ancient Egyptian tattoos'. In the same vein, Fletcher (2001, 192–193) and Roehrig (2015, 530–531) argue for the high social status of these women on the basis of the proximity of the tombs of the three mummies to the temple of Mentuhotep II. Therefore, in the two scholars' statement, it is more likely that the reason for the location of the tombs was not related to the satisfaction of the king's sexual pleasures in the afterlife, but rather to the prestigious role that priestesses and dancers of the goddess Hathor would have held in life.[8]

In the current scholarship, in order to investigate the connection and role of these dancers with the cult of the goddess Hathor, one must first consider the position of the tattoos on

the body. The marks tattooed on mummies, statuettes and various representations are concentrated on certain parts of the body, including the abdomen and the pubic region (see Rapisarda 2018/19, card no. 7 to card no. 24 and card no. 32; card no. 2M and card no. 3M a–b). This pattern, along with the fact that the mummies of Deir el-Bahari found near the temple of Mentuhotep were undoubtedly linked to the cult of the goddess Hathor, has led some scholars, such as Tassie (2003, 91) and Fletcher (2005, 12), to suggest that the tattoos are connected with childbirth and fertility. Indeed, Hathor was the patron goddess *par excellence* of motherhood. The two scholars also suggested the possibility that the signs tattooed on the abdominal region could extend and grow as the pregnancy progressed, assuming particular reticular designs that could give the impression of a protective network of magical significance.

Tassie (2003, 87–88), moreover, insists on the symbolic aspect of the numbers tattooed on the mummies, and notes the repetition of certain specific numbers which, for the ancient Egyptians, possessed great magical-religious properties. He also points out that this practice endures over time and is found within the Coptic community, in relation to the number three associated with the Holy Trinity. The number two, for example, symbolized duality and the unity of the 'Two Lands'. The number three symbolized plurality, as in the royal and divine triads. The number five was the sum of two (duality) and three (plurality). The number seven, which was the sum of three and four (totality), may also have been attributed magical properties, as indicated by seven sacred oils, the seven Hathor and the seven gates in the *Duat* through which the deceased had to pass. And finally, the number nine represented the great number or plurality of pluralities, as the Ennead was formed by a group of nine gods composing the basis of Egyptian cosmogony, and the Nine Bows symbolized the enemies of Egypt. The numbers listed by Tassie, in fact, correspond to those found on the mummy of Amunet and on the two women of Deir el-Bahari (see Rapisarda 2018/19, card no. 2M and card no. 3M a–b, 122 and 127 respectively), and his symbolic interpretation in reference to the divine numbers could be legitimate and appealing given the well-accepted associations between tattoos and Hathor. However, this hypothesis does not consider that tattoos on statuettes, representations and mummies from this period also affected other parts of the body, including the chest, shoulders, arms, forearms, hands and feet (see Rapisarda 2018/19, card no. 7 to card no. 24 and card no. 32; card no. 2M and card no. 3M a–b). So, can the function of tattoos in the Middle Kingdom be explained solely by the strong relationship between Hathor, the *ḫnr* and the idea of fertility and pregnancy?

Tattoos and the practical function

Back to other theories, De Groot (2017, 21–22) speculated that geometric tattoos may also have had a much more 'practical' function, particularly during the dances. According to this scholar, the tattoos on the dancers' bodies could create an optical illusion effect. Here the tattooed professional dancers performed impressive acrobatic dances, moving and contracting their bodies frenetically in order to produce the effect of 'dynamic tattoos'. However, even if the tattoos moved and contracted during the dancers' acrobatic dances, we cannot be sure that their function was to create an optical illusion for the spectators. The dances of these women certainly delighted the eyes of those who were able to watch their performances, and, for this reason, their presence was requested on several occasions. The practicality of the tattoo, within this context, could therefore be seen from another, simpler perspective.

Tattoos and the decorative function

One more point concerns the decorative function of the tattoo already mentioned at the time by Keimer (1948, 74) and later supported by Poon and Quickenden (2006, 127) as one of the possible functions of this practice. Nevertheless, scholars have spoken about this decorative concept without giving any explanation or definition for it. This lack of argumentation may be due to the fact that if the tattoo is given a purely aesthetic and decorative value, there is no need to find other justifications. For Keimer (see quote above), for example, the decorative tattoo is the basis of '*une tendance dominatrice et vaniteuse*', but he remains vague. We could try to give a deeper explanation behind the decorative function of tattoos, and that, associated with a practical function, could help to grasp the meaning behind geometric tattoos.

Analogies between clothing, ornaments and geometric tattoos on figurines and mummies: a new interpretation

Position of the signs in relation to bodies

As already mentioned, the *ḫnr* dancers performed nude or partially clothed both for practicality and to celebrate the link with the goddess Hathor. Most of the statuettes and other artistic representations are shown wearing only bracelets, cross-beaded necklaces and belts made of shells, while their signs (the same as those found in the form of tattoos on the mummies of Deir el-Bahari)[9] covered the legs, groin and buttocks (see Rapisarda 2018/19, images and cards no. 7 to card no. 22 and no. 32, 70–85 and 99) (Fig. 12.1). In some cases, the abdomen, up to below the breasts (see Rapisarda 2018/19, images and cards no. 14, no. 17, no. 23, 77, 80, 86) and in other cases even the breasts, shoulders and back, were covered as well (see Rapisarda 2018/19, images and cards no. 23, no. 24, 86–87) (Figs 12.2a and b, 12.3a and b). A rendition of what the final effect would have been can be seen in Charles K. Wilkinson's drawings of the women of Deir el-Bahari from pit 23 and pit 26 (see Roehrig 2015, 533–534, figs 1–2; Rapisarda 2018/19, cards

Fig. 12.1. Example of a female figurine, inv. no. E 10942. Photo © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais.

no. 3M a–b, 136–137, figs 70–71; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, AM 1628–1631). Here the images reproduced in the two drawings represent the two women naked and covered in tattoos, mimicking the evidence of the bodies (Figs 12.4 and 12.5).

In Müller's opinion (2018, 398), the regular arrangement of tattoos on the figurines (which would correspond to the need to surround the body with a textile motif despite nudity) is in contradiction with the drawings of the two female mummies from Deir el-Bahari made by Wilkinson. She states that the drawings present sporadic and irregularly distributed groups of tattoos on the bodies of the mummies, suggesting that the tattoos on the two women were not intended to emulate textiles as they were on the statuettes, at least, no more than belts. However, it must be borne in mind that the drawings, which are the result of Wilkinson's artistic hand, could only partially represent reality. In addition, many of the tattoos, because they may have been made at different times in an individual's life, may have faded over time and may no longer be visible to the naked eye when they were found. In order to make a more precise comparison of the exact distribution between the tattoos on the statuettes and those on the mummies, it would be necessary to carry out new examinations on the bodies of the women of Deir el-Bahari, using new modern technologies for detecting tattoos (for example, infrared

(a)

(b)

Fig. 12.2a (front) and 12.2b (left side). Example of a female figurine, inv. no. ÄMUL 4405. Ägyptische Museum – Georg Steindorff – der Universität Leipzig. Photo: Marion Wenzel.

Fig. 12.3a (front) and 12.3b (back). Example of a female figurine, inv. no. ÄMUL 7685. Ägyptische Museum – Georg Steindorff – der Universität Leipzig. Photo: Marion Wenzel.

photography). At present, rather than looking at the different homogeneity of the tattoos on the statuettes and those on the Wilkinson-designed mummies, it is more appropriate to focus on the lozenge motifs, whose shape is undeniably similar to the motifs on the statuettes and clothing, and on the position of some of the tattoos in relation to their bodies. Indeed, the tattoos are not only on the so-called 'erotic zones' but they are also scattered and cover other parts of the body, such as the shoulders, arms, forearms, hands, wrists and feet (see Rapisarda 2018/19, card no. 3M a–b, 134–135, figs 66–69) (Figs 12.6a–d).

The tattoos of the two mummies from pits 23 and 26 are very similar, with only a few small differences. In the mummy from pit 23, the number of tattoos seems to be higher and consist of lozenges and numerous dots that sometimes form strings. In the mummy from pit 26, on the other hand, the tattoos seem to be fewer in number, but the lozenge motif is almost predominant. Again, these statements are based on the photos and drawings made by Wilkinson in his time and should be taken with caution. In addition, part of the left forearm of the woman from pit 23 and also the lower legs and feet of the woman from pit 26 have not been preserved (see Roehrig 2015, 529). This would explain the absence of tattoos on those parts of the body, which may have been present originally but which Wilkinson did not decide to represent in his drawing. Surprisingly, some of the lozenge-shaped tattoos on the Deir el-Bahari mummies seem to take the place of the belt, while the drawings scattered over the body seem to emulate the lozenge-shaped designs found, as we shall see, on garments.

Similarities between tattooed signs and garments

With reference to this last aspect, a consideration made by Morris (2011, 87–90) is interesting in order to better explain the relationship between tattoos and clothing. Morris notes strong iconographic resemblance between the textile motifs on clothes worn by some paddle dolls (of which the example in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 31.3.38), those worn by the *ḫnr* dancers depicted in the New Kingdom tomb of Kenamun TT 93 (see also Porter and Moss I 1960, 190–194), and those on a Middle Kingdom *fäience* statuette found in Lisht (see the image in Keimer 1948, tab. XIV.2; in Morris 2011, 90, Fig. 8, right). All of them present similarities in style and shape by showing lozenge-diamond patterns. According to Morris (2011, 71–103), paddle dolls are associated with Middle Kingdom statuettes as prototypes, as well as with the representation of *ḫnr* dancers in the service of Hathor and intimately connected to the cult of the goddess.

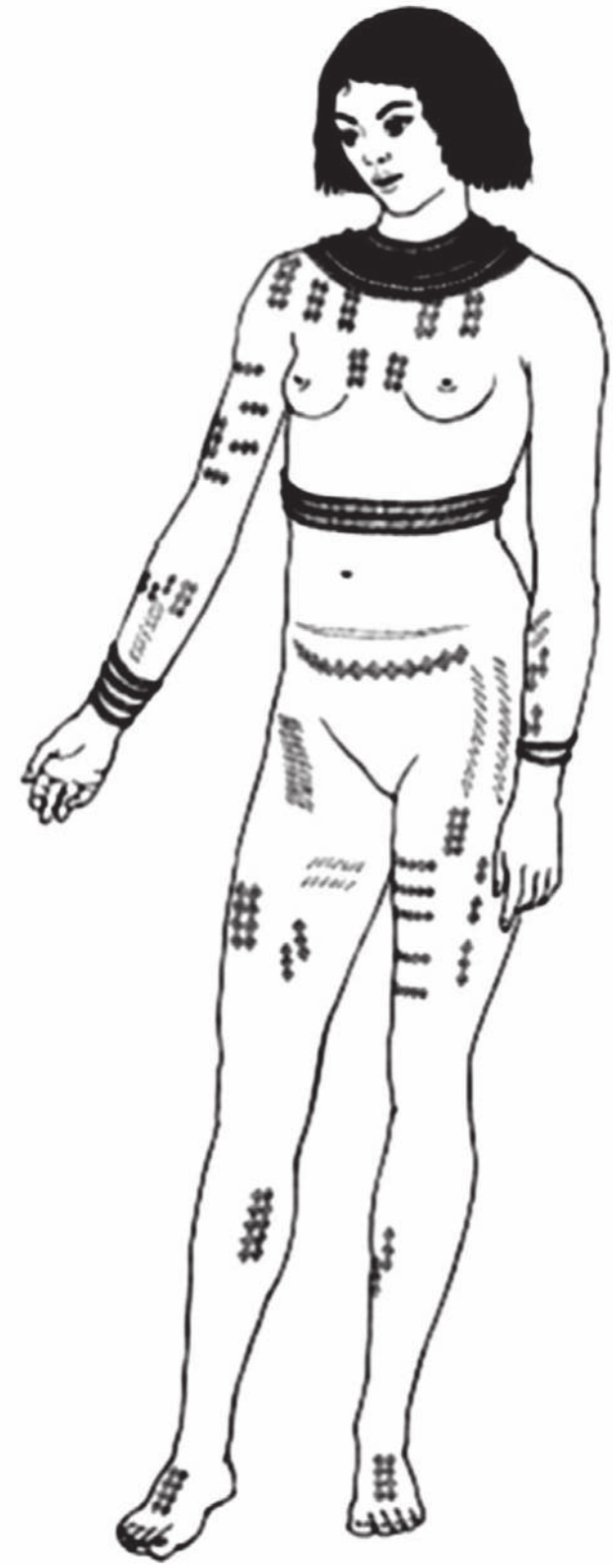


Fig. 12.4. Drawing depicting the tattooing on the mummy found in pit 23 as she might have appeared in life. Drawing by Charles K. Wilkinson. Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Egyptian Art Archives, AM 1628.

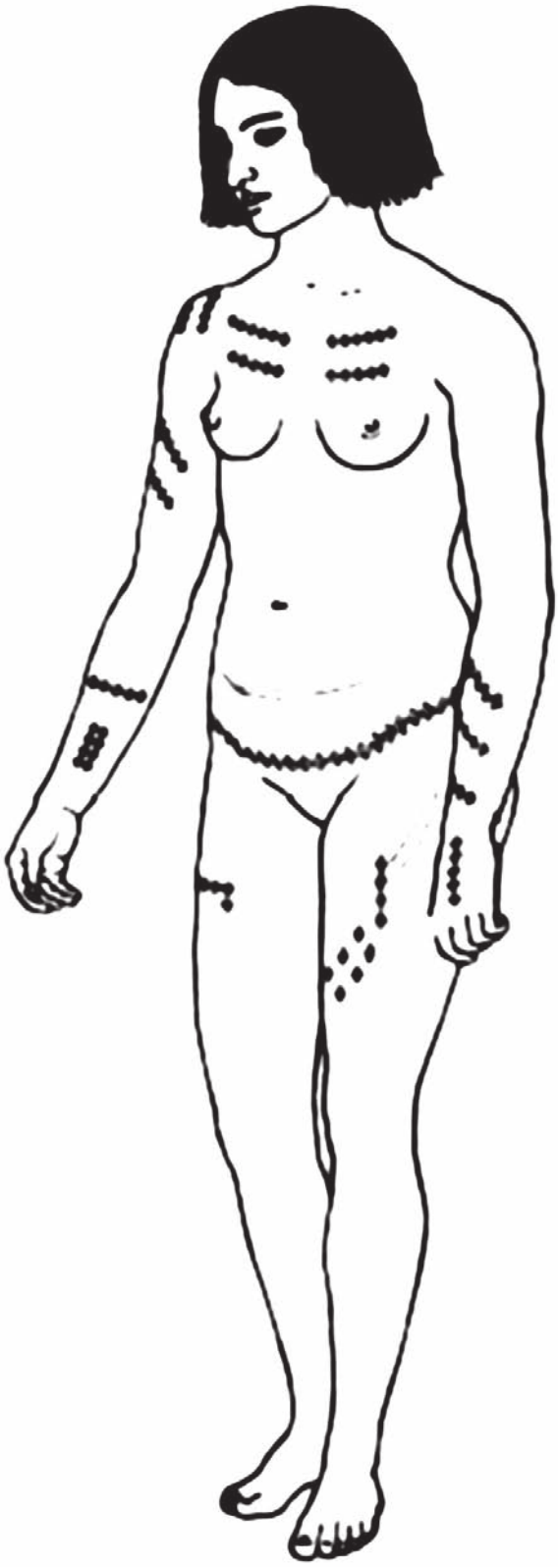


Fig. 12.5. Drawing depicting the tattooing on the mummy found in pit 26 as she might have appeared in life. Drawing by Charles K. Wilkinson. Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Egyptian Art Archives, AM 1631

Fig. 12.6a–d. Photographs of the mummy found in pit 23. Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Egyptian Art Archives.

Regarding the women represented in the tomb of Kenamun, we know for certain that they are *ḫnr* dancers, as de Garis Davies (1930, 41) writes 'they snap the fingers of one hand and perhaps slap the thigh with the other, as they sing' (see in de Garis Davies 1930, tab. XLI; Morris 2011, 88, Fig. 7; Betrò 2014, 19, Fig. 13) and accompany their performance with the known Hathor attributes, *sistri* and *menat*.[10] From Morris' observations, it is possible to see the iconographic similarities of the decorative motifs on the clothing of examples reported and, in particular, in the tomb of Kenamun, where the women wear long dresses that reach down to their feet. Here dancers show on the skirt – then on the thighs and legs, but also on the abdomen and chest – various motifs including dots, lines and especially the typical lozenge-shaped ones, reminiscences of those already seen with tattoos. Similar signs on the same parts of the body are clearly also found on statuettes and mummies from Deir el-Bahari (see Rapisarda 2018/19, card no. 7 to card no. 24; card no. 2M and card no. 3M a–b).

In addition, an example of paddle doll (Metropolitan Museum of Arts in New York, inv. no. 31.3.35a, b) shows textiles patterns on the front and the classic lozenge pattern on the flipside at the point where there should have been legs. In Müller's opinion (2018, 399), the latter refer to a tattooed

Fig. 12.7a (front) and 12.7b (back). Paddle doll, inv. no. 31.3.35a, b. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544216.

belt with a diamond pattern, from which three slightly slanted chains of point lozenges hang down. Actually, this double view could mean that the tattoos were hidden by the real clothes (those on the front) when they were worn, but when the acrobatic dances were performed the tattoos took the place of the clothes (those on the flipside) and presumably replaced them for reasons of practicality (Figs 12.7a and 12.7b). The representation of clothing on the front in this particular type of paddle doll does not take the classic lozenge shape we have seen so far. Yet, this should not invalidate the hypothesis that the lozenge-shaped tattoos may represent clothing. First of all, because the styles of clothing were varied and, secondly, their similarity in the shape to the other examples of clothing that we will see below (along with their placement on the body) is closely related.

Another analogy with regard to diamond-shaped decoration on clothing can be observed in a wall depiction of the Dynasty 12 tomb of Wah-ka II at Qau (Fig. 12.8). There is an image of a dancer bent in an arch while performing an acrobatic dance, depicted with rhomboid-shaped marks on her buttocks, which seems a lozenge-shaped tattoo (see Petrie 1930, 14, pl. XXIV; Morris 2011, 81, Fig. 4). In this case, examining the depiction closely (see also Rapisarda 2018/19, card no. 32, 99, Fig. 43), it seems as if these signs had been executed in an attempt to portray a sort of skirt to partially cover the nudity of the dancer, as it appears in *ostrakon* IFAO 3779 from Deir el-Medina and dates to the Dynasty 19 (in Rapisarda 2018/19, card no. 42, 110, Fig. 53).

Net garments with lozenge motifs, as we have seen in figurative representations, were often worn by women throughout ancient Egyptian history. However, we have little evidence in the archaeological record. One exceptional discovery, for example, is a beaded dress (Museum of Fine Arts of Boston, inv. no. 27.1548.1) from the intact tomb G 7440 Z of the Dynasty 4 at Giza, in which a large number of beads were found scattered all over the body of a female individual and preserved in the exact configuration of the lozenge motif (see D'Auria *et al.* 1988, 78–79, fn. 6). It is worth mentioning here another example of nets made

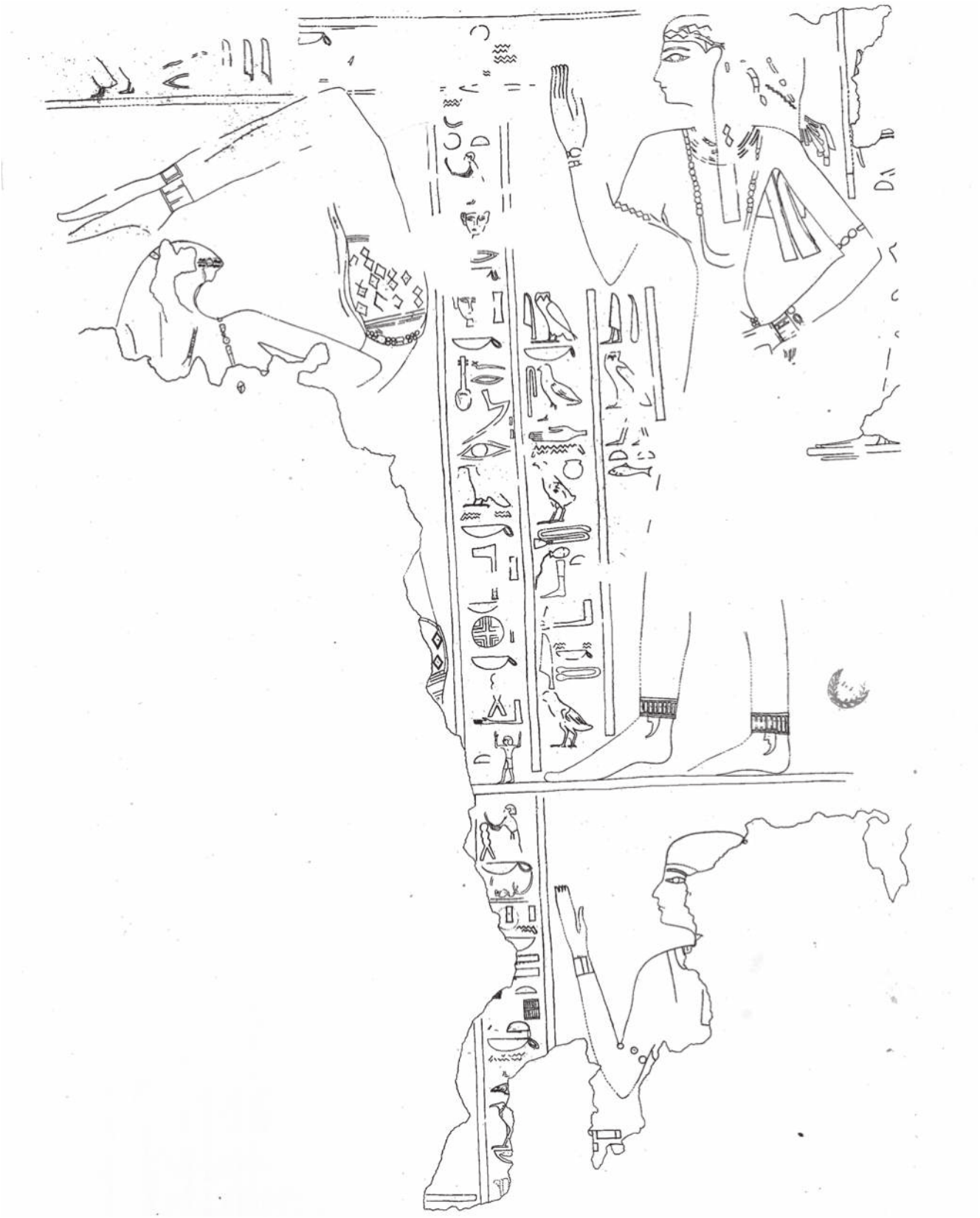


Fig. 12.8. Acrobatic dancer in the tomb of Wah-ka II, from Petrie 1930, pl. XXIV. Courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL.

of linen threads, preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts of Boston, inv. no. 57.152, and dating from the New Kingdom. In this marvellous textile specimen as well, we can see that the lozenge motif is prevalent (Fig. 12.9).

The net/lozenge motif on cloths also inevitably evokes a passage from the Westcar papyrus (P. Berlin 3033), in which we find the explicit description (V, 9–15) of King Snefru's desire to have the most beautiful women of the royal '*harem*' attend his boat trip on the palace lake. These women, rowing for him on the lake, were to wear only netted clothes. In William Kelly Simpson's translation (2003, 17) we read:

> Let there be brought to me twenty women, the most beautiful in form, with 'firm' breasts, with hair well braided, not yet having opened up to give birth. Let there be brought to me twenty nets, and let these nets be given to these women when they have taken off their clothes. Then it was done according to all that His Majesty commanded, and they rowed up and down. The heart of His Majesty was pleased at the sight of their rowing.[11]

Hence, the reflections reported here – and with respect to the previously examined position of signs on figurines and mummies' bodies – bring us to the following hypothesis. These net/diamond/lozenge-shape motifs tattooed on the women of Deir el-Bahari (and then shown on figurines also) may have been intended to reproduce all those elements that can be traced back to the distinctive clothing and decorative ornaments when the real ones were not worn.

Similarities between tattooed signs and belts as an ornament

Another important aspect, as mentioned above, seems to concern a particular ornament worn by the *ḫnr* dancers: the belt. If we look at all the figurines,[12] we notice that the belt is a recurrent decorative element. Although its shape may vary, the belt itself is never missing. It is likely that the *ḫnr* also wore this ornament in their lifetime,[13] considering that it is precisely at the mummies' abdomen, where the shell belt was worn, that lozenge-shaped tattoo run horizontally along the lower abdomen almost as if to 'replace' the typical belt (see Figs 12.4, 12.5, and 12.6b).

The lozenge-shaped tattoos on the abdomen of the mummy from pit 23 run horizontally along the lower abdomen where one would expect a belt, but are only visible at the front. On the abdomen of the woman from pit 26, however, the horizontal lozenge motif extends from hip to hip and, continuing on the left side, ranges to behind the back and ends above the left buttock (see Roehrig 2015, 529 and also Rapisarda 2018/19, images and card no. 3M a–b, 128–137). This could mean that the tattoo, when the dancer wore a belt, was barely visible because it was partly covered; but when the belt was not present, the tattoo was clearly

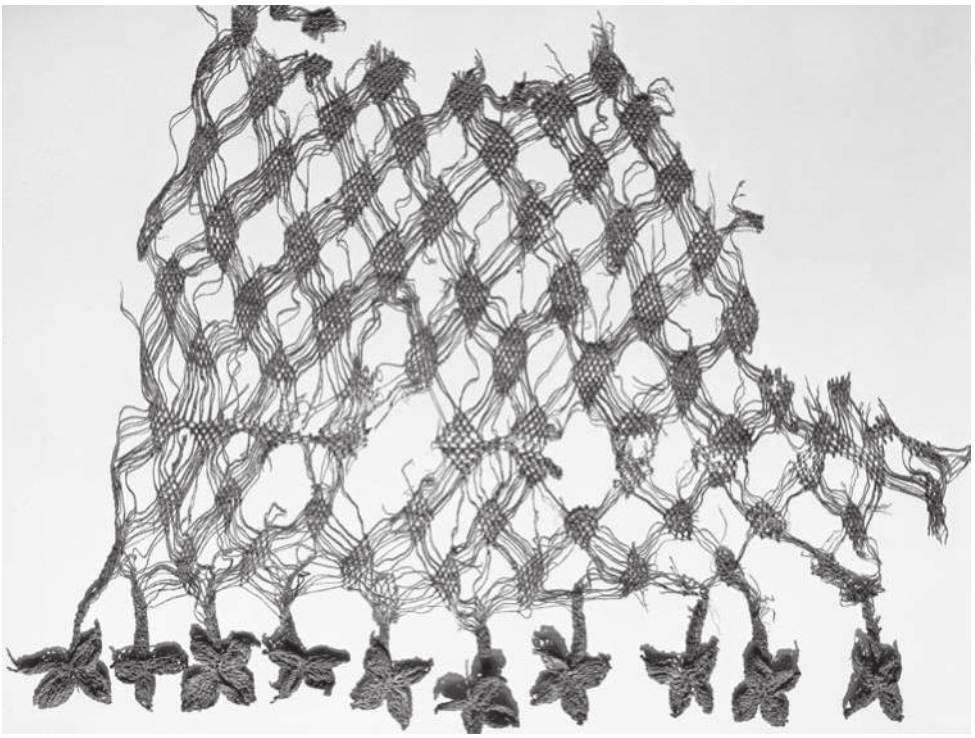


Fig. 12.9. Textile Egyptian, New Kingdom, Dynasty 18–20, 1550–1070 BC, Linen, Height × width: 36 × 38 cm (14 3/16 × 14 15/16 in.), inv. no. 57.152. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Mr. Stuart P. Anderson.

visible. It seems the intent was to make them magically look 'clothed' and 'adorned' although they were 'dressing naked' for practical reasons, presumably during their dances.

Considerations on a particular type of figurine

In an attempt to further strengthen the link between geometric tattoos and textile motifs, it is now necessary to focus on a particular type of *faïence* female statuette with curious markings. The statuette in question, inv. no. 08.200.18 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, is dated to the Middle Kingdom and was found in tomb 758, grave 752, at el-Lisht north (in Winlock 1920, 77, 80, Fig. 4; Keimer 1948, 21, tab. XIII.5; Hayes 1953, 221, Fig. 137; Miniaci 2017, 244; Müller 2018, 398).

The belt on the hips, the pubis and the marks on the legs are painted in black. The legs' marks, however, are not the same symbols that are repeated, but are particular signs that, alternating with each other, present an unusual form: circles, three perpendicular lines and inverted 'v' sign (also in Rapisarda 2018/19, see the image and description of card no. 19, 82, Fig. 26). It seems to be the case that the symbols represented as a whole are intended to form a single decorative motif. They do not refer to the signs in the form of lozenges, lines and dots on other figurines and human remains, but present a case of their own. In addition, although the position of the marks on the body of the figurine is similar to those on all other figurines, the importance of this example lies not so much in its unusual decoration as in the meaning behind these symbols.

Fig. 12.10. Female figurine, inv. no. 08.200.18. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544220.

Winlock (1920, 80) excluded that these marks are tattoos. He argued that they were representations of ornamental motifs, specifically chains or pendants that formed part of the belt and ran down the legs. However, the idea that it is another type of tattoo representation associated with textile motifs seems likely. The latter speculation is based on the observation already made by Keimer (1948, 21, fn. 1), who thought that the decoration of this figurine was the reproduction of woven linen textile elements that refer precisely to the hieroglyph V 28 in the Gardine's list (1957, 525) of signs (Fig. 12.10). Thus, although these signs do not directly refer to the tattoos we have seen so far, their close association with textile elements is conceivable. These drawings on the figurines may represent tattoos that dancers 'wore' to imitate garments. Presumably, these decorations were represented in different ways, sometimes following a more stylized artistic line, other times simply deciding to represent one style rather than another. This choice depended perhaps on the type of garment, perhaps on the material itself that was to be reproduced.

Conclusion

As a powerful vector of cultural identity, the art of tattooing expresses creativity, personality and a desire to belong to a particular social group. The geometric signs typical of the Middle Kingdom, imprinted either on materials or on skin, were intended to communicate the social status of the *ḫnr* dancers. These women, in fact, must have had a high social status and the tattoos depicted on them probably had a religious function, inherent in the very nature of the tattoo, and underlined their connection with the cult of the goddess Hathor. This, however, does not mean that these tattoos could not have had other functions since one hypothesis would not exclude the other and the tattoo is by nature polysemic.

The geometric tattoos found on direct and indirect evidence bear a striking stylistic similarity to textile and ornamental elements. For these reasons, it is suggested that the geometric tattoos made on *ḫnr* bodies – although imbued with strong religious connotations – could have had also both a decorative and a practical function at the same time. Moreover, in ancient Egypt to draw a symbol was supposed to make its conceptual object exist. Thus, the signs could

have symbolically 'replaced' their dancer paraphernalia when the real ornaments were not worn, and perhaps they 'replaced' clothing, so as to 'cover' the nudity during the dances in which they took part. In fact, emulating clothing marks on the skin would allow these women to fully channel the effectiveness of their performing symbols while freeing themselves from the dancing restrictions of real garments. This would explain why, on both the statuettes and the mummies of Deir el-Bahari, some tattoos do not only cover the 'erotic zones' but are also present on other parts of the body such as the chest, shoulders, breasts, arms, forearms, buttocks, hands and feet. In conclusion, we can hypothesize that tattoos were literally 'worn' by dancers both during life and in the afterlife. In fact, these tattoos would have allowed these women not to 'shed' their role as 'women of Hathor', but to continue to play this role and practice their dances even in the afterlife, so as to perpetuate their memory in eternity.

Notes

1 In order to delve deeper into the study of tattooing in Egypt, Anne Austin's latest works including her ongoing discoveries of new tattoos which some appear invisible to the naked eye cannot be ignored (for example Austin and Gobeil 2016, 23–46; Austin and Arnette 2022, 1–18; see also Austin 2022, 401–422 for a holistic approach on the study of tattooing in ancient Egypt and its further interpretations). For an in-depth discussion of the different types of tattoos and its likely diversified functions over time, see Rapisarda's 2018/19, 30–42, 56–150, 160–176, unpublished Master's thesis.

2 There are also a few representations of geometric tattoos belonging to the New Kingdom, which probably remained as a kind of cultural legacy, including the statuette in the Musée Rolin, Autun, in enameled stone (perhaps steatite) inv. no. 144. See the catalogue of the collections of the Museums of Saone-et-Loire 1988, 116, Fig. 49; the *ostrakon* IFAO 3779 in Bianchi 1988, 24, Fig. 5; Poon and Quickenden 2006, 126–127, Fig. 4; the wall representation in TT 10 of Penbuy and Kasa at Deir el-Medina in Erman 1885–1886, 309, 316; Keimer 1948, 44, Fig. 40.

3 See the list of cards in Rapisarda 2018/19, card no. 7 to card no. 24 and card no. 32; card no. 2M and card no. 3M a–b.

4 To find out more about priestesses of Hathor, see Gillam 1995, 211–237 and Graves-Brown 2010, 25–28.

5 The term '*harem*' is a conventional translation related to the *ḫnr* institution and therefore considered inappropriate by some scholars. For general comments on the topic, see Kemp 1978, 122–133; Nord 1981, 137–145; Callender 1994, 7–25; Yoyotte 2008, 76–90; Graves-Brown 2010, 92, 136–140; Roth 2012, 1–16; and, finally, the official website of the Gurob Harem Palace Project at the following link: http://gurob.org.uk/about.php (accessed 16.03.2021).

6 For further on the term and the institution of the *ḫnr* (*khener*), their role and the contexts in which they performed their dances, see Nord 1981, 137–145; Quirke 1988, 83–106; Meeks 2001, 356–360; Spencer 2003, 111–121; Meyer-Dietrich 2009, 1–14; Morris 2017, 285–335; Guegan 2022, 205–226.

7 Not all the theories formulated over the years will be reported here. For the purposes of this paper, only the main ones will be presented. However, the following explanation cannot be made in the chronological order, because not only have some scholars formulated more than one theory, but often these theories have been taken up by other scholars years later.

8 It should be noted that the fact that they were buried near the king does not necessarily exclude their role as 'prostitutes'. It cannot be assumed that the moral and social loads associated with prostitutes in other places and periods must have existed in the Egyptian case. This paper, however, argues that tattoos were not automatically linked to the sphere of prostitution, since these signs seem to have a more practical and decorative function emulating the clothes of the dancers themselves.

9 In this work, we will not compare the tattoos on Amunet's mummy to the geometric lozenge-shaped tattoos found on figurative representations. This decision is based on the fact that unfortunately little is known about the woman's remains. The old photographs and drawings of the mummy's body and tattoos made by Keimer in 1938 are the only ones available to us today and are limiting since not all the tattoos are clearly visible in detail. Therefore, new research should be carried out on the body of the mummy of Amunet, with the help of modern instruments and techniques of investigation, which could bring out new information and definitely improve our understanding. As things stand at present, we know that the woman must have had geometric tattoos consisting largely of dashed parallel dots and lines scattered over her body, while in the centre of her right thigh there appears to be the lozenge-shaped type of tattoo. Unfortunately, the mark is almost imperceptible and is not clearly discernible from the photos. See Keimer 1948, 8–13, pls I–V; Rapisarda 2018/19, card no. 2M, 122–127.

10 These objects were closely associated with Hathor and her dancers. The *menat* collar was a characteristic jewel of the goddess, a musical instrument and an object of worship, as a symbol of fertility and rebirth. *Sistrum* was a type of rattle and symbolic musical instrument of the goddess Hathor as well. For more information, see Barguet 1952, 103–111; Bleeker 1973, 58–62; Graves-Brown 2010, 96–97; Elwart 2011, 37–59.

11 For other translations and references, see Derchain 1969, 19–25; Lichtheim 1975, 216; D'Auria, Lacovara, Roehrig 1988, 79, fn. 3; Parkinson 1997, 110; Yoyotte 2008, 84; Graves-Brown 2010, 120–121; Roth 2012, 5. Interestingly, Derchain draws a parallel between the maidens and the goddess Hathor. According to the author, in fact, the sovereign's boat trip with these women is nothing more than a sort of parody of the journey of the sun god Ra, personified by the sovereign Snefru, who sails the skies accompanied by the Hathors. On this subject, see also Simpson 2003, 17, fn. 6.

12 We refer to the figurines listed at the beginning of section concerning the position of the signs in relation to bodies.

13 No specimens of shell belts have been found inside the tombs of the Deir el-Bahari mummies, but the possibility that they may have used this ornament in life cannot be ruled out. A beautiful example of a belt is kept at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (inv. no. 16.1.5) from the Lahun tomb of the Dynasty 12 princess Sithathoryunet.

Bibliography

Austin, A. (2022) Shifting Perceptions of Tattooed Women in Ancient Egypt, in M. F. Ayad (ed.) *Women in Ancient Egypt: Revisiting Power, Agency, and Autonomy*, 401–422. Cairo, The American University in Cairo Press.

Austin, A. and Arnette, M. L. (2022) Of Ink and Clay: Tattooed Mummified Human Remains and Female Figurines from Deir el-Medina. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 1–18.

Austin, A. and Gobeil, C. (2016) Embodying the Divine: A Tattooed Female Mummy from Deir el-Medina. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 116, 23–46.

Barguet, P. (1952) L'origine et la signification du contrepoids du collier-menat. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 52, 103–111.

Betrò, M. C. (2014) Kenamun. L'undicesima Mummia. In M. C. Betrò (ed.) *Kenamun. L'undicesima Mummia*, 9–21. Pisa, Edizioni ETS.

Bianchi, R. S. (1988) Tattoo in Ancient Egypt. In A. Rubin (ed.) *Marks of Civilization: Artistic Transformation of the Human Body*, 21–28. Los Angeles, Museum of Cultural History.

Bleeker, C. J. (1973) *Hathor and Thot: Two Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion*. Leiden, Brill.

Callender, V. G. (1994) The Nature of the Egyptian 'harim'. Dynasties 1–20. *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 5, 7–25.

Les Collections égyptiennes *dans les musées de Saône-et-Loire: Autun, Bibliothèque municipale, Musée Rolin, Muséum d'histoire naturelle, 27 mai–3 octobre 1988: Macon, Musée des Ursulines, 21 octobre 1988–15 janvier 1989*. Autun, Bibliothèque Municipale d'Autun.

D'Auria, S., Lacovara, P. and Roehrig, C. H. (ed.) (1988) *Mummies & Magic. The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt*. Boston, The Museum of Fine Arts.

de Garis Davies, N. (1930) *The Tomb of Kenamun at Thebes*, vol. I. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition.

De Groot, P. (2017) *The Magic of Reality and the Reality of Imagination: A Study of Depictions of Tattoos and their Agency in Ancient Egyptian and Greek Material Culture, Dating from c. 2100 to 300 BC*. Dissertation, University of Glasgow.

Derchain, P. (1969) Snéferou et les rameuses. *Revue d'Égyptologie* 21, 19–25.

Elwart, D. (2011) Sistren als Klang des Hathorkultes. In E. Meyer-Dietrich (ed.) *Laut und Leise: Der Gebrauch von Stimme und Klang in Historischen Kulturen*, 37–59. Bielefeld, Transcript.

Erman, A. (1885-1886) *Aegypten und Aegyptisches Leben im Altertum. vol. II*. Tübingen, Lauppschen Buchhandlung H.

Fletcher, J. (2001) The Remarkable Women of Ancient Egypt, by Barbara S. Lesko (Reviewed work). *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 87, 190–193.

Fletcher, J. (2005) The Decorated Body in Ancient Egypt: Hairstyles, Cosmetics and Tattoos. In L. Cleland, M. Harlow and L. Llewellyn-Jones (ed.) *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, 3–13. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Fouquet, D. (1898) Le Tatouage Médical en Égypte dans l'Antiquité et à l'Époque Actuelle. *Archives d'anthropologie criminelle* 13, 270–279.

Friedman, R. (2017) New Tattoos from Ancient Egypt: Defining Marks of Culture. In L. Krutak and A. Deter-Wolf (ed.) *Ancient Ink: The Archaeology of Tattooing*, 11–36. Seattle, University of Washington Press.

Friedman, R. *et al.* (2018) Natural Mummies from Predynastic Egypt reveal the World's Earliest Figural Tattoos. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 92, 116–125.

Gardiner, A. (1957) *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*. 3rd edition, revised. Oxford, Griffith Institute.

Gillam, R. A. (1995) Priestesses of Hathor: Their Function, Decline and Disappearance. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 32, 211–237.

Goelet, O. (1993) Nudity in Ancient Egypt. *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 2, 20–31.

Graves-Brown, C. (2010) *Dancing for Hathor: Women in Ancient Egypt*. London and New York, Continuum.

Guegan, I. (2022) The *ḫnrwt*: A Reassessment of Their Religious Roles. In M. F. Ayad (ed.) *Women in Ancient Egypt: Revisiting Power, Agency, and Autonomy*, 205–226. Cairo, The American University in Cairo Press.

Hayes, W. C. (1953) *The Scepter of Egypt. Vol. I. A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom*. New York, Plantin Press.

Keimer, L. (1948) *Remarques sur le Tatouage dans l'Égypte Ancienne. Mémoires présentés à l'Institut D'Égypte*, vol. 53. Cairo, L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

Kemp, B. J. (1978) The Harim-Palace at Medinet el-Ghurab. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 105, 122–133.

Lichtheim, M. (1975) *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. I. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Manniche, L. (2002) *Sexual Life in Ancient Egypt*. London, Kegan Paul International.

Meeks, D. (2001) Dance. In B. D. Redford (ed.) *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. I, 356–360. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Meyer-Dietrich, E. (2009) Dance. In W. Wendrich (ed.) *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 1–14.

Miniaci, G. (2017) Unbroken Stories: Middle Kingdom Faience Figurines in their Archaeological Context. In G. Miniaci, M. Betrò and S. Quirke (ed.) *Company of Images: Modelling the Imaginary World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1500 BC), Proceedings of the International Conference of the EPOCHs Project Held 18th–20th September 2014 at UCL, London*, 235–284. Leuven, Peeters.

Morris, E. F. (2011) Paddle Dolls and Performance. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 47, 71–103.

Morris, E. F. (2017) Middle Kingdom Clappers, Dancers, Birth Magic, and the Reinvention of Ritual. In G. Miniaci, M. Betrò and S. Quirke (ed.) *Company of Images: Modelling the Imaginary World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1500 BC). Proceedings of the International Conference of the EPOCHs Project Held 18th–20th September 2014 at UCL, London*, 285–335. Leuven, Peeters.

Müller, M. (2018) Frauenfiguren ohne Beine: Eine neue ikonographische Herangehensweise. In A. I. Blöbaum, M. Eaton-Krauss and A. Wüthrich (ed.) *Pérégrinations avec Erhart Graefe: Zestschrift zu seinem 75. Geburtstag (AÄT 87)*, 387–404. Münster, Zaphon.

Nord, D. (1981) The term *ḫnr*: 'Harem' or 'Musical Performers'? In W. K. Simpson and W. M. Davis (ed.) *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan: Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham on the Occasion of his 90th Birthday, June 1, 1980*, 137–145. Boston, Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts.

Parkinson, R. (1997) *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems, 1940–1640 BC*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Petrie, W. M. F. (1930) *Antaeopolis: The Tombs of Qau*. London, British School of Archaeology in Egypt.

Pinch, G. (1993) Fertility Figurines. In G. Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 198–234. Oxford, Griffith Institute.

Poon, K. W. C. and Quickenden, T. I. (2006) A Review of Tattooing in Ancient Egypt. *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 17, 123–136.

Porter, B. and Moss, R. (1960) *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, Part. I. Oxford, Griffith Institute.

Quirke, S. (1988) State and Labour in the Middle Kingdom: A Reconsideration of the Term *ḫnr.t*. *Revue d'*Égyptologie 38, 83–106.

Rapisarda, V. (2018/19) '*Indossare*' *i tatuaggi: studio del tatuaggio nell'Antico Egitto sui resti umani, archeologici e iconografici*, Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Pisa.

Roehrig, C. (2015) Two Tattooed Women from Thebes. *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 19, 527–536.

Roth, S. (2012) Harem. In E. Frood and W. Wendrich (ed.) *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 1–16.

Simpson, W. K. (2003) *The Literature of Ancient Egypt. An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*. New Haven and London, Yale University Press.

Spencer, P. (2003) Dance in Ancient Egypt. *Near Eastern Archaeology* 66, 111–121.

Tassie, G. J. (2003) Identifying the Practice of Tattooing in Ancient Egypt and Nubia. *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 14, 85–101.

Tooley, A. M. J. (1989) *Middle Kingdom Burial Customs. A Study of Wooden Models and Related Material.* Vol. I, Dissertation, University of Liverpool.

Ward, W. A. (1986) *Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Related Subjects*. Beirut, American University of Beirut.

Winlock, H. E. (1920) Notes on the Jewels from Lahun, Part III. *Ancient Egypt*, 74–87.

Winlock, H. E. (1923) *The Museum's Excavations at Thebes. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 18, 11–39.

Winlock, H. E. (1942) *Excavations at Deir el Bahari (1911–1931)*. New York, Macmillan.

Yoyotte, M. (2008) The Harem in Ancient Egypt. In C. Ziegler (ed.) *Queens of Egypt: from Hetepheres to Cleopatra*, 76–90. Munich, Grimaldi Forum and Paris, Somogy éditions d'Art.

External links

Gurob Harem Palace Project. Internet resource: http://gurob.org.uk (accessed March 2021).

Part 6

Modern reception

13

Egyptologist dancers – re-enacting 'ancient Egyptian' dances at the beginning of the 20th century

Gerrit Berenike Heiter

Modern dance recreations of 'ancient Egyptian' dances at the beginning of the 20th century have not been in the spotlight of research to the same extent, for example, as the 'ancient Greek' explorations of Isadora Duncan. However, European orientalist interests in the 'exotic' allure of 'ancient Egyptian' dances – as well as artistic and academically motivated curiosity to re-enact them – assured the success of three female dancers: Sent M'Ahesa, Nyota Inyoka and Irena Lexová, all of whom became renowned specialists in this field.

This article analyses their 'ancient Egyptian' dance creations by addressing their inspirations from original ancient Egyptian artefacts. It demonstrates how these three dancers transposed their (historical) knowledge into the integration of dance and costume, showing how deeply conscious they were of the relationship between gestures and design and the importance of the visual impact of their costumes.

Their choreographic creations were as much informed by the relations of costume and body as by the dance representations on stone reliefs or papyrus scrolls in museums and in libraries.

Historically accurate textile materials were not at the heart of their interests; instead, they focused on what they personally considered to be 'authentic' re-enactments of gestures, poses and the visual rendering of what they had seen as artworks or in books as well as what seemed to be authentic to the audience of the time. This approach was also a strategy to legitimize and promote their dances. Questions on both identity and cultural representation regarding the individual situation of each of the three dancers will be equally discussed.

In a larger perspective of ambient Egyptomania, Sent M'Ahesa, Nyota Inyoka and Irena Lexová impacted the wider European and American reception of 'ancient Egyptian' dance and reveal (primarily) European imaginaries of this culture, its dances and costumes.

> 'We want to see the flame, not the firewood. And which artist knows after all, what was his firewood?'[1] Sent M'Ahesa (Elsa von Carlberg)

Archaeologists and dance historians face similar challenges in their scientific life: more often than not, they can only work with fragments, from which they try to reconstruct an artefact or a cultural technique. This intense work with missing pieces and links obviously presents great challenges. The question of how near reconstructions come to imitating the originals, or how authentic a technique or a gesture might be, remains a constant preoccupation. It is with historical reconstruction in mind that this article analyses Sent M'Ahesa's, Nyota Inyoka's and Irena Lexová's 'ancient Egyptian' dance and costume creations from the first half of the 20th century.

Each of the three dancers came to their explorations of ancient Egyptian dance through different means and for different reasons. Sent M'Ahesa (1893–1970) came from a German-Swedish bourgeois family and went to Berlin to study Egyptology. She started to perform her interpretations of 'ancient Egyptian' dances in Munich in 1909 and performed throughout the 1910s and 1920s, touring mostly through Germany and other European countries. Nyota Inyoka (1896–1971) was born in Paris. As a European of colour, she had to find an aesthetic strategy to include her identity into her art as well as to deal with the racialization

she was confronted with. Her long career as a choreographer specializing in 'modern and ancient Egyptian' as well as 'Indian' dances started in the beginning of the 1920s and continued well after the Second World War with performances in Europe and New York. Irena Lexová (1908–1999) was taught by her father, the Czechoslovak Egyptologist František Lexa (1876–1960), and collaborated with him and her sister Milada Lexová (1904–1994) for her publication on *Ancient Egyptian Dance*, published in 1930 in Czech, translated into English in 1935 and Arabic in 1958. As a trained dancer of the Dalcroze Institute in Prague, she choreographed and presented several dances inspired by her Ancient Egyptian studies in Czechoslovakia during the 1930s.

The focus of this article will be on the extent to which each of these women took their inspirations from original ancient Egyptian artefacts, and how they influenced the dancers' artistic choices regarding costume design. It demonstrates how the dancers transposed their (historical) knowledge into the compilation of both dance and costume, and how deeply conscious they were of the importance and the visual impact of costumes, as well as the relationship between gestures and design. Specific costumes condition dance movement and this informed the choreographic creations of these performers as much as their preliminary studies of dance representations on stone reliefs or on papyrus scrolls in museums and libraries. Historically accurate textile materials were not at the heart of their interests; instead, they focused on what they personally considered to be 'authentic' re-enactments of gestures, poses and the visual rendering of what they had seen as artworks or in books. This approach was also a strategy to legitimize and promote their dances. Questions on both identity and cultural representation regarding the individual situation of each of the three dancers will be equally discussed. To assess the cultural phenomenon of what would be termed today 'artistic research', this article further turns to critical literature on re-enactment, reconstruction and historically informed performances as a cultural practice for valuable insights not only on dance and costume conceptions, but also about audience reception (Franko 2017; Agnew *et al.* 2020; Stach and Tomann 2021).

European modern dancers from the beginning of the 20th century, who were inspired by ancient Egypt, have not received the same scholarly attention as modern dancers referring to ancient Greek and Roman dance. Among the most prominent representatives of the latter is the American dancer and choreographer Isadora Duncan (1877–1927) (Macintosh 2010; Burt and Huxley 2020). However, the European orientalist conception of the 'exotic' allure of 'ancient Egyptian' dances, as well as artistic and academically motivated curiosity to re-enact them, assured the success of Sent M'Ahesa, Nyota Inyoka and Irena Lexová, all of whom became renowned specialists in this field.[2]

Information on ancient Egyptian dance was rare back then, and even now no reconstruction can be seriously attempted (Lexová 1935; Brunner-Traut 1958; Decker and Herb 1994; Kinney 2008; Meyer-Dietrich 2009). For ancient Egyptian clothing the situation is different (Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993), but none of the three dancers aimed at a reconstruction for their costumes. Considering that the search for authenticity is at the centre of historical re-enactment practice (Backoefer 2009, 14), one has to bear in mind that all three dancers were influenced by the cultural representations of ancient Egypt in their respective European countries at their time. Also, success for them within their colonial and European imperialistic context was dependent on their capacity to bring the past into present by allowing their audience a certain form of 'recognition' of what they imagined to be an 'authentic' ancient Egyptian atmosphere. The inspiration of the sacred and cultic dimension of antique dances is also predominant in the recreation of ancient Egyptian dances, together with the specific aesthetics of the ancient Egyptian visual culture.

In 1913/14, the German dance critic Rudolf von Delius (1878–1946) observed in a retrospection on the aesthetics of Isadora Duncan's dances, based on Greek Antiquity and the 'classical' ideal, as well as on Ruth Saint Denis' Indian- and Sent M'Ahesa's Egyptian-inspired dances, that the reason for the search of a new stimulus modelled on ancient civilizations was that 'old, mature cultures should supply surrogates for the uncertainty of emotions of our time'[3] (Delius 1914, 454). The propagation of knowledge as well as aesthetic elements were a result of the ambient European Egyptomania amplified by Napoleon's Egyptian campaign (1799). The subsequent archaeological research and publications, notably *Description de l'Égypte* (1809–1822), cultural looting and tomb raiding had a lasting influence, not only for the European museum landscape, but also for the artistic and intellectual elite. However, due to the commercialization of Egyptian themes and motifs it continued to be popularized for a wider audience (Humbert 1989; 1996; Thompson 2015a; 2015b; 2018; Versluys 2020).

Many stagings in western performing arts history were inspired by fictions set in ancient Egypt. They fashioned and popularized orientalistic representations of Egyptian subjects, creating strong stereotypes. These representations reached not only a privileged audience but other social classes as well, mostly through print media. Among the most emblematic performances are operas such as *Aida* (1871) composed by Giuseppe Verdi (1813–1901); stage plays such as Victorien Sardou's *Cléopâtre* (1890) with the famous French actress Sarah Bernhardt (1844–1923) in the title role; or ballets such as *The Pharaoh's Daughter* (Дочь фараона) (1862) choreographed by Marius Petipa (1818–1910), and Ballets Russes' *Cléopâtre* (1909) (Humbert 1994; Zibelius-Chen 2005; Bourne 2021). The emerging cinema offered yet an even wider dissemination of ancient Egyptian motifs

and imaginations (Lant 2013). All these renderings shaped an aesthetic that became the criteria on which an ostensible 'authenticity' of modern 'ancient Egyptian' dances were measured.

An important theoretical framework which addresses the rising questions regarding the cultural representation and appropriation is the work of the US-American literary theoretician Edward W. Said (1935–2003) and his concept of orientalism (Said 1979):

> Orientalism can be discussed and analysed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: In short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient. (Said 1979, 3)

The European cultural setting in the 19th and 20th century – a time when most nations had colonial possessions – reframed the 'Orient' into a mere 'other' of the 'Occident', while nurturing fantasized literary or pictorial representations as well as creating recognizable cultural codes and academic archives. Orientalism as a hegemonic and asymmetrical power dynamic was – and still is – an influential, racist imagery within European discourse as Said succinctly put it:

> The Orient is the stage on which the whole East is confined. On this stage will appear figures whose role it is to represent the larger whole from which they emanate. The Orient then seems to be, not an unlimited extension beyond the familiar European world, but rather a closed field, a theatrical stage affixed to Europe. (Said 1979, 63)

Seen through the critical lens of Said, 'ancient Egyptian' dance performed in the European context was, in this sense, a stage within a stage. The western theatrical stage remains in itself a place where authenticity and inaccuracy, genuine and fake emotions, gestures and images are present simultaneously, which one has to bear in mind when investigating past and present performances. The ephemerality of the performance further compels the researcher to look to other media and sources in order to assess what might be reconstructed and what is definitely lost. Accordingly, among the sources of this article are photographs, newspaper articles, dance/theatre programmes as well as archival material and personal documents. In the case of Sent M'Ahesa, a few personal documents are archived at the German Dance Archive Cologne (Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln)[4] while the estate of Nyota Inyoka belongs to the Theatre Department of the French National Library.[5] Among Nyota Inyoka's archival sources are several preserved costumes or costume parts, which will be discussed in a short, materially focused case study. Besides her official publications, information on Irena Lexová is more difficult to retrieve.

Modern dance performances are linked to photography as an emerging art form that became increasingly important for the circulation of new aesthetics, and the self-representation of artists (Jahn *et al.* 2016). All photographs illustrating this article are studio photographs, showing a motionless dance pose – not the body in movement during a stage performance. It is essential to underline this fact for two reasons. Firstly, it is necessary to address the illusion of movement within the photographs, and secondly, it is imperative to recognize the impossibility, therefore, of drawing definite conclusions about how the dance was originally performed (Wittrock 2014; Jahn *et al.* 2016). The costumes worn by the dancers in these photographs are analysed in a comparative study showing similarities and differences in how the three dancers chose to represent relations of body and costume. A precise material analysis and search for historical models would go beyond the scope of this article. Instead, it aims at initializing an analysis of the archival materials in order to bring the three dancers into the light of dance research – and thus more clearly understand their shared topic of performance.[6]

All three women came from different social backgrounds. This is reflected in their attitudes towards the ancient Egyptian culture they chose to embody and to set on stage. The interactions of identity, body and costume in the creations of these three dancers are inseparably linked to their biographies as well as their common interest in Egyptological studies. These three dancers are to be considered Egyptologists in the academic as well as the wider definition of the term describing persons, amateurs or professionals who were interested in the study of ancient Egypt. They, too, studied artefacts kept in museums and libraries at a time when Egyptology developed its standing as an academic discipline (Bierbrier 2012; Thompson 2018, 395–410).

Moreover, the setting of M'Ahesa's, Inyoka's and Lexová's representational modes need to be assessed in terms of racialization and concepts of identity because social categories do not reflect an essential underlying identity but are constituted in and through forms of representation. Thus, a consideration of ethnicity and race directs us towards issues of identity, representation, power and politics (Barker and Jane 2016, 313).

Consequently, Sent M'Ahesa and Irene Lexová are addressed somewhat differently from Nyota Inyoka within the scope of this article. While Sent M'Ahesa came from a wealthy privileged family and Irena Lexová was the daughter of the foremost Czechoslovak Egyptologist, Nyota Inyoka faced a different position in society in comparison. On the one hand, as a person of colour in the colonial and racist society of France in the first half of the 20th century, she faced racism and her appearance was exoticized, and on the other hand, she did not come from a bourgeois background. Therefore, her self-positioning and choice of representational modes – by means of working with the exotification to which she was otherwise subjected – deserve

particular attention. Further, Inyoka's relation to ancient Egyptian culture is even more complex, due to her personal, spiritual beliefs.

The following three sections will discuss some of the dance and costume creations in a chronological order of the dancers' stage debuts by presenting three selective case studies.

Sent M'Ahesa (1893–1970) – the art of costume and dance pose

At the beginning of the 20th century and in particular in the 1910s and 1920s, concert dance as well as dance experiments were the subject of the increasing attention of thinkers, writers and visual artists. Not only among the German-speaking intellectual community, but all over Europe, the interest in this art form heightened. Sent M'Ahesa[7] and her dances fascinated various artistic and intellectual communities; she is mentioned in the major German dance books of her epoch (Brandenburg 1913; 1917; 1921; Török 1918; Thiess 1920). In *Der künstlerische Tanz unserer Zeit*, an editorial success (Peter 2002, 8), featuring 110 photographs of 20, mainly female dancers from Isadora Duncan and the Sisters Wiesenthal to Mary Wigman, Sent M'Ahesa was presented among the representative dancers of modern dance with 10 photographs by Hanns Holdt (1887–1944) from Munich, but also by Franz Löwy (1883–1949) and Madame d'Ora (aka Dora Kalmus, 1881–1963) / Arthur Benda (1885–1969) from Vienna as well as by Hugo Erfurth (1874–1948) from Dresden (Aubel and Aubel 1928, 14–23). Consequently, Sent M'Ahesa's dances are part of the canonical German modern/expressionist dance history (Jahn 2017, 47). She was also one of the dancers whose images were widely disseminated in the form of postcards as well as collectible images that came with cigarettes, therefore reaching a very large number of persons of all kinds of social backgrounds: M'Ahesa's photograph, no. 89, representing her in an orientalist 'belly dancer' costume, is to be found in an album from 1933, produced by the Garbáty Cigarettenfabrik in Berlin Pankow (Garbáty 1933, s.p). On the back it says, 'Famous dancers. 250 images. Sent M'ahesa, dancer who around 1920 searched for a new dance style via the study of Egyptian and Asian models'.[8] This short description summarizes how her choreographic creations are classified up until today: Sent M'Ahesa as an expressionist dancer, searching new movements for a European audience through 'oriental' and 'exotic' imaginaries. The propagation of her photographs shaped the perception of Sent M'Ahesa's image then and its influence is still notable. These photographs serve as a starting point for the analysis of Sent M'Ahesa's dance costumes. It remains unknown who created her costumes.

In an unpublished critique intended for the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten* it says:

> Her dances are visions, conceived by her spirit and which she tries to express now through her body and movements in order to share them with other humans. And since these visions are wonderful, she let artists create wonderful dresses for her. These clothes, these decorations have no ends in themselves, but serve a spiritual purpose.[9] (Steffen 1912, 47)

Ten years later, in a programme for a performance at the Lessing Hochschule in Berlin, it is indicated that she designed her costumes herself (Anon. 1922, s.p.).[10] It is difficult to establish whether this suggests that her earlier costumes were also of her own invention and she had them custom made. It does, however, imply the connectedness of costume to M'Ahesa's artistic and dancerly vision.

A black-and-white photograph by Wanda von Debschitz-Kunowski (1870–1935) from Munich shows Sent M'Ahesa in her *Ancient Egyptian Dance* (*Altägyptischer Tanz*) costume. This series of photographs were taken at the beginning of the dancer's career around 1910. Sent M'Ahesa is standing in a frontal position, feet parallel in sixth position, with her head turned into profile to her right shoulder (Fig. 13.1).[11] Her right fist is just beside her left shoulder. The costume is composed of a white (?) knee-length *plissé* kilt. A textile girdle made of ribbon with several long strips decorated with contrasting stripes or herringbone pattern of various length and widths are hanging down in front of her skirt. This accessory seems to be an ornamental reinterpretation of the ceremonial loin pendant and the antique soldier's *pteryges*. The bustier is covered by her arm as well as by the long hair of her black wig with twisted braids which fall to the middle of her breast. A ribbon is wound around her exposed waist and knotted in front of it. She wears golden earrings and a broad neck-collar of different strings of pearls – from the photographs it is impossible to tell whether this is indeed an imitation of the *usekh*, the ancient Egyptian collar made of beads. Broad, textile/metal (?) bracelets ornament her bare upper arms and wrists. Her legs and feet are naked, but show ornamental body paint on her feet, shins and knees. The photographer took another picture where these details are even more obviously displayed (see Fig. 13.2). Here, Sent M'Ahesa is shown sitting on a sort of a narrow plinth, which shows undecipherable symbols and the photographer's signature. Her bare feet stand on the floor. She is resting her chin on her hands, which are positioned horizontally one over the other on her bent knees. In this posture, only the skirt is visible and the focus is on her head. The body paint on the dancer's feet and legs can be clearly seen. The wig seems to have a circular headband, enhancing the impression of being fashioned in 'ancient Egyptian' hairstyle. By looking at other photographs, it becomes clear that Sent M'Ahesa's costumes underwent modifications and/or ameliorations: another photograph by Hugo Erfurth from 1916 presents the dancer in the same costume, but the headband is now more

Fig. 13.1. Standing portrait of Sent M'Ahesa in Ancient Egyptian Dance *(*Altägyptischer Tanz*). Photo by Wanda von Debschitz-Kunowski, 1909. Vienna, KHM-Museumsverband, Theatermuseum Wien, Inv. no. FS_PA108497.*

in evidence of being replaced by a light-coloured ribbon or jewellery and she wears different costume jewellery bracelets around her wrists as well as upper arms. Her attitude in profile, although here in a frozen pose, suggests movement with the precarious position on demi-pointe with the knees slightly bent. The dancer holds metal cymbals in her hands in an opposing dramatic gesture (Aubel and Aubel 1928, 16; Erfurth 1992, 440).

At the beginning of her career Sent M'Ahesa toured with five dances: *Lily* (*Lilie*), *Lotus* (*Lotos*), *Sacrifice* (*Opfer*), *Gold* and *Dance of Isis* (*Tanz der Isis*) (Anon. 1910). The last dance, also titled *Isis* or *The Moongoddess* (*Die Mondgöttin*) was one of Sent M'Ahesa's most intriguing dances. It was characterized by a costume with large wings. Hanns Holdt realized a series of black-and-white photographs for her signature dance. The costume again consists of a seemingly white skirt ending above the dancer's knees, this time with dark, perhaps black, vertical stripes – probably to suggest pleats.[12] The low waistline is emphasized with a large multi-coloured ribbon. In front of her skirt she wears

Fig. 13.2. Sitting portrait of Sent M'Ahesa in Ancient Egyptian Dance *(*Altägyptischer Tanz*). Photo by Hanns Holdt. 1909, distributed under a CC-BY 2.0 license. See https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sent_M%27ahesa,_die_alt%C3%A4gyptische_Tanzk%C3%BCnstlerin,_1909.jpg (accessed 13.10.2021).*

a ceremonial apron or several ribbons – in the photographs this costume element is never completely displayed. Sent M'Ahesa's top ends just underneath her breasts. It has very long sleeves and in extension it is probably equipped with sticks to prolong the wings – a feature which recalls the costume constructions of the American dancer Loie Fuller (1862–1928) (Matamoros 2021, 257–286). The stylized wings are made of what looks to be shiny textile fabric with black ribbons. They reach from her shoulders to the end of her torso and extend beyond her hands with the aforementioned prolongation. Sent M'Ahesa is wearing a textile headdress that combines braided hair and textile ornamentation. A rhinestone jewelled button-like ornament hides her ears and a large pectoral of beads in different colours complete the costume. Again, she is barefooted and her feet, together with the legs, are ornamented with body paint. With its large wings, this costume must have had a particular effect on Sent M'Ahesa's choreography. From the few studio photographs it is impossible to draw even hypothetical conclusions on how the dance might have been executed. The only assumption one can make is that Sent M'Ahesa focused on the extension of the wings either in a standing or a seated position and that she wrapped these wings around her body, as shown in another photograph by Holdt (Fig. 13.3).[13]

Fig. 13.3. Sent M'Ahesa in Isis *or* The Moongoddess *(*Die Mondgöttin*). Photo by Hanns Holdt, s.a., distributed under a CC-BY 2.0 license. See https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sent_M%27ahesa_(Elsa_von_Carlberg)_by_Hanns_Holdt.jpg (accessed 13.10.2021).*

Further photographs of Sent M'Ahesa as *Isis* or *The Moongoddess* prove that the costume, notably her headdress and her skirt, underwent several changes. These alterations are even more noticeable from the photographs because the dancer is represented in the same profile pose with her left leg bent, right leg extended behind her, and her winged arms wrapped around her. In another photograph by Debschitz-Kunowski, the dancer is wearing a *plissé* skirt instead of the skirt with the stripes as well as a different headdress – its form is inspired by the ancient Egyptian vulture crown (Brandenburg 1913, pl. 21). In a photograph by Franz Löwy, Sent M'Ahesa holds her winged arms in a slightly different pose. Here, she extends one wing to the floor and holds the other one in a bent, horizontal position. She is adorned with yet another textile headdress with braids in contrasting colours (Aubel and Aubel 1928, 15).[14]

Unfortunately, the photographic medium does not disclose more information about materials and methods of construction. Furthermore, the question as to which artworks and models inspired the dancer for her costume designs is hard to answer, since no document concerning the creation process has been found. Although contemporary critics of Sent M'Ahesa underline her academic studies in order to prove her 'authentic' approach – as I will later show – her actual sources seem to have not yet been disclosed. Once the dancer quit the stage, she did not leave any detailed account or an archive documenting her artistic life, perhaps because she was sceptical about the claim of memory by posterity (Petersen 1971, 83). An exhaustive study of her (artistic) life and work remains missing.

What images of Sent M'Ahesa do show is that her costuming was notably revealing. It comes without surprise that this, combined with her singular physical appearance, provoked many comments among the patriarchal, conservative society of the early 20th century. The psychologist Fritz Giese (1890–1935), for example, writes that Senta M'Ahesa was 'neither young nor beautiful, but eminently intelligent and with a fabulously trained body'[15] (Giese 1924, 175). Beyond such remarks, her social background, academic studies and artistic endeavours would be confronted with sexist reception by contemporary dance critics. Not only was she often reduced to her physical appearance as a female dancer, she further faced the deep-rooted distrust towards female academics and intellectual women characteristic of her time. Against this, Sent M'Ahesa devised strategies of self-legitimization, which she originated and developed throughout her career.

Sent M'Ahesa was the stage name of Elsa Margaretha Luisa von Carlberg (1883–1970). Elsa von Carlberg, daughter of town councillor Nicolai von Carlberg and his German-Swedish wife Justine Paling, was born in Riga, then part of the Russian Empire.[16] Almost nothing is known

about her childhood, besides the fact that she lived in a country house with horses belonging to her family. In 1905, she went to Berlin with her sister Erika (nicknamed 'Ea') (1886–1951) in order to attend a grammar school. It seems she already attended lectures at the university before her final school exam. In her biographical data it is generally indicated that she studied Egyptology. Although the chair for Egyptology at the Humboldt University of Berlin was already founded in 1841, women were only allowed to attend as full students in 1908. Consequently, it is via indirect sources in the biographical archives of the Swiss writer Albert Steffen, a fellow student, friend and lover of Elsa von Carlberg, that one can deduce that she attended lectures by the German philosopher Georg Simmel (1858–1918) as well as the Swiss art historian Heinrich Wölfflin (1864–1945) (Matile 2012b, 58). The German philologist Friedrich von der Leyen (1873–1966) remembers her as a student in his memoirs, writing that he encountered her once at the state library, carrying heavy books, and that he asked her what she was doing. She answered him, 'I will be an Egyptian dancer'.[17] He adds that 'her art emerged from very serious, very empathic studies'[18] (van der Leyen, 1960, 97). It is not clear whether she truly 'became so enchanted with ancient Egyptian art and artefacts that she decided to pursue her interest through dance rather than scholarship' (Toepfer 1997, 175) or whether the necessity to earn a living made her choose a dance performance career (Steffen 1909, 23–24; 1911, 27). Interestingly, Steffen does not mention that she wanted to become an Egyptologist, but that she considered becoming a psychologist (1909, 24). In any case, she left Berlin shortly to study in Freiburg at Breisgau before going to Munich where she attended lectures in philosophy, history and archaeology (Ochaim and Balk 1998, 140–141; Matile 2012b, 59).

As Sent M'Ahesa made her stage debut with her 'ancient Egyptian' dances in the Künstlerhaus in Munich in November–December 1909, an anonymous dance critic presents her in the following manner:

> The Ancient Egyptian dance artist Sent M'Ahesa. At the Künstlerhaus in Munich, where the stars of Rita Saccheto, Isadora Duncan and Ruth St. Denis rose, an Ancient Egyptian dance artist has performed with great success. She has plunged herself deeply in the problems of Egyptian art and achieved astounding effects with her costumes in proper style together with her slender appearance and her sharp profile. The artist is a foreigner, comes from a distinguished family and initially pursued philosophical studies. Counterbalancing her mental work, she dedicated herself to dance in her leisurely hours. In doing so, her sensational predisposition for the embodiment of Ancient Egyptian types and movements awoke and through in-depth studies of the art and culture of the Ancient Egyptians by and by ideas for her poses and dances emerged, which are heightened further by an artistic stage set and an oriental music accompaniment. (Anon. 1909, s.p.)[19]

Several recurrent motifs are noteworthy in this text: emphasis on Sent M'Ahesa's studies, mentions of her personal background, reference to her physical appearance and the perception that what she presents is 'in proper style'.[20] One of the major sources in the discourse around Sent M'Ahesa is the critique of journalist Karl Ettlinger (1882–1939), which introduces her in a similar manner by saying that 'she is a lady in her mid-twenties, a foreigner, who studied philosophy and history at German universities'.[21] For unknown reasons, Ettlinger published his critique of Sent M'ahesa's performance in November–December 1909 only in April 1910 in the magazine *Das Theater* (Ettlinger 1991 [1910]).[22] He emphasizes her academic background, too – unusual for a dancer and a woman of her time – which helped to legitimate her choice of presenting 'ancient Egyptian' dances. This motif will be repeated in many press articles, where she is defined as a 'scholar among dancers'[23] and an 'academic dancer'[24] (M. E. 1919, 5). Ettlinger infers that the audience did not know what to expect from such dances, and this emphasizes their surprise and novelty. Regardless of this recurrent preamble, he does not see her dance as a reconstruction of 'authentic' ancient Egyptian dance and insists on her expressionist singularity:

> Sent M'ahesa's dance has nothing to do with what one commonly understands as dance. She does not produce 'beautiful', 'sensually titillating' effects. She does not represent feelings, 'fear', 'horror', 'lust', 'despair', as 'lovely'. Her art requires its own style. Her movements are angular, geometrically uncircular, just as we find them in old Egyptian paintings and reliefs. Neither softness of line nor playful grace are weapons with which she puts us under her spell. On the contrary, her body constructs hard, quite unnaturally broken lines. Arms and legs take on nearly doll-like attitudes. But precisely this deliberate limiting of gestures gives her the possibility of until now unknown, utterly minute intensities, the most exquisite refinements of bodily expression. With a sinking of the arm of only a few millimetre, she calls forth effects which all the tricks of the ballet school cannot teach. (Transl. Toepfer 1997, 177).

> Her technique is so entirely new that any comparison to other dancers is nonsensical. … This being said, Sent M'ahesa's dances are no servile imitations of the round dance as depicted in ancient Egyptian artworks. The Pharaonic kingdom has never seen dances in the manner of Sent M'ahesa.[25] (Ettlinger 1991 [1910], [34])

In this passage it becomes obvious that artworks of ancient Egypt served as inspirations to Sent M'Ahesa's Eurocentric representations and that she adopted certain stylistic elements without attempting a reconstruction. The writer Hans Brandenburg (1885–1968) confirms,

> It is of no interest to us, how and with how much cultural and historical precision Sent M'ahesa proceeded, because she did not aim at a cultural and historical precision. She

> does not want to represent Ancient Egyptian art, but the relationship of a modern, European person towards this art …[26] (Brandenburg 1913, 42)

Sent M'Ahesa was certainly using quotations of specific – for her audience recognizable – aesthetic elements in her costume as well as in her dance poses. However, her interpretations allowed her to develop her own dance language while also maintaining the discourse of the learned Egyptologist attitude around her creations – at least until she extended her interest to other 'exotic' dance interpretations, drawing and culturally appropriating from the Indian, Persian, modern Egyptian or Javanese culture. Sent M'Ahesa had taken dance lessons while studying in Berlin, firstly with Irene Sanden, who gave her debut in Berlin in 1905 performing to classical music,[27] and secondly with a ballet master named Kopp (Ettlinger 1991 [1910], 34). In her early career, however, she was seen and announced as a specialist of Egyptian dances, as this notice of a performance with an extended programme in a Munich newspaper in the summer of 1912 at the Künstlertheater shows:

> Her performances now appear very homogeneous and all of them have been developed starting from the Egyptian basic form, from a highly rhythmic dance step, which can be considered as the dancer's trademark.[28] (Anon. 1912, s.p.)

Not every review, though, was wholly appreciative. The dance critic Alphons Török, for example, who saw Sent M'Ahesa's performance at the Kammerspiele in Vienna in 1917, wrote that she executed her dances with a 'more or less important apparatus of costumes and scenery'[29] (1918, 19). Significantly, he observes that, 'This beautiful, thoroughly trained body does not present fluent movement, no development, no transitions, but contrasts, final points and in between some reflection'[30] (Török 1918, 19). He was of the opinion that 'a multitude of ethnological facts were revealed … – but still, throughout the evening there was hardly any pleasurable moment, which automatically arises when corporeal movements are based completely on the musical foundation and on inner feelings, free from intellectual influences'[31] (Török 1918, 19). In short, Sent M'Ahesa's performance seemed too intellectual for him – and apparently for the general Viennese audience as well: Török is not the only critic who expressed his opinion that Sent M'Ahesa lacked 'passion and soul', as journalist Wilhelm Ehlers put it (Ehlers 1920, s.p.).[32] Indeed, it seems that Sent M'Ahesa succeeded in eluding the sexualized gaze with which so many dancers in her and past generations were confronted. As the writer Frank Thiess terms it, there was something 'asexual'[33] about her, although her costumes revealed a lot of bare skin (Thiess 1920, 29). This, of course, is very telling in its implied sexism as well, although Thiess meant to pay a compliment to the dancer, congratulating her on her creative achievements.

As a young man, the dancer and choreographer Kurt Jooss (1901–1979) was struck by a performance of Sent M'Ahesa in Stuttgart during the winter of 1920/21. Much later, in spring 1971, he qualified her work as 'archaeological'[34] (Petersen 1971, 73), specifying, 'we do not know if the Egyptians danced like her. However, when Sent M'ahesa connected certain poses to images in movement, it was convincing, it was of extraordinary shaping power'[35] (Petersen 1971, 74). Despite Jooss' affirmative assessment, Sent M'Ahesa's dance career is full of moments of ambiguity. If she earned her reputation first as the dancer who, ostensibly, 'revived' ancient Egyptian dances and also created dances of an equally imaginary modern Egypt, the dance titles in the various programmes of her dance concerts illustrate her broad approach to 'oriental' and 'exotic' themes and motifs later in her career.[36] Sent M'Ahesa performed throughout the 1910s and 1920s, touring mostly through Germany and other European countries. On 23 June in 1917, she performed at the Theater am Gärtnerplatz in Munich and presented the following dances: *Dance of the Bedouins* (*Beduinen-Tanz*), *Dance with Cymbals* (*Cymbeltanz*), *Dance of a Siamese Divinity* (*Tanz einer siamesischen Gottheit*), *Arabesque* (*Arabeske*), *Indian Mask Dance* (*Indischer Maskentanz*), *Dance from 'Belsazar's Banquet'* (*Tanz aus 'Belsazars Gastmahl'*) (Anon. 1917).[37] Only *Beduinen-Tanz* was linked to modern Egypt, but during that specific evening she danced none of her 'ancient Egyptian' creations. In Paris, where she made her debut performance in 1923 and where she was perceived much more as (yet another) 'exotic' dancer and less as someone who was a specialist in ancient Egyptian dance (Décoret-Ahiha 2004, 233–234), the French dance critic André Levinson (1877–1933) was not at all convinced by her performances, judging her 'exotic evocations as arbitrary as incomplete' (Levinson 1923, 5). It seems as though Sent M'Ahesa did not develop her style further in her later career, which was not necessarily perceived as negative (Dotzler 1926, s.p.).

Although the dancer never founded a school, she had several pupils, among them Olga Breling (1896–1995), a former student of the Elizabeth Duncan School in Darmstadt-Marienhöhe, whom she taught in Berlin in 1915.[38] Sent M'Ahesa quit her dancing career after the mid-1920s and went to live in Sweden in 1932 (Petersen 1971, 79–80), where she worked as a translator and journalist. She also continued to publish articles in German and shared her memories of her encounters with the writer Rainer Maria Rilke (1875–1926) (M'Ahesa 1947, 71–74). From 1951 on, she also worked at the library of the Drottningholm Theatre (Petersen 1971, 71). She died in Stockholm on 19 November 1970.

For her contemporaries it appears that her physical appearance held a key for her choice to embody 'ancient Egyptian' dancers on stage. Brandenburg considers whether 'someone, or perhaps only her own mirror image, attracted

her attention to her Egyptian type'[39] and argues 'that she understood that Egyptian costumes and masks were the only ones that "befitted" her peculiar characteristic appearance'[40] (Brandenburg 1913, 42). He states that for her 'dances, movement is secondary. Sent M'Ahesa starts with her appearance, and her movements serve her appearance in such a way that in our imagination nothing is left at the end, but the appearance, an image, full of singularity and taste'[41] (Brandenburg 1913, 44).

Apparently, as indicated by Brandenburg, Elsa von Carlberg was not just fascinated by ancient Egyptian culture, but her strategy was linked to a certain discrepancy with her own physical appearance and the beauty standards of her time. To a certain extent, an ancient Egyptian imaginary helped her link the particular features of her face to a culture where she recognized herself. It is thus possible that Sent M'Ahesa's own face, in connection with her Egyptological studies, incited her to create an artistic alter ego which she fashioned after ancient Egyptian art. A fragmentary dance critique published in 1919 refers to Sent M'Ahesa's physical appearance as the starting point of her art in a way that oscillates between irony and disrespect, comparing her dances with Ruth St Denis by saying that the artist,

> … discovered that her 'Ponim' [fringes], dressed in an Egyptian manner, appeared characteristic and interesting. And now she dances skilfully in 'imitation of pharaonic paintings' Ancient Egyptian dances. She looks, one has to admit, fabulously 'authentic'.[42] (Artistisches Fachblatt 1919, s.p.)

That same year (1919), Sent M'Ahesa also performed in Karlsruhe. That evening's anonymous dance critic refers to her physiognomy with the words, 'racy, oriental face'[43] (Anon. 1919, s.p.).[44] Pushing back against such perceptions, the writer Frank Thiess (1890–1977) explains his view on M'Ahesa's reception in a publicly published letter addressed to the dancer herself:

> I am thinking about this right now, because you used to be referred to as a 'historical dancer', which is completely wrong, as you were starting from the spirit of the ancient orient or ancient India or Siam, while you consciously neglected a historically imitating costume. The reason for this, of course, is to be found in the unconscious – initially. If we look for it one level further, we can detect it clearly. You did not refer to ancient cultures because your face is the one of King Amenophis' IVth daughter (one should ask Hoetger, who placed Sent M'ahesa's head amongst his ancient Egyptian visions), but because Egypt or Ancient India or Babylon presented themselves as those cultures to you, in which dance ranked first among the arts. The Chinese-Mongolian as well as the Indian-Arian or the Egyptian-Oriental culture are inconceivable without dance. For them, dance was *the* form of art that represented *their* feeling for the world in the most accurate and most beautiful way.[45] (Thiess 1922, 170)

Obviously, not only Brandenburg's reference to the supposedly 'Egyptian type' as well as Thiess' letter, in connection with the discourse on Sent M'Ahesa's physical appearance and extra-European cultures is highly problematic, since they reveal how deeply rooted the racial theories were in the spirit of her contemporaries. It therefore comes without surprise that several photographs prove that Sent M'Ahesa painted her skin (Aubel and Aubel 1928, 14) so that it looked darker, befitting the representation of what she probably thought the audience would expect of an 'Egyptian' dancer (Bourne 2021, 71–73). It seems that she toured with a rubber bathtub as part of her luggage (Petersen 1971, 74). Sometimes she also painted parts of her body, especially her feet, ankles and even her shins, either to refer to non-existent sandals (Aubel and Aubel 1928, 14–15, 17, 20, 22–23) or also for purely ornamental purposes (Aubel and Aubel 1928, 16). Her practice of brownfacing was probably purposed to conceal her European origins, which is even more problematic, since she economically relied on her privileged upbringing and cultural capital (Bourdieu and Passeron 1970, 87–113). For the time being, however, no publication or writings propose her motivation for this self-exotification. Did she decide it out of her own motivation or was this suggested to her by, for example, one of her critics?

As Thiess mentions, Sent M'Ahesa – like so many modern dancers – inspired many visual artists, among others Max Beckmann (1884–1950), who drew a portrait of her in 1921,[46] and Antoine Bourdelle (1861–1929) who drew her in *La Mort du Cygne* (1929) (Bourdelle 2022).[47] Yet, it would be the portrait-busts, created in 1917 by the German sculptor Bernhard Hoetger (1874–1949), that immortalized the formal comparison of her profile with the bust of Queen Nefertiti (ca. 1370–ca.1330 BC) (Stamm 2013, 72–73).[48] In 1917, the Sent M'Ahesa lived in the same house as the sculptor and his wife Lee – the concert pianist Helene Natalie Haken (1880–1967) and sister of the painter Paula Modersohn-Becker (1876–1907). Hoetger's bust is qualified as a 'central icon of expressionist sculpture'[49] (Ranfft 1998, 78). Another art historian describes the artwork as follows:

> With this strictly stylized portrait, which does not negate the individual traits, but clearly connects with the representation of pharaohs of the Dynasty 18 in Egypt (just think of Nefertiti's head at the Egyptian Museum in Berlin), the artist was able to create a 'synthesis of different levels of design' that attests Hoetger's mastery and proficiency.[50] (Bartsch 1995, 45)

It is perhaps not insignificant to mention that Nefertiti's famous bust did not have the same iconic reputation back in the days when Hoetger created Sent M'Ahesa's bust, because it was exhibited for the first time in Berlin only in 1924 (Loeben 2013, 29). However, in the artistic and academic community images circulated and Hoetger was

clearly inspired by Nefertiti's bust (Dlugaiczyk 2014, 202). The connection between these two artworks creates a memorial for a dancer, who is certainly considered part of the German expressionist dance scene, but whose work might profit from more extensive research.

In the ambient Egyptomania of the beginning of the 20th century another artist should be mentioned, the German dancer Charlotte Bara, formerly Charlotte Bachrach (1901–1986), who created choreographies inspired by ancient Egypt.[51] Among her creations for her first concert solo performance in Brussels in 1917 was a *Mummy Dance* (*Tanz der Mumie*) (Toepfer 1997, 171). Later she would continue in this in this vein, *i.e.*, *Egyptian Temple Service* (*Ägyptischer Tempeldienst*), *Egyptian Mystery* (*Ägyptisches Mysterium*) in 1919, *The Egyptian* (*Die Ägypterin*) in 1921[52] and *Egyptian Dance* (1922) (Toepfer 1997, 173). Her search for a sacred dimension in her dances, both in topics as well as in form, links her to Sent M'Ahesa (Toepfer 1997, 175) – but also to Nyota Inyoka, to whom this article now turns.

Nyota Inyoka (1896–1971) – dance as a quest of identity and heritage

Questions of identity, embodiment and spiritual quest are at the heart of the (early) creations of the French dancer Nyota Inyoka. Being one of many dancers who have been forgotten by dance historiography for several decades, only recently dance research projects are highlighting diverse aspects of her life and career (López Arnaiz 2020; 2021; Chatterjee 2021; Cramer 2021; Haitzinger *et al.* 2021; Légeret 2021; Chatterjee and Cramer 2022; Chatterjee *et al.* 2022; Gillinger Correa Vivar *et al.* 2022).[53]

At the turn of the 20th century, many female dancers were performing 'exotic' dances in the context of *variété* theatre and music hall. Nyota Inyoka[54] has been listed among those dancers showing imaginary 'oriental' movements and costumes, thus satisfying the demand of an audience looking for 'exotic' thrills (Robinson 1997; Décoret 1998; Décoret-Ahiha 2004). Yet, in comparison to European dancers like Mata Hari (1876–1917) or Sent M'Ahesa, who created completely imagined 'exotic' identities to promote their dances, Nyota Inyoka's case requires especially careful consideration: as a French mixed-heritage woman of colour (Chatterjee *et al.* 2022, 23 and 25), born and raised in very modest circumstances in Paris, she likely faced exotification in her everyday life. As a non-white dancer, she was faced with the necessity of finding a strategy to somehow include her identity into her art and to fend for herself in the context of the Parisian theatre and the entertainment economy. As a consequence, Nyota Inyoka worked to keep origins and upbringing private.[55] For the time being it is only possible to affirm that in her early dance training she was acquainted with classical ballet and that she mentions Georges Gurdjieff's (1866–1949) training method (Chatterjee *et al.* 2022, 26–27, n. 5; Inyoka 1923; 1923–1924). Through her own story-telling as well as through the construction of her archival legacy, deposited in 1983 at the French National Library,[56] Nyota Inyoka only allows a few glimpses into her private life, her (dance) education and how she came to be interested in ancient Egyptian culture. Her strategy of archiving provides fascinating insights into a rich œuvre and shows how conscious she was of the construction of a career as well as an artist's legacy for posterity (Cramer 2021; Chatterjee and Cramer 2022; Chatterjee *et al.* 2022).

> Nyota Inyoka … turns out being a complex case of a life story that alternates between facts, invention, legends and self-determination which requires … a new form of reconstruction of her actual life.[57] (Cramer 2021, s.p.)

Going through her numerous performance programmes, it becomes clear that all through her long artistic career, Nyota Inyoka was creating dances linked to ancient Egyptian as well as modern Egyptian culture, but she has been primarily perceived as an 'Indian' dancer.[58] This is also how she wanted herself to be remembered, since on her tombstone is inscribed 'Nyota Inyoka Hindu Choreographer'[59] (Cramer 2021, s.p.).

In thinking through Inyoka's dance, costume and engagement with Egyptology, in this section I endeavour to leave the privacy of her heritage intact, and to think about the ways that her self-authorship as a dancer and the design of her costumes were interlaced. In so doing, I hope to highlight the ways that her Egyptological research in museums and archives facilitated means by which she could do so. Archives and artefacts provided an external authority through which Inyoka could extract herself and her work from the authority of those who might wish to lay claim to her work – especially the Parisian fashion designer Paul Poiret (1879–1944).

Touring extensively in Europe throughout her career and performing even in the 1923/24 New York season, Nyota Inyoka was a well-known figure in the western dance landscape of her time. She was well connected in the Parisian circle of avant-garde theatre and with artistic personalities, including Poiret, as well as theatre directors Aurélien Lugné-Poe (1869–1940), Gaston Baty (1885–1952) and Jacques Rouché (1862–1957), the director of the Paris Opera from 1914 to 1945. In his autobiography Poiret presents himself as having launched the career of several female performance artists:

> It has often happened to me to discover unknown talents and reveal new names to the public. In the theatre I launched the little Dourga, Hindu dancer, Vanah Yahmi and Nyota Inioka [sic!], who was in turn Vishnu and Krishna.[60] (Poiret 1930, 88)

The patronizing quotation confirms that Poiret gave Nyota Inyoka an elitist and exclusive performance opportunity. However, this was not what 'made' her career. She had already worked for several years as a dancer and had been noticed by journalists. It seems that Nyota Inyoka's first documented stage appearance in the world of Parisian show business was in 1917 with the Folies Bergère, where she was announced as the 'Asian pearl'[61] (Folies Bergère 1917; Cramer 2021, s.p.) and the critique praised 'the exotic charm of Nioka-Nioka'[62] (Dargès 1917, 8). A year later she performed as a dancer in a 'little Hindu ballet'[63] (Décoret 1998, Annexes vol. 2 s.p.). Only a few years later, the Parisian newspaper critics announce her as 'very young Hindu dancer'[64] (J. K. 1921, s.p.) or as 'exquisite Egyptian dancer'[65] (Simple Revue 1921, s.p.), showing that the perception and various assumptions about her origins depended to some extent also on the perception of each journalist – often inspired by her roles and sometimes influenced by how she framed her narrative. In the 1920/21 season, the press remarked on the beauty and grace of Nyota Inyoka as Egyptian dancer in the theatrical adaptation of Pierre Benoit's (1886–1962) bestseller novel *L'Atlantide* at the Théatre Marigny (Inyoka 1921–1925; Cramer 2021, s.p.; Chatterjee and Haitzinger forthcoming).

It is obvious from her early performances that she started her career as an 'exotic dancer' in the *variété* theatre landscape. However, she soon set out to create dances realizing her own artistic aspirations and conceptions. In a French programme for a performance on 13 December 1930 at the Parisian concert hall Pleyel, Nyota Inyoka asserts that 'all dances by Mme nyota-inyoka are "reconstructions" after ancient documents and traditions; they are exclusively her creation',[66] further adding that 'costumes realized under the direction of Mme nyota-inyoka'[67] (Pleyel 1930).[68] This is further emphasized by the *catalogue raisonné* of her choreographic works created by Loulou Roudanez – also a dancer as well as songwriter – where it is stated that 'All dances by Nyota Inyoka are of her composition as well as her costumes'[69] (Roudanez 1947, 106).

Nyota Inyoka's self-made trademark thus became the 'evocation' of ancient and modern India and Egypt. She usually structured her programmes into different categories she had developed over the course of less than two years. One of the earliest examples for her categorization of mostly already created dances is documented by the programme for a dance gala Nyota Inyoka gave in Paris at the Théâtre de l'Œuvre in May 1922 with the *Evocation of Brahmanic India*, *Evocation of Buddhistic India* and the *Evocation of Ancient Egypt* (Inyoka 1921–1925; Théâtre de l'Œuvre 1922).[70] In February 1924 at the Princess Theatre in New York, she would add *Evocation of Modern Egypt* (Inyoka 1921–1925; Princess Theatre 1924). Finally, in the programme of the performance venue The Town Hall in New York on 24 March 1924 *Evocation of Modern India* was added (Inyoka 1921–1925; Town Hall 1924).[71] These categories by no means cover Nyota Inyoka's complete choreographic œuvre, but she would work particularly in their framework and position herself as a specialist in opposition to other 'exotic' or 'oriental' dancers. This becomes not only visible in the many press articles, but in the overall documentation she created herself for the promotion of her career, for instance in her artist's dossier from the end of the 1920s.[72]

Since 1983, her self-collected archive is kept at the Theatre Department of the French National Library.[73] The collection consists of 28 boxes of various documents, press articles, photographs, drawings, letters, journals and includes even musical instruments. In addition, there is a large collection of Nyota Inyoka's personal dance costumes as well as costumes worn by members of the Ballets Nyota Inyoka, founded in 1932 for the performance run at the Théâtre du Vieux Colombier (Théâtre du Vieux Colombier 1932/33).[74] Regrettably, copyright issues about the use of her archive have not yet been legally clarified. Therefore, no original unpublished document can be reproduced for the time being (Légeret 2021, 181).[75] For this reason no images of Nyota Inyoka's costumes can be reproduced (Légeret 2021, 133). Nevertheless, the following section presents the description of several surviving costume artefacts from her archive in combination with three studio photographs by Boris Lipnitzki (1887–1971),[76] taken for two of her dances of the early 1920s as well as one dance from 1930, inspired by ancient Egypt:[77] *Prayer to the Sungods* (*Prière aux Dieux solaires*), *Discipline* and *Archaic Dance* (*Danse archaïque*).[78] As an introduction to each costume description, drawing from photographs as well as costume artefacts, an overview about the genesis of how the dances were presented in the programmes will be given and contextualized. Nyota Inyoka's costumes are an integral part of her artistic expression and through the different costume variations or modifications, it is possible to retrace her emancipation from Poiret's costume designs, although it is not easy to determine the whole evolution. In the end she would claim the costume designs to be her own, she only admits that the first costume creations of three 'Indian' dances *Vishnu*, *Krishna* and *Bayadère* were 'made in collaboration with Paul Poiret'[79] (Roudanez 1947, 106).

Nyota Inyoka performed her first dance creation linked to a theme of ancient Egypt – namely *Dance to the Solar Gods*[80] or *Prayer to the Sungods* (*Prière aux Dieux solaires*[81]) – at the Théâtre de l'Oasis, the private outdoor theatre of fashion designer Paul Poiret in his Parisian residence. From 24 June to 7 July 1921 she appeared with other famous artists, such as Rita Sacchetto (1880–1959), in a mixed programme of music and dance. She firstly presented two dances embodying the gods Vishnu and Krishna in costume creations by Paul Poiret.[82] For *Prayer to the Sungods*, a subtitle explains that it is an 'Egyptian reconstruction'.[83] A separate leaflet

inserted in the very same programme (but without a date) further specifies that it was created '(after hieroglyphic papyri)'[84] featuring the title for the categorization, which Inyoka would use for decades: *Évocation de l'Égypte antique* (Inyoka 1921–1925; Théâtre de l'Oasis 1921, s.p.) and correcting the initially printed French title from singular to plural: *Prière au Dieu solaire* to *Prière aux Dieux solaires* (Inyoka 1921–1925). A year later, in the programme for her dance gala at the Théâtre de l'Œuvre, a quotation by the ancient Greek historiographer Herodot (490/480 BC–430/420 BC) was added and later translated to English in an American programme for the performance at the New York venue Princess Theatre in 1924:

> The Egyptians were the first people to establish the panagyrea, the processions and the supplications. The Greeks derived theirs from Egypt.[85] (Inyoka 1921–1925; Princess Theatre 1924)

The further specifications of her title and the added quotation allow insights into the ways Nyota Inyoka worked and deepened her own perception and connection to her choreographic creations. Furthermore, it can be assumed that this was also a means of intellectually legitimizing her work and of positioning herself in an academic discourse. The additional information as well as quotations from ancient philosophers not only create an artistic, intellectual and spiritual setting, but also reveal Nyota Inyoka's claim that her undertaking reconstituted and re-enacted ancient Egyptian dance by drawing on recognized classical sources about ancient Egyptian antiquity.

Fig. 13.4. Nyota Inyoka in Prayer to the Sun Gods *(*Prière aux Dieux solaires*). Photo by Boris Lipnitzki, no date. © Boris Lipnitzki/ Roger-Viollet.*

Boris Lipnitzki created a series of photographs for Nyota Inyoka in different poses of her dance *Prayer to the Sungods*. In a studio photograph (Fig. 13.4), Nyota Inyoka is sitting in a pose of offering and adoration corresponding to the penultimate pose, no. 32 of her dance notation (Inyoka 1921–1925).[86] Other photographs by Lipnitzki show Nyota Inyoka in the same costume but with different poses and several costume elements are visible (Inyoka 1921–1925).[87] In the following the information gathered in all the photographs will be analysed and condensed. In addition, the different surviving costume artefacts will be described in detail. And finally, a confrontation of different photographs in her archive might shed light on the different costume versions created by Poiret and Nyota Inyoka herself.

In this photograph (see Fig. 13.4) Nyota Inyoka is wearing a *brassière* of unknown colour and material. Around her upper body reaches a ribbon with a metallic pattern of different sizes of circles. It crosses between her breasts, but how it closes at the back is not visible. Underneath the crossing ribbons a semi-circular costume element with multiple details of decoration is attached, which seems to repeat a smaller semi-circular element facing up from her loincloth. She also wears a broad neck-collar. Underneath she is wearing a slip which is a very modern feature in underwear for 1921. Wrapped around her hips she has a very reduced form of a loincloth which almost reaches to the waistline at her back but drops in front underneath her navel. The most peculiar element is her headpiece which either represents an ancient Egyptian cap or else imitates the structure of a wig on a sculpted artwork with its many square sequin elements. Above her front rises a metallic *uraeus* – a symbol only worn by pharaohs. She wears matching wristlets and anklets of the same ribbon around her rib-cage and a set of metallic armlets for her upper arms complete her costume. She is barefoot and much of her skin is revealed.

A few costume elements have survived and are to be found in Inyoka's archive, so that some materials and colours can be included in the costume description. As visible in the photograph (Fig. 13.4) Nyota Inyoka's costume for *Prayer to the Sun Gods* shows a very short version of a stylized loincloth with decorative ceremonial apron. This loincloth is made of brocade with beige and golden metal threads.[88] The pattern is not inspired by ancient Egyptian art, but is a product of geometrical art deco motifs. Some of the woven ornamental elements were painted: bright pink circles or squares as well as mint, royal blue and a few light yellow geometrical forms. A small, square, synthetic sea-green sequin was sewn in every remaining beige square. Several darts on each side as well as in the middle allow a perfect fit around the dancer's backside and hips. All around runs a broad metal-thread ribbon in brown, green, orange, pink

and golden stripes. The loincloth can be attached with hooks and has a little semi-circular ornament facing upwards. This decorative element is made of light brown fabric trimmed with three golden concentric circles with red embroidery on their inner side. The first and smallest half round is covered by an abstract embroidery of light brown, green, red, orange, maize yellow, lilac, very light blue, turquoise and light blue on black fabric. The second semi-circle has no ornamentation, but there are five red arrow-shaped bands attached to it that reach into the third and last semi-circle. Attached below was a costume element that was inspired by a ceremonial apron.[89] It has four stiffened trapezoid layers. The rearmost is red, alternating with the next black and again a red one. The foremost side is made of a gold-thread fabric decorated with geometrically arranged embossed synthetic sequin elements of red, sea-green and off-white in different geometrical forms such as squares, trapezoids and oblongs. The under-most end shows a brown and orange ribbon with a geometrical pattern. A broad golden metal-thread ribbon allowed it to be attached to the stylized loincloth. The neck collar is made of tulle on which five concentric circles of golden metal-thread ribbons were sewn, always letting a row of tulle of about 1 cm show between them.[90] It is about 20 cm broad. In addition, the ribbons were sewn in check-pattern with the same small square synthetic sea-green, alternating with a few white and red sequins. They were attached by yellow threads. The headpiece resembles a helmet-like wig and definitely shows signs of damage.[91] Originally, the main fabric had a green surface on which many of the aforementioned square synthetic sea-green sequins were sewn with light brown thread. On top, there are five white sequins. If this was intentional or in order to repair it is not clear. The headdress was lined with red fabric and the borders were partly strengthened with black grosgrain ribbon. An *ureaus*, much more elaborate than the one shown in the photograph, is also part of the costume collection. It is a metallic piece of costume jewellery with white, red and green rhinestones.[92]

This costume was not created by Poiret but was likely designed by Nyota Inyoka herself. Apparently, the original costume by Poiret is, at least partly, portrayed in a photograph in her scrapbook, where she is also represented in a pose of her notation for *Prayer to the Sun Gods*, no. 25 (Inyoka 1921–1925).[93] The main features are similar at first sight, but the headdress is very different, partly inspired by the *khephresh*, an ancient Egyptian royal headdress sometimes referred to as a 'blue' or 'war' crown, although with figurative gold [?] decoration and round golden elements covering the ears. The *brassière* is also decorated with glittering sequins and strings of pearls, recalling less ancient Egyptian clothing than the common eroticized costume of 'oriental' or 'exotic' *variété* dancers. The *usekh*, a neck-collar made of beads, the stylized loincloth with the ceremonial apron as well as the matching sets of wristbands and anklets are perhaps the elements that the second version of Nyota Inyoka's costume really tries to imitate.[94]

Finally, in her scrapbook, a photograph documenting her stay in the United States between 1923–1924 (Inyoka 1921–1925), shows the aforementioned pose of *Prayer to the Sun Gods* in a different costume.[95] In this anonymously authored photograph, Nyota Inyoka is wearing a textile headdress made of a shiny fabric, evoking the *nemes*, a striped head cloth worn by pharaohs, as well as the vulture headdress. Additionally, an *usekh* is around her neck and she wears a metallic lacy bra, which can be seen in other photographs of her of the same period. Again, a very diminutive, stylized loincloth and apparently the same ceremonial apron as in Poiret's costume adorns her hips. Underneath she is wearing short bloomers, equally made of shiny material. Bracelets are around her wrists. This costume looks less sophisticated than the others.

In one of her boxes with photographs, a symmetrical combination of six small photographs in three different poses can be found.[96] Here, Nyota Inyoka is wearing yet another version of her costume with basically the same elements. Again, the main difference is the headdress: This time its form imitates indeed the *khepresh*, although the details of the decoration are probably less historically accurate. Above, the front it is decorated with an *uraeus*.

Prière aus Dieux solaires was part of Nyota Inyoka's dance programme at the Salon d'Automne in November 1921 in Paris. It would become one of her signature choreographies, which she presented for more than two decades. She also presented her modern Egyptian dance creation *Bédouine* at the same venue (Salon d'Automne 1921).[97]

Only a month later in the same year, Nyota Inyoka created *Egyptian Dance* (*Danse égyptienne*), which she premiered in Brussels at the Cercle Artistique et Littéraire de Bruxelles on 15 December. For her performances at the Théâtre de l'Œuvre in May 1922 she would rename it *Warrior Dance* (*Danse Guerrière*) and later in New York in a programme for the Princess Theatre on 24 February 1924 it would be presented in the final title version: *Discipline* (Inyoka 1921–1925; Princess Theatre 1924).[98] In the Brussels programme it is indicated that the dance was made 'according to the hypogea of Beni-Hassan of Saqqara of Gizeh'[99] (Cercle Artistique 1921; Inyoka 1921–1925; Théâtre de l'Œuvre 1922).[100]

The dance figurines which inspired Nyota Inyoka are a very common motif that illustrated several works of the time. Originally, the depiction of dancers in the bas-relief in the tomb of Ankh-Ma-Hor in Saqqara was published in Jean Capart's *Une Rue de Tombeaux de Sakkarah* (Capart 1907, Fig. LXIX). Although no source in Nyota Inyoka's archive indicates that she knew about the articles and drawings of French artist Valentine Gross (later Valentine Hugo, 1887–1968) on the subject of ancient Egyptian dance in 1914 (Gross 1914a; 1914b; 1914c[101]), it is not unlikely

that Nyota Inyoka had read Gross's articles, in which these dance figurines and Capart's book are prominently presented. Furthermore, another studio photograph by Lipnitzki exists, in which Nyota Inyoka is portrayed in this exact pose (Inyoka 1921–1925), categorized by Kinney as 'Hathoric layout pose' (Kinney 2008, 154–163). The peculiar headdress with the braid-weight as well as the pose with its *développé* of one leg are typical for this famous motif, which would also inspire Irena Lexová as exemplified in the following section (see Fig. 13.9).

In the programme of the Théâtre de l'Œuvre, Nyota Inyoka would add a quotation by Lucian of Samosata (ca. AD 125–after AD 180) referring to the Ethiopian warrior dance culture:

> The Ethiopians combine the dance and the combat. Not one of them would shoot an arrow without first taking threatening attitudes and attempting to intimidate their antagonist with a dance.[102] (Inyoka 1921–1925; Théâtre de l'Œuvre 1922, [Translation:] Princess Theatre 1924)

This warrior-like element is expressed in the studio photograph of Lipnitzki (see Fig. 13.5), where Nyota Inyoka is shown in the stylized profile pose of an archer: she is kneeling on her left knee with the weight distributed between her knee and the toes of her feet as well as the toes of her other leg. Her upper body is bent backwards and presented in a three-quarter view. With her left arm bent, she seems to draw the bow. The right arm is stretched in front of her. However, her fists are held parallel to the floor. She holds her head in profile with the gaze of her eyes a little higher than the horizontal line.

Fig. 13.5. Nyota Inyoka in Discipline*. Photo by Boris Lipnitzki, no date. © Boris Lipnitzki/Roger-Viollet.*

The main features of the costume for *Egyptian Dance* / *Discipline* resemble the costume created for *Prayer to the Sungods*. Again, Nyota Inyoka is wearing a very short loincloth wrapped around her hips with a slip underneath. From the photograph a pattern is not easily identified. The lower border of the loincloth is decorated with a ribbon. A broad girdle with a ceremonial apron is hiding the upper border and accentuating the low waistline. The girdle is decorated with large appliqués imitating stones. Her bra is made from a shiny material, that looks metallic, and a broad ribbon, also seemingly metallic, with a check pattern crossing in front of her torso. Around her neck and shoulders lies a broad textile collar with several stripes of different colours. Around her wrists and ankles are two pairs of matching ribbons serving as bracelets and anklets. Around her arms Nyota Inyoka seems to be wearing the same metal armlets as in *Prayer to the Sungods*. The most prominent feature in this costume is her headdress, which consists of a textile cap decorated with several rows of metallic sequin applications and a long textile braid with a braid-weight at its end.

Among the surviving costume artefacts are two versions of the stylized loincloth. There is an older version of a very brilliant black and silver brocade with a fish-scale pattern.[103] The form and drafts are very similar to the version for *Prayer to the Sun Gods*, but there is no ribbon as border or girdle. This costume part is recognizable in several photographs in Nyota Inyoka's own scrapbooks.[104] Apparently, the lower border of the stylized loincloth was formerly fringed with strings of glass beads. In addition, there was a ceremonial apron of metallic fabric, supposedly in silver. In some photographs, Nyota Inyoka is not wearing this costume element, but only a long ribbon.[105] The shape of the other costume elements is the same, but the material is different.

And then there is a newer version, which seems to be identical to Nyota Inyoka's costume in Lipnitzki's photograph.[106] Again, the shape is the same, but it has a very broad border around the waistline as well as a decorative ribbon on the lower border. The fabric is gold *lamé* with a geometrical pattern of broader and narrower red and green stripes. In addition, the aforementioned small square synthetic sea-green sequins are sewn on it. The upper border is made of rather stiff material, a kind of red felted fabric bordered with gold embroidery. Again, gold sequins in the shape of stars and disks as well as larger sequins in turquoise with gold sprinkles, almost resembling drops, are affixed. It is broadest at the back and narrows slightly towards the fastening. The lower border is decorated with a purple and gold ribbon with a geometric flowery pattern. This loincloth also has a yellow silk lining. Again, there are also at least two variants of the headdress, both in the form of a helmet-like cap with a braid ending in a braid-weight: one which seems to repeat a net-like structure with metallic

threads[107] and another made of a matte uni-coloured textile on which several rows of metal sequins are sewn.

Nyota Inyoka performed this dance in context with another creation inspired by 'Modern Egypt' (*L'Égypte moderne*) *Bédouine*.[108] The Franco-Belgian writer and dance critic Fernand Divoire (1883–1951) resumed these two choreographies in the following terms:

> She punctuated the cheerful calling of the Bedouin woman to voluptuousness with a snap of her fingers. She wanted to recreate a warrior dance from Ancient Egypt that was more a race towards a battle: not a ride, but a race of infantry soldiers bent by the hard discipline of ancient armies.[109] (Divoire 1922, 215)

Nyota Inyoka's third costume of her earlier career for *Archaic Dance* (*Danse archaïque*) seems to date from 1932 and for the time being there is not much information to be found about this creation.[110] Lipnitzki's studio photograph shows Nyota Inyoka's head in profile and her body in a three-quarter view. Her arms are lifted above her head in a position similar to the 'diamond dance' (Kinney 2008, 54–72), but her hands are not rigid and she has lifted her left leg off the floor while bending her thigh to a 90-degree angle (Fig. 13.6). The costume consists of tricot with reduced ornaments that only quotes essential ancient Egyptian elements. It represents an even more modern and radical interpretation. The apparently white tricot is made of a jersey material and has only one shoulder strap, underneath she is wearing a bra. The body suit closely fits her upper body. In the photograph stitches of the upper border and the fastening under her left arm are visible. She is wearing textile wristbands anklets and apparently a colour-matching textile neck-collar. Around her upper arms are a set of metallic bracelets. Again, it is the headdress which is most intriguing.[111] It imitates a wig, but without really imitating hair. This accessory has also been conserved in Nyota Inyoka's costume archives, which allows a detailed description: it is made of black thread with a beige and dark blue interwoven ribbon that borders the forehead and encircles the head like a *taenia*. At the lower border is a matching beige and dark blue ribbon with additional dark blue fringes that create a resemblance with a shoulder-length bob.

The same wig-like headdress was worn by several female dancers of Nyota Inyoka's company, Ballets Nyota Inyoka, in the choreography *Cortege* (*Cortège*), inspired by the depiction of ancient Egyptian musicians.[112] Although Nyota Inyoka herself seemed not to have performed with bare breasts, in this choreography created in 1932 at the Théâtre du Vieux Colombier some of the costumes of the female dancers leave their breasts uncovered (Théâtre du Vieux Colombier 1932/33).[113] From Nyota Inyoka's career and archive it becomes obvious that she did not use nudity as a sensationalist feature, as was the case for many dancers of the *variété* theatre. She intended to represent ancient Egyptian costumes and to create a symbolic distance via the solemn character of the choreographic poses. Archaeologist Larissa Bonfante (1931–2019) explains that in many ancient societies a magical dimension is inherent to the unveiled female breast: 'It was saved for special situations or specific ritual ceremonies' (Bonfante 1989, 544–545). Nyota Inyoka could certainly relate to this ceremonial and ritual dimension and integrate partial nudity on stage outside the moral and social conceptions of Western society, be it on or offstage.[114]

Extensive attention to the details of Inyoka's costuming shows that she continuously reworked and refined the details of her adornment – as well as her dances – throughout her career. Her costumes thus became a part of her authorship, which was an innovation for her as an artist precedented by her break with Paul Poiret. From some (dream) journal entries by Nyota Inyoka it becomes clear that there must have been a major conflict with Poiret, apparently about unpaid bills, but it seems that there were perhaps different expectations concerning their collaboration (Inyoka 1923;[115] 1923–1924[116]). In Poiret's autobiography, he claims:

> None of the stars that I have just mentioned (Dourga, Vanah Yahmi, Nyota Inyoka *et al.*) has remained in contact with me: We have seen them fade one by one, at the same time as they moved away from my orbit. Were they just planets? Did they need my sun? I would not dare to claim it, but I am nevertheless certain of having provided them with the opportunity for a unique job, and of having fertilized their talent by the possibilities and the options that I offered them.[117] (Poiret 1930, 89)

Fig. 13.6. Nyota Inyoka in Archaic Dance *(*Danse archaique*). Photo by Boris Lipnitzki, no date. © Boris Lipnitzki/Roger-Viollet.*

By the time Poiret published his book in 1930, Dourga (1899–1923) was long dead (Décoret 1998, Annexes vol. 1, s.p.), whereas Vanah Yahmi (1900–1985) continued to perform as a dancer and actress (Décoret 1998, Annexes vol. 3, s.p.) and Nyota Inyoka had been touring extensively with her dance recitals and would be one of the major stars of the evening performances in *The Hindu Night* (*La Nuit Hindoue*) at the Paris *Exposition coloniale* in 1931 (Olivier 1933, 632). Poiret's comment shows his own need of adulation as well as the typical dependence of female artists on male patronage which allowed no real collaboration at eye-level. Even though Poiret indeed offered a platform for Nyota Inyoka by integrating her in his private theatre performances and by creating costumes for her, she soon enough emancipated herself by creating her own costume versions. That there was a time of transition becomes visible in various press articles of her 1923/24 New York performances which announce that Nyota Inyoka would perform in Poiret's costumes[118] – a specification used as means of publicity – while at other moments it was stated that the costumes were her own creation. Several photographs taken in New York document this process as well. If the shape and choice of Inyoka's costume elements did not change dramatically, the constant reworking of their details shows her careful attention to costume as integral to her authorship as a performer (Inyoka 1921–1925).

Against the backdrop of how Inyoka herself chose to adorn herself, describe herself and move her own body, the information on Nyota Inyoka's personal history printed in newspaper articles is more than often unreliable, fictitious and serves sensationalist marketing purposes. Some US American newspaper articles covering Nyota Inyoka's New York performances in 1923–1924 linked her stage appearances and her public persona to the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun on 4 November 1922, which led to sensationalist press covering. One critique also comments, in a lurid manner of doubtful humour, on her costume – or as it often occurs with show dancers – on the lack of it:

> It is unlikely that King Tut-ankh-Amen will himself be represented on the stage – at least, not until this tomb is opened for the fall tourist trade in October. But John Murray Anderson has just done the next best thing by engaging for his forthcoming musical comedy, 'Jack and Jill', an Egyptian of to-day, called Princess Nyota-Nyoka, who is announced as 'a disciple of King Tut', and who, it is said, 'will wear a costume that will call for "tut, tut".' (Inyoka 1921–1925, s.p.)[119]

The same article continues, referring to Nyota Inyoka's newly acquired independence from Paul Poiret's costumes, yet the description of her costume is of a scandalous tone, eroticizing and reducing her to a gossiping 'exotic' creature beyond traditional western morals. Obviously, not one word is used on her dance or art:

> Having been born at Assouan near the first cataract of the Nile, this young woman has naturally specialized in Egyptian and Hindu creations – else why be a dancer at all? In the Anderson show at the Globe Theater on Thursday she will do a special solo number created by her in Paris last winter at the Theater de l'Oasis, but although this is Paul Poiret's own playhouse she will not wear a costume designed by him – or indeed by anyone else. Her attire will consist primarily of a headdress, according to the solemn assurance given, and beyond that it will be comprised of several strings of beads judiciously disposed, and – oh yes, henna. An Egyptian dancer would feel frightfully public if she came on stage without a few dabs of henna disguising her toe nails. (Inyoka 1921–1925, s.p.)[120]

This sexualized and racialized discourse is a leitmotif throughout the press reception of Nyota Inyoka's career: Nyota Inyoka's presentation by dance critic André Levinson is written in a less sensational style, but ultimately is only a little more appreciative (Levinson 1929, 308–310). He situates her in the 'orientalistic' context and differentiates her slightly from 'indigenous' dancers (Haitzinger 2016, 26); while emphasizing how Nyota Inyoka draws her inspirations from artworks, Levinson also reasons with her 'racial' origins as a source of her artistic sensibility:

> We had contemplated more than once this series of dances that Miss Nyota-Inyoka recites, like a rosary of amber and lapis lazuli, evoking, in turn, legendary and modern India, the Valley of the Kings and the Cairo bazaars. No new composition has come, as far as I know, to add to this cycle. But the interpretation studied with infinite care is enriched at each new performance by many subtly insinuated lines. By using a method which is also that of Miss Djemil-Anik, the dancer restores the rites of the ancient East by drawing inspiration from figurative monuments. In the encrusted enamel or the relief of bronze and stone idols eagerly scrutinized, Miss Nyota looks for clues and vestiges of saltatory movement. Her intuition as an artist and certain racial affinities allow her to fill in the gaps of investigation and to connect the points of reference provided by the plastic arts. Thus, her choreographic reveries are based on phenomena of another order, but of the same spirit. She animates the statuary, but there is nothing macabre or fixed about this statue coming alive [*Festin de Pierre* is a reference to *Dom Juan ou Le Festin de Pierre* by Molière]. She is rather a goldsmith than a sculptor, insomuch that each facet of her figurines is delicately chiseled. Her program is not a lapidary museum, but a jewel case.[121] (Levinson 1929, 308–309)

Against the 'racial affinities' imagined by Levinson as foundational to her ability to perform ancient dance, Inyoka's address of the statuary was instead reflective of her research as an amateur Egyptologist. As Roudanez further argued in the only official book on her work, Inyoka pursued ancient dance through transcendental artistic gesture rather than by pursuing obscure 'fantasized' origins:

> She could have contented herself with transcribing from ancient statuary the attitudes of the characters she wanted to embody and giving us a sterile reconstruction of mimed and copied legends; but there, Nyota proved that she was a real dancer, and her creation resides in the very personal invention with which she sets these attitudes in motion. Her invention of the evolution of one form into another form is equal to the beauty of the attitude copied. Through multiple variations of attitudes, she changes the rhythm of the ratio of volumes in the space created by the sculptor. The undulation and variety of these attitudes make these dances true masterpieces. Dance equals sculpture. It required a very great dancer to deal with the gods and ancient statuary without disappointing us and to have a remarkable intuition to guess the movement and the rhythm that express the beauty and the idea of the symbol.[122] (Roudanez 1947, 54)

The problem of (dance) poses inspired by ancient Egyptian art or sculptures of other periods and cultures is further discussed by Roudanez in her chapter on space. She defines the difference between a dancer and a sculptor, saying:

> The dancer approaches him [the sculptor] by the sculptural beauty of his attitudes, but what distinguishes them is the invention of movement in order to create a series of these attitudes, this perpetual evolution of one form in another form. It is necessary that the movements develop the form, that their designs in space, their rhythm and their energy should be as beautiful as the form itself … Nothing is more disagreeable and fake than these dancers, who, pretexting erudition, compose a dance in order to reproduce the sculptural attitudes of a style or some epoch, without taking care whether they succeed in creating a succession of equally beautiful movements compared to the copied models' attitudes and if the whole [creation] is constructed in a manner to be interesting in space.[123] (Roudanez 1947, 30)

More importantly, Roudanez seized the emotional impact Nyota Inyoka felt in front of different artworks which she had studied in libraries and museums:

> Nyota Inyoka has been able to exploit to her advantage the antique statuary, but not only by an intelligent comprehension. Her dances are testimonials of an intense emotion which she feels in front of these masterpieces. They are full of audacity which love motivates in order to interpret the intention of what one loves and because of this, they are extremely touching.[124] (Roudanez 1947, 64)

Roudanez's assessment resonates with the assessment of theatre director Lugné-Poe who also praises Nyota Inyoka's capacity of synthesizing her knowledge – gained in libraries and museums, such as the Musée Guimet, the Louvre, the library of fashion designer and art collector Jacques Doucet (1853–1929) – in poses and thus transposing them artistically in her dances (Lugné-Poe 1921). It seems that Nyota Inyoka was significantly a self-taught researcher. In her official marketing documents, she often quotes letters or appreciations of eminent scholars such as Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy (1877–1947) (Inyoka 1921–1925) or Sylvain Lévi (1863–1935), professor at the Collège de France who wrote about Nyota Inyoka's work:

> a reconstitution? an evocation? a resurrection? a triumph of art? a triumph of knowledge? a creation? Indeed, all of this and even more.[125] (Gaveau, 1929)[126]

As exemplified above, attributed origins and the stories of her previous life in European or American newspaper and magazine articles are often fabricated for means of publicity – thus composing a glamorous strategy of exotification and the fashioning of a fascinating public persona. The dancer herself interfaced with this by telling various differing versions of her life herself. In her early diaries she claims to be Egyptian and her belief in (re)incarnation also fashions her artistic visions (Journal 1923; 1923–1924; Chatterjee and Haitzinger forthcoming). The spiritual, artistic and antiquarian ways that Nyota Inyoka confronted ancient Egyptian artworks and historical persons in order to reinforce her own artistic as well as personal strategy as a woman of colour in the French colonial context do not align with the often racist and sexualized approach that sought, at the same time, to frame her as an artist. Even as she was in public discourse racialized as a representative for seemingly authentic 'Indian' culture, as an artist Inyoka publicly and privately explored her affinities with cultures she researched. Her willingness to express this publicly increased over the course of her career. While in her early career she at times simply claimed Egyptian origins (Divoire 1924, 163),[127] in her later career she instead emphasized a spiritual connection to Egypt:

> But I also like the immortal Egypt, where I find interior resonances, impressions lived long ago. I like the simple severity of its painted frescoes, her bas-reliefs, her plastics so bare, in contrast with India, and I admire the place that she attributed to dance in all priestly manifestations, very much like India by the way.[128] (Inyoka 1947, 52)

Nyota Inyoka's œuvre was inspired by mythological and religious legends as well as by artworks of India, Egypt and Assyria (Roudanez, 1947, 51). Unfortunately, little is known about her early schooling, dance training or studies, but it seems that Nyota Inyoka took evening classes rather than that she was a regular student. Her literary references, reading lists, contacts with artists and researchers and the many (un-)realized artistic projects document a life-long learning and research process. Therefore, it seems admissible to count her among the (amateur) Egyptologists and Indologists of her time. From the 1950s onward, Nyota Inyoka also progressively turned to teaching. In a series of conferences of the Union Française des Arts du Costume, the specialist invited to talk about ancient Egyptian as

well as ancient Greek and Roman clothing was Jacques Heuzey (1896–1986) (Heuzey 1922; 1936; Heuzey and Heuzey 1935), whereas Nyota Inyoka presented two talks: one on dress in India and one on clothing in the Malay Archipelago (Conference 1957).[129]

In her late œuvre, Nyota Inyoka continued to work on ancient Egyptian inspirations. A set of 44 costume drawings with a handwritten description dated to 17 March 1958 shows multicoloured costume figurines.[130] Most of them wear a full-body leotard, with only bare face, hands and feet. All of them wear a wig or a headdress. Only the last three figurines, nos 42–44, *Les Filles de Taharga*, *Serviteur d'Horus* et *Les Filles Taharga* show more bare skin, naked arms, legs and breasts. From the drawings one can deduce that Nyota Inyoka intended this series of designs for dancers of colour, although many figurines do not show natural skin tones but green or blue faces or hands. The designs reveal also a technological change in dance costume making. The development and increasing use of synthetic elastic fibres had revolutionized dance wear by now offering a tight-fitting stretchy material that would mould the dancer's figure – a possibility incorporated by Nyota Inyoka's costume designs.

Furthermore, using and reusing (sets of) photographs made to document her dances. Nyota Inyoka explored through photomontage the correspondence of certain dance poses with for the time being unidentified photographs of ancient Egyptian artworks (Chatterjee and Haitzinger forthcoming).

> In a highly modern pictorial strategy, such as photomontage, Inyoka visualizes an *archaeology of movement* framing her work as choreographer and dancer. Directed at the viewer and his/her acquiring of knowledge through photographs she interacts materially with photographic records and envisions a self-perception of her dance through photomontage. (Jahn 2016, 194)

Similar to Sent M'Ahesa, the circulation of certain photographs as a means of marketing and self-assertion created a powerful set of images helping to shape the form of identity Nyota Inyoka was longing to convey to her audience and contemporaries. However, the efforts of modern dancers like Nyota Inyoka to engage in amateur Egyptology and develop archaeology of movement were subjected, as well, to critique by academic Egyptologists of the time. This will be discussed in the following section on a Czech dancer who studied ancient Egyptian dance sources at the Saint-Charles University in Prague in order to recreate ancient Egyptian dance moves.

Irena Lexová (1908–1999) – The dancer in service of Egyptology

The third dancer, Irena Lexová-Zámostná, is perhaps the least recognized artistic personality among the three case studies. On the one hand, this is due to language barriers in European dance research, and on the other hand, to Lexová's own privacy.

Irena Lexová was born in 1908 as the younger daughter of Irena Kvíčalová (1877–1961) and František Lexa, the eminent Czech Egyptologist (Bareš *et al.* 2008, 4–5; Bierbrier 2012a; 2012b; Jůnová Macková 2018).[131] After attending grammar school (Jůnová Macková 2018, 47) she dedicated herself to dance studies in the technique of Émile Jacques Dalcroze (1865–1959) (Siblík 1933, 172) and with Rosalia Chladek (1905–1995) (Růžová 1996, 98). From 1928 she studied not only ancient Egyptian dance in her father's research seminar at the Saint-Charles University in Prague, but also physical education, and she attended lectures in psychology (Růžová 1996, 98). As a result of her academic research Lexová published her book *Ancient Egyptian Dance*, illustrated with drawings by her elder sister Milada who had studied at the Prague Arts School (Jůnová Macková 2018, 47–48). The book is still a reference work today, although some of its discourse and worldview is outdated, because it reflects the racist and hegemonic vision of those times (Lexová 1930). The book was translated into English in 1935 (Lexová 1935; 2000) and into Arabic in 1958 (Lexová 1958).[132] In the foreword of *Ancient Egyptian Dance*, Lexová's father František Lexa explains its genesis and that he, as an Egyptologist, could not recognize what he knew about the ancient Egyptian culture in modern dance performances based on ancient Egyptian dance outside the work of his daughter:

> Some years ago, I saw some modern dancing girls perform Egyptian dances. The common characteristics of these dances were the insipid, jerky movements, unaesthetic postures, and abrupt turns of limbs. Although some of the girls asserted that it was the ancient Egyptian pictures of Egyptian dancers which they copied, I could not recollect seeing such movements and postures on any ancient Egyptian pictures. At that time, I intended to write a treatise on ancient Egyptian dances, but my philological work did not permit me to carry the idea into effect. When, however, my daughter Irena became my pupil, it occurred to me that it would be easier to acquaint her with methods of scientific work than for me to gain expert knowledge of dancing … (Lexová 1935, 3–4)

There is no denying that a certain *Egyptomania of Egyptologists* (Dewachter 1996, 425–433) is at the origin of Lexová's interest in ancient Egyptian dances, given that she was brought up in the atmosphere of her father's studies and that the collaboration on her book was a family enterprise. Lexová would not only deal with the ancient Egyptian dances on a theoretical basis, but put her findings to the practical test, as will be discussed further below.

In her book *Ancient Egyptian Dance*, Lexová classifies dance into 11 categories: 'purely movemental, gymnastic, imitative, pair, group, war, dramatic, lyrical, grotesque, funeral and religious dance' (Lexová 1935, 21–42). She

also presents various accompaniments of dance as well as dances with musical instruments. Then she assesses movements in three groups, namely movements of the legs, of the arms and of the trunk. One chapter each is dedicated to costumes as well as to male and female dancers. She adds two notes, one on the 'historical development of the ancient Egyptian art of dancing' (Lexová 1935, 69–70), saying basically that she does not have enough material to form an opinion (Lexová 1935, 69); and the other one on the 'Egyptian dances, as performed by modern women dancers' (Lexová 1935, 71–72). The publication is completed with a bibliography and features 78 illustrative tables with drawings of artworks from the predynastic period to the Dynasty 26 (Lexová 1935, 85). The Czech dance critic Emmanuel Siblík (1886–1941) emphasizes the fact that Lexová had gathered textual and pictorial material, but that she had only limited access to secondary literature. Despite of this lack of at-hand academic information, her father's knowledge of original ancient Egyptian texts was very valuable (Siblík 1937, 101).

In her costume chapter, Lexová explains that the reason why dancers were often wearing a specific dress for dancing lies in the fact that in an ordinary dress they could not move as freely. Lexová quotes several illustrations as examples for 'the ordinary dress, in dancing, viz. the white garment reaching up to the breast, supported by straps over the shoulders, and down to the ankles' (Lexová, 1935, 57). One black-and-white photograph, belonging to the private family archive and published online,[133] shows Lexová wearing such a garment (see Figs 13.7 and 13.8). She is wearing a long, slim, probably white dress without sleeves attached with two straps around her shoulders (Jůnová Macková 2018, 64). This type of dress would have been worn over a naked upper body, but the photograph shows that the dancer is wearing a kind of *brassière* underneath. Furthermore, the costume includes a broad round textile collar, whose decoration or pattern is not really distinguishable, and a plain-coloured textile headdress with lappets framing her face. Around her wrists, upper arms and ankles are metallic bracelets. She is barefoot and wears black eyeliner around her eyes. This dress is one of the few costumes that would have conditioned the dancer's range of motion, in particular for her legs. In the photograph, her stance is therefore not very wide, but she raises her arms above her head with the hands turned outward in a position Kinney would categorize as typical for the 'diamond dance' (Kinney 2008, 54–72).[134] Lexová did not find this costume very practical, as she declares in her publication, writing in response:

> This is why the women in the Old Kingdom put on men's skirts, consisting of a narrow strip of fabric hanging down from the belt, fastened round the hips and reaching above the knees, so that the body from the hips upwards remains uncovered. (Lexová, 1935, 57)

As mentioned above, Lexová's book also contains a short chapter in which she comments on 'Egyptian Dances, as performed by Modern Women Dancers' (Lexová 1935, 71–72). It is not known to whom she, or her father, refer, whom they might have seen performing. In any case, she criticizes them, writing that 'apart from pictures 33, 34, 72, 74, nowhere do we find angular movements in bending of limbs, witnessing no jerky movements' (Lexová 1935, 71). She then explains in a few examples why certain movements might appear rigid and angular, although she cannot help but be judgemental. Quoting two images from the tomb of Aba that illustrate the problem of a copyist who lived in the 7th century BC and who lacked the talent of the artist of the 25th century BC, Lexová classes it as being part of a time 'when the Egyptian culture was in decadence' (Lexová 1935, 71). Furthermore, she asks what might have inspired the dancers: 'From where did the present day dancers acquire those tasteless movements and postures which they pass off as Egyptian?' (Lexová 1935, 72). Lexová started to investigate the origin of these dances: 'In vain I searched for them in the ancient Orient, in Greece and Rome, till I found them among the Etruscans' (Lexová 1935, 72). So, it seems to the dancer and Egyptologist Lexová that the modern dancers representing 'ancient Egyptian' dance were more inspired by Etruscan than by Egyptian art. This observation is not easy to verify, but her comments are doubly

Fig. 13.7. Portrait of Irena Lexová in a costume inspired by ancient Egyptian clothing. Anonymous photo, no date. With permission of Irena Lexová by Gabriela Zavadilová.

Fig. 13.8. Irena Lexová, unidentified dance. Photo by Heda Pollak, no date. With permission of Irena Lexová by Gabriela Zavadilová.

interesting, because we can see two layers of interpretation here. Firstly, there is the imagined/imaginary movement and costume vocabulary which these dancers, who are not named, have presented on stage as 'ancient Egyptian' dance. Secondly, there is the point of view of Irena Lexová herself, whose description and criticism put yet another lens through which we look at 'ancient Egyptian' dance as interpreted by modern dancers in the beginning of the 20th century. The dancer and researcher Friderica Derra de Moroda (1897–1978) wrote on the library card for Lexová's book, 'The work is not technical but written to show that the usually introduced angular movements are not Egyptian but Etruscan'.[135]

Siblík (1886–1941) mentioned in 1933 that Lexová 'made a point, during a certain period, to illustrate the thesis of her book with her own body'[136] (Siblík 1933, 172). Indeed, Lexová must have worked on the practical application of her theoretical knowledge by recreating 'ancient Egyptian' dances: On 19 May 1930, the same year in which her scholarly work was published, Lexová performed with her dance group at the Prague concert hall Mozarteum. A critique also underlines how trustworthy he considered her theoretical foundations to be (B. 1930, s.p.).

Despite all her academic background, her dances cannot be categorized as re-enactment. Facing so many lacunae, she had to make artistic and original decisions in her choreographies. Siblík approves of some of her solutions, saying, 'sometimes such artistic intuition goes forward more safely than the most careful scientific method.[137] (Siblík 1937, 102). Furthermore, he adds:

> On the whole, her dancing has rejected the profiled mechanical movements to which those women resort who take ancient Egyptian visual documents – imperfectly known to them – literally …. Our dancer has given way to her imagination and has not hesitated to adopt elements of Duncanism as well as Labanism in her dances.[138] (Siblík 1937, 102–103)

Nevertheless, it seems that Lexová could not completely escape the effect of her dance poses. Compellingly, Siblík criticizes exactly what Lexova and her father tried to avoid:

> Being Egyptian, her dances could not escape the static character, contrary to the principle of dance whose material is movement.[139] (Siblík 1934, 80)

Siblík refers to some of her dances of religious inspiration on recited text:

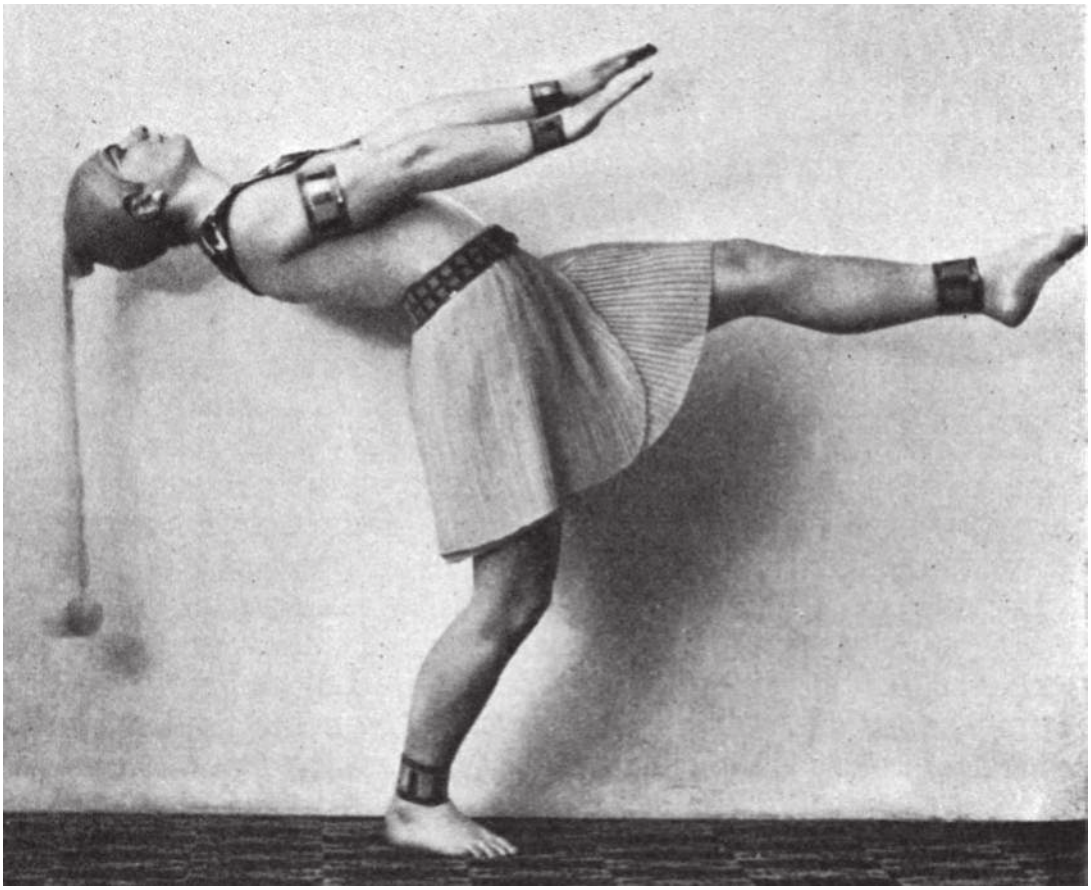


Fig. 13.9. Irena Lexová in the 'Hathoric Layout Pose' in Ancient Egyptian Migrant Dancer *(*Altägyptische Wandertänzerin*). Photo by Heda Pollak, no date. Published in Siblík 1937. Private collection.*

> And here, unfortunately, the dancing was often only a realistic rendering of the words recited, which was occasionally redeemed by an attitude of plastic purity, well identified with the picture, but more or less static.[140] (Siblík 1937, 104)

Worse, the sexist reproach of too much intellectualism addressed to Sent M'Ahesa was also voiced by Siblík concerning Lexová's Egyptian dances:

> In its overall program, the evening was more than an archaeological demonstration with faithfully copied costumes (partial nudity, as Nyota-Nyoka [sic!] and her choir successfully and historically dare to do, would have been appropriate here from time to time), it was rather an attempt to live the acquired knowledge of ancient Egyptian dance before us artistically. In this respect, perhaps our dancer was burdened with scholarship at the expense of an artistic creation of her own, intuitive and convincing in its inner truth.[141] (Siblík 1937, 104)

Siblík, as a very active member of the Parisian Archives Internationales de la Danse, must have been familiar with Nyota Inyoka's performance with her group of dancers at the Théâtre du Vieux Colombier in the 1932/33 season, either through attendance, or by reading critiques and looking at photographs. The 'partial nudity' to which he is referring was an element of the costume design for *Cortège*, where the young female dancers of the Ballets Nyota Inyoka danced bare-breasted. Despite his comment, it is questionable whether Lexová would have chosen to adopt such an aesthetic, considering her family background. This being the case, she argues herself 'that nudity was not so rare and so exciting a phenomenon to the ancient Egyptians as it would be to us to-day' (Lexová 1935, 15).

Only a few black-and-white photographs documenting Lexová's 'ancient Egyptian' dances have survived. Siblík's chapter on Irena Lexová is illustrated by two photographs: one showing her with her dance group while performing a 'Slavonian' dance (Siblík 1937, 105) and another one where she imitates a very famous motif (Siblík 1937, 103), namely the pose of the dancers in the tomb of Ankh-Ma-Hor in Saqqara (Capart 1907, Fig. LXIX) (Fig. 13.9), that Kinney categorizes as 'Hathoric Layout Pose' (Kinney 2008, 154–162). As a reminder: this dance pose also inspired Nyota Inyoka for her dance *Discipline* and the photographer

Lipnitzki photographed her in the studio in this exact pose, which proves that certain poses and images circulated among the European artistic and academic elite. The dance pose is easily identified by the movement itself and by the peculiar headdress – 'a tightly fitting cap, with a narrow long protrusion from the top' (Lexová 1935, 60). Lexová titled her dance *Migrant Dancer* ('*Wandertänzerin*'). In Lexová's photograph, the dancer wears a pale sleeveless dress with a pleated kilt ending a little above her knees. It looks as if the material was a kind of jersey clinging to her body. A textile girdle with very simple geometrical decoration of a grid of squares is arranged around her waistline. Again, wristbands, armlets and anklets adorn her bare arms and legs. They also seem to be made from textile ribbons with metallic threads rather than actual costume jewellery. The collar she is wearing around her neck appears to be made of some textile material. She is also barefoot.

One photograph of Lexová, illustrating an unidentified critique of her dance performance at the Mozarteum in May 1930, shows her in the same dance of an *Ancient Egyptian Migrant Dancer* (Fig. 13.10). The dancer, in a very low lunge in profile, is wearing the same sleeveless dress with a pleated kilt. The only difference is that she is not wearing a wig or headdress – a unique feature compared to Sent M'Ahesa and Nyota Inyoka who covered their hair for their 'ancient Egyptian' dances. Lexová's hairstyle seems to remind the onlooker immediately that she is a young woman in 1930. One is left to wonder if perhaps she thought it to be an authentic hairstyle. Interestingly, she herself points out that this hairstyle was also worn by female ancient Egyptian dancers: 'shortly cut hair erroneously called bobbed hair (à la garçonne) adorns the dancers' heads in Fig. 41, 48, 49 …' (Lexová 1935, 60). Without the costume, her posture in itself does not allow one to identify the dance as inspired by ancient Egyptian art.

Among the dances at the performance at the Mozarteum was also one deliberately grotesque dance in which Lexová interpreted an ostrich, accompanied by František Stoklasa as musician and her sister Milada Lexová as an ancient Egyptian dancer. A photograph of this dance is reproduced in the Czech dance encyclopaedia: the musician is dressed with a cap and probably a loincloth. Milada is wearing a long, slim, probably white dress without sleeves and a textile collar. Around her wrists, upper arms and ankles are metallic bracelets or ribbons. Her hair is uncovered and unadorned, featuring again a haircut that would be identifiable as from the 1930s. Irena Lexová appears to be wearing the same type of short dress as mentioned above with a cap and with her hands she is holding ostrich feathers above her butt. The costume jewellery is gone, and the armlets are textile bands with ostrich feathers attached. It is chiefly her posture that imitates the bird (Holeňová 2001, 174). Interestingly, Lexová's attitude as ostrich seems livelier and more three-dimensional compared to the positions of the musician and her sister Milada, who appear to imitate the two-dimensional representation of ancient Egyptian paintings. A major difference in the pose is her expressive face turned towards the onlooker in comparison to Milada's face in profile.

Certainly, Lexová was not a dancer who confined herself to 'ancient Egyptian' dances. She was a modern dancer and dance pedagogue, who had her own dance studio and school (Holeňová 2001, 174). Already as a child she was a member of the nationalistic Czech movement Sokol, a mixed all-ages gymnastics organization founded in 1862 (Růžová 1996, 98). Lexová based many of her choreographies deliberately on Czech music, in particular folk tunes as well as compositions by Leoš Janáček (1854–1928) or Jaroslav Křička (1882–1969) (Siblík 1933, 173; Růžová 1996, 99; Holeňová 2001, 174–175). Siblík salutes these dances of 'national' character, preferring them to Lexová's 'ancient Egyptian' dances by arguing – again – through her physical appearance:

> Physically speaking, Lexová's silhouette is typically Bohemian, as in Mikoláš Aleš's paintings, yet she managed to make up her head in a perfectly Egyptian manner.[142] (Siblík 1937, 102)

He claims that dancers often realize themselves by discovering their own temperament through the music of their country (Siblík 1934, 80). From this point of view, it becomes obvious why he rejoices in Lexová's 'national' dance inspirations rather than in her work on ancient Egyptian dance:

> And such a temperament was shown [dancing] to Czech music by the dancer [Lexová] whose mistaken ideal was to become a bloodless Egyptian temple dancer.[143] (Siblík 1937, 105)

The reason Siblík criticizes Lexová's cultural appropriation has nothing to do with respect for the ancient Egyptian culture, but springs from his nationalistic tendencies, in which he tries to induce dancers into helping create a 'national artistic identity' in the First Czechoslovak Republic (Siblík 1934, 79–80).

Little is known about Lexová's later life except that she married Václav Zámostný, a technician, that she had three children, and that they left Prague, as her husband worked for the Bafa corporation (Jůnová Macková 2018, 48). Irena Lexová-Zámostná died on 30 December 1999.

Conclusion and outlook

At the beginning of the 20th century, it is in the aforementioned specific context of an increasing number of circulating images of old and new artworks, the development of a new aesthetic of gestures and a certain codification in modern dance photography that the dance and costume creations inspired by ancient Egyptian culture of Sent M'Ahesa, Nyota Inyoka, Irena Lexová as well as of

Fig. 13.10. Irena Lexova in Ancient Egyptian Migrant Dancer *(*Altägyptische Wandertänzerin*). Photo by Heda Pollak, no date. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 4°-ICO-PER 15659.*

Charlotte Bara or Anna Pavlova[144] need to be (re-)framed. At the time, questions of re-enactment and authenticity were not addressed in the same way as at present, yet individual identification with the research topic did play an important part for each dancer. If the dancers (partially) lacked methodology, their undertakings were seriously motivated by the belief that one could resurrect an ancient culture and its spirit through embodiment. European audiences further recognized their efforts as such. Moreover, dance critics perceived their dances as novel, singular artworks: they were not merely copying aesthetics of lost dances of a non-European culture, but each succeeded in using her imagined 'Egypt' as a starting point for finding new aesthetic and individual expressions nurturing the process of modern and

expressionist dance. Nonetheless, a certain Egyptomania can be identified to be interstitially tied to each dancer's success, and toward that end, the construction of costumes played a decisive role. Within the scope of this article, I have aimed to provide grounds for further research on these dancers in the contexts of Egyptology and Egyptomania, and I hope that further undertakings might address, for example, the wider circulation of artworks, motifs and ideas of ancient Egyptian dance and clothing and textile products[145] for the dancers as well as the audiences.[146]

While I have herein focused on individual biographical backgrounds, personal research and artistic processes, the whole cultural and economic context of the different dance performances conditioned their costume creations. Costume historian Donatella Barbieri points out that for the analysis of 'the performance written into [a costume] it is necessary to understand costume beyond its sense of belonging to a performer … and embrace it as itself performing, having been constructed through the application of expert embodied, material and cultural knowledge' (Barbieri 2013, 282). The value of Barbieri's perspective is apparent in analysis of these dancers' written and material archives. As I have endeavoured to show, the legacy of historical thought expressed within the works of these dancers was as much engendered in garb as in pose and movement, and the concept of the 'Dancer Egyptologist' I have hoped to describe herein emerges as an amalgamation of their works.

Whereas authenticity was not at the heart of their dance and costume creations, their genuine interest and serious study of ancient Egyptian culture allows the qualification of all three dancers as Egyptologists – in a broad definition of this word, breaking with the conception that one needs a university diploma to be able to claim this designation. None of the three dancers were in Egypt, but Sent M'Ahesa and particularly Nyota Inyoka had a special connection with its culture. Irena Lexová, being brought up in a family atmosphere of Egyptological research, had certainly also an affective link, but seemed to have been less influenced by it for the construction of her artistic identity.

Summarizing the general tenor of the different critiques for all three dancers – but in particular for Nyota Inyoka, who was subjected to a multitude of objectifications – it becomes obvious how central physical appearance was – and also how their 'ancient Egyptian' dance creations allowed them to escape (at least partly) – the eroticized male gaze. The deep-rooted sexism, nationalism and racism of their time, combined with the complex intricacies of the multiple layers of performances tainted by orientalism, set the framework in which the three dancers had to negotiate their individual artistic expression, economic independence and intellectual achievements. For Nyota Inyoka in particular, her lifelong address of her spiritual, cultural and personal identity as a European female artist of colour emerged as a statement of self-empowerment within an otherwise sexist, racist context. The brownfacing of Sent M'Ahesa – and to a lesser extent Irena Lexová as well as some of Lexová's musicians – produced both a visual imaginary of 'Egyptian' bodies while gesturing toward blackfacing in minstrel colonial practices. Thus, attempts to conceal European origins in order to correspond to what the audiences expected to be authentically 'Egyptian' in terms of a racialized appearance participated in staging racism. Sent M'Ahesa, whose artistic and economic strategy was to create an artistic alter ego, resorted to ornamental body paint on her feet, legs and arms to achieve further self-exotification. All three dancers were not only subjected to remarks on their physical appearance, but to criticism as to their undertaken artistic ventures and intellectual work.

The designs for their costumes show some similar features: they were imitating several elements of Egyptian clothing, but in a spirit of creative reinterpretation, and using modern materials. Besides the anthropomorphic winged costume for *Isis or The Moongoddess* that Sent M'Ahesa wore for her stage debut and which partly conditioned her choreography, the majority of the stage costumes of all three dancers were designed to display the shape of the body and much skin, without resorting to nudity/nakedness, allowing also a wide and unencumbered range of movement. Often, they wore a kind of kilt or a stylized loincloth and a kind of *brassière* as a top. Costume jewellery in form of matching sets of wristlets, bracelets and anklets were never missing. In most cases, their head was covered by wigs or headdresses. All three dancers were performing their dances barefoot.

The performances and the photographs of these three dancers impacted the wider European and US-American reception of 'ancient Egyptian' dance and revealed (mostly) European imaginaries of this culture, its dances and costumes. A potential next step in this area of research could be further comparative studies such as a deepened research for historical models or precise material analysis, which could bring to light more connections, transfers and cultural codifications in modern dance performances as well as in other art forms in the sense of a 'Modernity in the plural'[147] (Haitzinger 2016).

Notes

1 'Nicht das Brennholz, sondern die Flamme wollen wir sehen. / Und welcher Künstler weiß denn überhaupt, was ihm Brennholz war?' Sent M'Ahesa (Elsa von Carlberg) quoting the Swedish artist Björn von Rosen (1905–1918), Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, Collection 79, Estate Helmut Günther, Letter to Helmut Günther, February 24 1964, no. 26.393. All translations, if not indicated otherwise, are by the author.

2 Until recently, none of these three dancers have been often in the spotlight of dance research. Whereas Sent M'Ahesa and Nyota Inyoka were celebrated dancers in their time, Irena Lexová was internationally known as a book author and less so as a dancer.

This article has been written in the context of the research project 'Border-Dancing Across Time. The (Forgotten) Parisian Choreographer Nyota Inyoka, her Œuvre, and Questions of Choreographing Créolité' (Austrian Science Fund (FWF); Project 31958-G) at the University of Salzburg under the direction of Nicole Haitzinger. The other members of the research team are Sandra Chatterjee, Franz Anton Cramer and Christina Gillinger Correa Vivar. https://project-nyota-inyoka.sbg.ac.at/ (accessed 30.05.2022).

3 'Alte reife Kulturen sollen der Gefühlsunsicherheit unserer Zeit Surrogate liefern.'

4 Cologne, Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, Collection Sent M'Ahesa.

5 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Arts du Spectacle, COL 119.

6 In the past few years, several publications on dance and theatre costumes have nurtured new approaches and methods on how to address the performing body and stage costumes (Barbieri 2013; Fensham 2015; Tetley Isaac 2016; Barbieri 2017; Dotlačilová and Walsdorf 2019; Matamoros 2021). Specifically, Nyota Inyoka's archived costume artefacts would profit from such a perspective (Mida and Kim 2015).

7 The spelling of her name is somewhat inconsistent: Sent M'Ahesa, M'ahesa, Mahesa, also Saint Mahesa in some French reviews (Levinson 1923, 5).

8 'Berühmte Tänzerinnen. 250 Bilder. Sent M'ahesa. Tänzerin, die um 1920 nach einem neuen Tanzstil durch das Studium ägyptischer und asiatischer Vorbilder strebte …'. The album is part of the collection of the Derra de Moroda Dance Archives at the University of Salzburg, DdM-4953.

9 'Ihre Tänze sind Gesichte, die ihr Geist hatte und die sie nun durch ihren Körper und dessen Bewegungen auszudrücken und den andern Menschen mitzuteilen sucht. Und da diese Visionen wunderbar sind, hat sie sich von Künstlern wunderbare Kleider machen lassen. Diese Gewänder, diese Dekorationen aber haben nie Selbstzweck, sondern dienen immer einem geistigen.'

10 I am grateful to Eike Wittrock for sharing this information.

11 https://www.theatermuseum.at/de/object/387098/ (accessed 28.01.2021).

12 For the photograph by Hanns Holdt, Sent M'Ahesa 'Mondgöttin', see https://www.deutsches-tanzarchiv.de/archiv/nachlaesse-sammlungen/sent-mahesa (accessed 28.01.2021).

13 For other costume creations with anthropomorphic features in Modernism, see Fensham 2015, 355–358.

14 An extensive research comparing the different extant photographs would reveal certainly interesting details, but cannot be undertaken in this article.

15 'Sent M'ahesa ist weder schön noch jung. Aber eminent klug und von einem fabelhaft geschulten Körper.'

16 Direct sources on the life of this dancer are scarce and several details have been handed down from one to the other book on dance history. It is a challenge to find contemporary documents that corroborate the information which is so generally circulated. In one of the letters to the Swiss writer Albert Steffen, 8 November 1952, she signs, 'Sent M'Ahesa Postal name Elsa Carlberg! Mahesa is a shadow, which the post does not know about' (Original: 'Sent M'Ahesa Postname Elsa Carlberg! Mahesa ist ein Schatten von dem die Post nichts weiss') (Matile 2012a, 55–56).

17 'Ich werde ägyptische Tänzerin.'

18 'Ihre Kunst ging aus sehr ernsten, sehr einfühlenden Studien hervor.'

19 'Die altägyptische Tanzkünstlerin Sent M'Ahesa. Im Münchener Künstlerhaus, wo der Stern der Rita Saccheto, der Isadora Duncan und der Ruth St. Denis aufging, ist eine altägyptische Tanzkünstlerin mit überaus starkem Erfolg aufgetreten. Sie hat sich tief in die Probleme der ägyptischen Kunst versenkt und erzielt in ihren stilechten Gewändern im Verein ihrer schlanken Erscheinung und ihrem scharfgeschnittenen Profil verblüffende Wirkungen. Die Künstlerin ist eine Ausländerin, stammt aus sehr angesehener Familie und betrieb zuerst philosophische Studien. Als Gegengewicht gegen die geistige Arbeit widmete sie sich in ihren Erholungsstunden dem Tanz. Hierbei erwachte ihre aufsehenerregende Veranlagung für Verkörperung altägyptischer Typen und Bewegungen und an der Hand eingehender Studien der Kunst und Kultur der alten Ägypter entstanden in der Künstlerin allmählich die Ideen zu ihren Posen und Tänzen, die durch eine von Künstlerhand geschaffene Dekoration und eine orientalische Musikbegleitung noch gehoben werden.'

20 'stilecht'.

21 'Sent M'ahesa ist eine Mitte der zwanziger Jahre stehende Dame, Ausländerin, die an deutschen Universitäten Philosophie und Geschichte studierte' (Ettlinger 1991 [1910], 34).

22 The original critique was published in *Das Theater*, 1. Jg., Heft 16, April 1910.

23 'Gelehrte unter den Tänzerinnen'.

24 'wissenschaftliche Tänzerin'.

25 'Ihre Kunst bedarf eines eigenen Stils. Eckig, geometrisch abgezirkelt sind ihre Bewegungen, genau wie wir sie auf altägyptischen Malereien und Reliefs finden. Nicht die Weichheit der Linie, nicht die spielerische Anmut sind die Waffen, mit denen sie uns in den Bann zwingt. Im Gegenteil: harte, fast unnatürliche gebrochene Linien bildet ihr Körper. Arme und Beine nehmen mitunter geradezu gliederpuppenhafte Stellungen ein. Aber gerade diese absichtsvolle Beschränkung der Gesten geben ihr die Möglichkeit bisher ungekannter, minutiösester Steigerungen, raffiniertester Verfeinerungen des körperlichen Ausdrucks. Mit einem Senken des Armes um wenige Millimeter ruft sie Wirkungen hervor, die alle Tricks der Ballettschule nicht zu erzielen vermögen. Ihre Technik ist etwas so vollkommen Neues, daß jeder Vergleich mit anderen Tanzkünstlerinnen unsinnig ist. …

Aus dem Gesagten geht hervor, dass es sich bei Sent M'ahesas Tänzen nicht etwa um sklavische Nachahmungen der auf altägyptischen Kunstwerken abgebildeten Reigen handelt. So wie Sent M'ahesa tanzt ist niemals im Pharaonenreich getanzt worden.'

26 'Es kann uns nicht interessieren, ob und mit wie viel kulturhistorischer Genauigkeit Sent M'ahesa dabei vorging, weil sie keinerlei kulturhistorische Rekonstruktion zum Ziel hatte. Sie will keine ägyptische Kunst geben, wohl aber das Verhältnis eines modernen, europäischen Menschen zu dieser Kunst ….'

27 Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, biographical note Sent M'Ahesa, no. 26.395 and folder with journal articles concerning Irene Sanden, no. 42.910.
28 'Die Darbietungen wirken nun sehr einheitlich und sind alle von der ägyptischen Grundform herausentwickelt, aus jenem stark rhythmisierten Tanzschritt, welcher die originelle Leistung dieser Tänzerin bedeutet.'
29 'mehr oder minder großen kostümlichen und szenischen Apparates.'
30 'Dieser schöne, durchgebildete Körper hier bringt keine fließende Bewegung, keine Entwicklung, keine Übergänge, sondern Kontraste, Endpunkte und dazwischen Überlegung.'
31 '… eine Fülle von ethnologischen Tatsachen werden enthüllt … und dennoch – während des ganzen Abends kaum ein Augenblick hindurch das Gefühl des Wohlgefallens, das wir stets unwillkürlich haben, wenn wir zur Gänze auf der musikalischen Grundlage ruhende und aus ihr frei von intellektuellen Einflüssen rein gefühlsmäßige Werte schöpfende Körperbewegung zu sehen bekommen.'
32 Wilhelm Ehlers, 'Die ersten Tanzabende', in *Allgemeine Künstler-Zeitung*, 9. Jg, Heft 99, Hamburg, 1.11.1920, Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, collection Sent M'Ahesa, folder 2.4 Zeitungsartikel 1909–1991.
33 'ungeschlechtlich'.
34 'archäologisch'.
35 'Ob die Ägypter so getanzt haben, wissen wir nicht. Aber wenn Sent M'ahesa bestimmte Posen miteinander zu Bewegungsbildern verband, so war das überzeugend, so war das von außerordentlicher Prägekraft.'
36 Several programmes can be found at the Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, collection Sent M'Ahesa, folder 2.1. Programm-Material (1913–1922).
37 Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, programme *Tänze aus dem alten Orient*, 23.6.1917, Munich, Theater am Gärtnerplatz, no. 26.658 and newspaper article in *Münchner Kunst und Theater Anzeiger*, no. 10.558.
38 Olga Breling lived with the sculptor Bernhard Hoetger and his wife in Worpswerde in 1918. From 1919 to 1925, she undertook dance tours in Germany and abroad with her later husband Jan Bontjes van Beek (1899–1969). Sent M'Ahesa was occasionally part of these tours. See the biographical entry for Olga Breling, Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, no. 37.532.
39 '… daß irgendjemand, vielleicht auch nur ihr Spiegel, sie auf ihren ägyptischen Typus aufmerksam gemacht habe; …'
40 'M'ahesa geht in den Mitteln ihres Tanzes von ihrer merkwürdigen, charakteristischen Erscheinung aus, und in ihrer Bemühung, das Eigentümliche dieser Erscheinung zur Geltung zu bringen und zur Darstellung zu benutzen, fand sie ägyptische Kostüme und Masken als die einzigen, die ihr 'stehen' …'
41 '… daß bei den Tänzen die Bewegung das Sekundäre ist. Sent M'ahesa geht von ihrer Erscheinung aus, und ihre Bewegungen dienen ihrer Erscheinung, so daß zuletzt in unserer Vorstellung auch nichts als die Erscheinung, nichts als ein Bild zurückbleibt, ein Bild voll Eigenart und viel Geschmack.'
42 '… entdeckte, daß ihr 'Ponim' sich, ägyptisch frisiert, äußerst charakteristisch und interessant ausnehme. Und nun tanzt sie in 'Anlehnung an pharaonische Malereien' geschickt altägyptische Tänze. Dabei wirkt sie, daß muss man ihr lassen, fabelhaft 'echt'.'
43 'rassiges, orientalisches Gesicht'.
44 Fragmentary critique for a performance in Karlsruhe 1919, Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, collection Sent M'Ahesa, folder 2.4 Zeitungsartikel 1909–1991, no date.
45 'Ich denke gerade daran, weil man Sie stets eine 'historisierende Tänzerin' genannt hat, was ganz falsch ist, da Sie nur vom Geist des alten Orients oder Alt-Indiens oder Siams ausgingen, das historisch nachmalende Kostüm indessen bewußt vernachlässigten. Der Grund dafür liegt natürlich tief im Unbewussten. Zunächst. Wenn wir aber eine kleine Schicht höher gehen, können wir ihn klar erkennen. Denn Sie griffen nicht darum zu den alten Kulturen, weil ihr Gesicht das einer Tochter des Königs Amenophis des Vierten ist (man frage Hoetger, der zwischen seine ägyptischen Visionen den Kopf Sent M'ahesas setzte), sondern weil Aegypten oder Alt-Indien oder Babylon Ihnen das Bild jener Kulturen wies, unter deren Künsten der Tanz an erster Stelle stand. Sowohl die chinesisch-mongolische, wie die indisch-arische, wie die ägyptisch-orientalische Kultur ist ohne den Tanz nicht zu denken. Der Tanz war für sie d i e Kunst, in der i h r Weltgefühl am zwingendsten und schönsten zum Ausdruck kam.'
46 The chalk lithograph is held at the Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln. no. 30.426.
47 Antoine Bourdelle, *La Mort du cygne*, 1929, no. MB d. 3282. Cf. Les collections du Musée In Musée Bourdelle [online]. Available at: https://www.bourdelle.paris.fr/en/node/521 (accessed 28.01.2021).
48 One version of the bust is today in the collections of the Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, no. 48.518.
49 'zentrale Ikone der expressionistischen Skulptur'.
50 'Mit diesem streng stilisierten Portrait, das die individuellen Züge nicht verneint, jedoch deutlich an die Pharaonendarstellung der 18. Dynastie in Ägypten anknüpft (man denke nur an den Kopf der Nofretete im Ägyptischen Museum in Berlin), gelang dem Künstler eine 'Synthese der unterschiedlichen Gestaltungsebenen', die 'von der Meisterschaft und dem Können Hoetgers' zeugt.'
51 A recent exhibition in Ancona was dedicated to her: https://www.museoascona.ch/de/ausstellungen/charlotte-bara. See also: https://www.museoascona.ch/de/sammlungen/charlotte-bara-bestand (accessed 15.04.2022).
52 Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, programme *Tanzabend Charlotte Bara*, 11.11.1921, Dresden, Künstlerhaus, no. 14.249.
53 For further as well as forthcoming publications of the research project 'Border-Dancing Across Time. The (Forgotten) Parisian Choreographer Nyota Inyoka, her Œuvre, and Questions of Choreographing Créolité' (Austrian Science Fund (FWF); Project 31958-G) see https://project-nyota-inyoka.sbg.ac.at/publications-presentations/ (accessed 30.05.2022).
54 Her self-chosen artist's pseudonym has undergone several changes in the beginning of her career: Nioka-Nioka, Nyota Nioka, Nyota Nyoka, Nyota-Inyoka (Cramer 2021, s.p.). In addition to that it appears that changes in orthography are sometimes also due to negligent journalists (Inyoka 1921–1925), see also (Chatterjee *et al.* 2022, 20).

55 The team of the research project 'Border-Dancing Across Time' prefers not to reveal or exploit certain informations respecting Nyota Inyoka's will to conceal part of her private life and in particular her birth name (Chatterjee *et al.* 2022, 20 and n. 37).

The author is conscious that due to the focus on costumes and choreographies inspired by ancient Egypt this article does not deal with certain aspects of Nyota Inyoka's biography that would merit further analysis and acknowledgement.

56 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Arts du Spectacle, COL 119 Fonds Nyota Inyoka.

57 'Nyota Inyoka … erweist sich jedoch als komplexer Fall einer Lebensgeschichte, die zwischen Faktizität, Invention, Legendenbildung und Selbstbestimmung aufgespannt ist und eine … neue Form der Rekonstruktion gelebten Lebens notwendig macht' (Translation by Sandra Chatterjee).

58 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 2, 4° boîte 5. Paris, Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, Archives Internationales de la Danse, dossier d'artiste Nyota Inyoka.

59 'Nyota Inyoka Chorégraphe Hindoue'.

60 'Il m'est arrivé bien souvent de découvrir des talents inconnus et de révéler au public des noms nouveaux. Au théâtre j'ai lancé la petite Dourga, danseuse hindoue, Vanah Yahmi et Nyota Inioka, qui fut tour à tour Vichnou et Krishna.'

61 'Perle d'Asie'.

62 'le charme exotique de Nioka-Nioka'.

63 'petit ballet hindou'.

64 'toute jeune danseuse hindoue'.

65 'exquise danseuse égyptienne'.

66 'toutes les danses de M^me^ nyota-inyoka sont des 'reconstitutions' d'après des documents antiques et des traditions: elles sont exclusivement sa création'.

67 'costumes exécutés sous la direction de M^me^ nyota-inyoka'.

68 Paris, Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, PRO.A.525.

69 'Toutes les danses de Nyota Inyoka sont de sa composition ainsi que ses costumes.'

70 'Inde Boudhique' as well as 'Egypte moderne' are mentioned here without the precision 'Evocation'.

71 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119 F° boîte 2.

72 Paris, Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, Archives Internationales de la Danse, dossier d'artiste Nyota Inyoka.

73 Repertoire des Arts du Spectacle, http://rasp.culture.fr/sdx/rasp/document.xsp?id=f00001673 (accessed 28.02.2022).

I am very grateful to Valerie Nonnenmacher, the archivist in charge of Nyota Inyoka's archive, for her support.

74 Inyoka, Nyota (1896–1971). Fonds COL-119, https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc102647q/ca59784946972941 (accessed 28.02.2022). One of the major problems is the conservation of such a fragile heritage.

75 A thorough analysis of Nyota Inyoka's extant costumes and her dance company would go beyond the scope of this article, but would be worthwhile from the point of view of modern textile research.

76 These photographs are not dated, but because of the evolution of certain costume elements, it is possible to date them to the early 1930s. It is likely they were made in 1932 or 1933, since *Archaic Dance* (*Danse archaïque*) seems to have been created in 1932.

77 These dances do not represent the totality of dances inspired by 'ancient Egypt' and this article cannot discuss all different costume details in the several surviving photographs.

78 The archivist Claudette Joannis catalogued the different items for the French National Library and her meticulous description as well as research for the dating serve as base for my own observations.

79 'faits en collaboration avec PAUL POIRET'.

80 Title translated as in the programme for a dance recital by Nyota Inyoka at the Princess Theatre in May 1924 (Princess Theatre 1924).

81 In the first programme it is printed *Prière au Dieu solaire*, which was later corrected into *Prière aux Dieux solaires*, for instance in a leaflet inserted in the programme of the Théâtre de l'Oasis (Inyoka 1921–1925).

82 This creation by Poiret has not yet been in the focus of research. Riobé does not mention it in her master thesis (Riobé 1999).

83 'Reconstitution égyptienne'.

84 '(D'après les papyrus hiéroglyphiques.)'

85 'Les Égyptiens sont les premiers des peuples qui ont établi les panégyries, les processions et les supplications. Les Grecs les ont reçues d'eux …' (Théâtre de l'Œuvre 1922; Inyoka 1921–1925).

86 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 4° boîte 3, Folder Égypte antique.

The dance notation for *Prière aux Dieux solaires* has been studied in detail through re-embodiments by dancers Linda Saamaraweerová and Lina Venegas with the team of *Border-Dancing across Time* in March 2021 at the Tanzquartier Wien (Gillinger Correa Vivar *et al.* 2022, 2 and 7). For further analysis, see Chatterjee and Haitzinger forthcoming.

87 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 4° boîte 3, Folder Égypte antique.

88 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 2001/0180 n° 31.

89 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 2001/0180 n° 31.

90 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 2001/0180 n° 01.

91 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 2001/0180 n° 02.

92 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 2001/0180 n° 03.

93 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 4° boîte 3, Folder Égypte antique.

94 In Nyota Inyoka's second scrapbook one can find photographs of two more costume version. In the first photograph, taken in New York by Beriau (?), she is wearing the above-mentioned costume elements but another *brassière* in form of a band, made of metallic ribbon around her chest and without any crossing additional ribbons around her upper body. It is possible that this is the original Poiret costume. In the second photograph, taken by Masana in Barcelona, Nyota Insoka is wearing a third version of her stylized loincloth and again another headdress, in form of a helmet ornamented with large sequins imitating precious stones. Above the front is an *uraeus*, decorated with glittering rhinestones. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 1.

95 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 2.
96 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 4° boîte 3, Folder Égypte antique.
97 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 2.
98 Roudanez indicates the Salon d'Automne as location for the creation, but the programme does not mention *Discipline* nor *Danse égyptienne* or any other dance likely to have been a version of this dance (Roudanez 1947, 107).
99 'd'après les hypogées de Beni-Hassan de Sakkarah de Giseh'.
100 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 2.
101 Encouraged by the editor Maurice de Brunhoff, the editor-in-chief of *Comœdia illustré*, Gross conceived the plan of writing a book on the *Mouvements de danse de l'Antiquité à nos jours* (Bernheim 1990, 54). A first test edition of the very first pages, also on ancient Egyptian dance, was published in 25 copies in 1914. It is a selection of antique as well as modern literature on the topic of dance, illustrated with drawings of the original sources and with colour plates of the artist's own modern interpretations of scenes in ancient and modern Egypt. In all likelihood, the aim of this text was to raise interest in the artistic, bibliophile intelligentsia and to obtain financial support for the publication costs, but the project was never completed, presumably due to the outbreak of the First World War.
102 'Les Éthiopiens font la guerre en dansant et aucun d'eux ne lancerait une flèche qu'auparavant il n'ait dansé, fait des gestes menaçants et cherché à effrayer son ennemi par la danse …' (Inyoka 1921–1925; Théâtre de l'Œuvre 1922).
103 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 2001/0123 n° 31.
104 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 1 and F° boîte 2. There is one photograph signed Ichiro (?) Hori (1879–1969) in F° boîte 2.
105 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 1.
106 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 2001/0124 n° 31.
107 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 2.
108 On aspects of queerness, gender-fluid representation of male and female divinities, see the exemplary study on Nyota Inyoka's dance *Shiva* (Chatterjee *et al*. 2022).
109 'Elle a rythmé d'un claquement de doigts l'appel rieur de la Bédouine à la volupté. De l'ancienne Égypte, elle a voulu restituer une danse guerrière, qui était plutôt une course à la bataille: non pas une chevauchée, mais une course de fantassin plié à la dure discipline des armées antiques.'
110 In the costume description of the Fonds Nyota Inyoka COL-119 it is indicated that *Danse archaïque* was created at the Salle Gaveau in 1932, but there is little evidence about the context of the creation. The archivist added the following comment, drawing from an unknown source: 'This creation is linked to choreographies inspired by ancient Egypt. It is a humorous dance, choreographed after the tomb of Antouf in Drah Abou-Neggah, in which we find movements which are at the origin of Spanish dance.' ('Cette création se rattache aux chorégraphies inspirées par l'Égypte antique. Il s'agit d'une danse humoristique, chorégraphie d'après le tombeau d'Antouf à Drah Abou-Neggah, dans laquelle on retrouve des mouvements qui sont à l'origine de la danse espagnole.')
111 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 2001/0116 n° 31.
112 Paris, Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, Port. Ph. INYOKA (Nyota) 29 Photos – Ballets Nyota Inyoka. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 4° boîte 3, Folder Égypte antique.
113 Ibid. Paris, Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, PRO.A.525.
114 Her deep interest in hieroglyphs, ritual and hieratical gestures is documented by a whole set of drawings. See Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 7.

It is not unlikely that Nyota Inoka knew of the research and the publications of the Swedish artist Tyra Kleen (1874–1951) who went to Java and Bali and in 1926 to Egypt, whereafter she published an article on ritual gestures in Ancient Egypt for the Archives Internationales de la Danse (Kleen 1933, 147–150).
115 See f. 18 r°, Nyota Inyoka dreams that Poiret tells her not to worry about her debts. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 4.
116 See f. 5 r° and entry dated 3 January 2024 – here Nyota Inyoka refers clearly to having to pay Poiret's agent in New York; see also f. 14 v° and f. 22 r° and v°, where she reflects on Poiret 'living on vanity and pride' ('vivant de vanités et d'orgueil'). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 4.
117 'Aucune des vedettes que je viens de citer n'est d'ailleurs restée en contact avec moi: on les a vues pâlir une à une, en même temps qu'elles s'éloignaient de mon orbite. N'étaient-elles que des planètes? Avaient-elles besoin de mon soleil? Je n'oserais le prétendre, mais j'ai pourtant la certitude de leur avoir fourni l'occasion d'un travail unique, et d'avoir fécondé leur talent par les possibilités et les facilités que je leur offrais.'
118 In the programme for performances in May 1922 at the Théâtre de l'Œuvre it is mentioned that the costumes and accessories were made by Poiret and [Charles Edmond] Landolff. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ro-12344(1).
119 Anon., Egyptian Dancer Will Enliven 'Jack and Jill', Princess Nyota-Nyoka to Appear in Forthcoming Musical Comedy, no date. Research on American Historic Newspapers, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov (accessed 28.02.2022), gave no results.
120 Ibid.
121 'Nous avions contemplé plus d'une fois cette suite de danses que Mlle Nyota-Inoka égrène, tel un chapelet d'ambre et de lapis-lazuli en évoquant, tour à tour, l'inde légendaire et moderne, la vallée des Rois et les bazars du Caire. Aucune composition nouvelle n'est venue, que je sache, s'ajouter à ce cycle. Mais l'interprétation étudiée avec un soin infini s'enrichit à chaque retour de maint trait subtilement insinué. En usant d'une méthode qui est aussi celle de Mlle Djemil-Anik, la danseuse restitue les rites de l'ancien Orient en s'inspirant des monuments figurés. Dans la ronde bosse ou le relief des idoles de bronze et de pierre avidement scrutés, Mlle Nyota recherche les indices et vestiges du mouvement saltatoire. Son intuition d'artiste et certaines affinités de race lui permettent de combler les lacunes d'investigation et de relier les points de repère fournis par les arts plastiques. Ainsi ses rêveries chorégraphiques sont-elles basées sur des phénomènes d'un

autre ordre, mais du même esprit. Elle anime la statuaire, mais ce festin de pierre n'a rien de macabre ni de figé. Elle est d'ailleurs orfèvre plus encore que sculpteur, à tel point que chaque facette de ses figurines est délicatement ciselée. Son programme n'est pas un musée lapidaire, mais un écrin.'

122 'Elle aurait pu se contenter de transcrire de la statuaire antique les attitudes des personnages qu'elle voulait incarner et nous donner une stérile reconstitution de légendes mimées et copiées; mais là, Nyota prouva qu'elle était une vraie danseuse, et sa création sera dans l'invention toute personnelle avec laquelle elle mettra en mouvement ces attitudes. Son invention de l'évolution d'une forme en une autre forme est égale à la beauté de l'attitude copiée. Elle change le rythme du rapport des volumes dans l'espace créé par le sculpteur, par des variations multiples d'attitudes. L'ondulation et la variété de ces attitudes font de ces danses des vrais chefs-d'œuvre. La danse égale la sculpture. Il fallait être une très grande danseuse pour toucher aux dieux et à la statuaire antique sans nous décevoir et avoir une remarquable intuition pour deviner le mouvement et le rythme qui expriment la beauté et l'idée du symbole.'

123 'Le danseur se rapproche de lui [id est le sculpteur] par la beauté sculpturale de ses attitudes, mais ce qui les différencie, c'est l'invention du mouvement pour enchaîner ces attitudes, cette perpétuelle évolution de la forme en une autre forme. Il faut que les mouvements faisant évoluer la forme, leurs dessins dans l'espace, leur rythme et leur énergie soient aussi beaux que la forme elle-même. … Rien n'est plus désagréable et faux que ces danseurs qui, sous prétexte d'érudition, composent une danse pour reproduire les attitudes sculpturales d'un style ou d'une époque quelconques, sans s'occuper s'ils arrivent à créer un enchaînement de mouvements égal en qualité à la beauté des modèles copiés par leurs attitudes et si le tout sera une construction ayant un intérêt dans l'espace.'

124 'Nyota Inyoka a su tirer parti de la statuaire antique, mais pas seulement par une intelligente compréhension. Ses danses sont un témoignage de l'émotion intense qu'elle ressent devant ces chefs-d'œuvre. Elles sont pleines de cette audace que donne l'amour pour interpréter les intentions de ce qu'on aime et par là sont extrêmement touchantes.'

125 'une reconstitution? une évocation? une résurrection? un triomphe de l'art? un triomphe de la science? une création? oui, tout cela et plus encore'. Paris, Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, Archives Internationales de la Danse, dossier d'artiste Nyota Inyoka, leaflet with the artist's presentation 'la célèbre danseuse hindoue nyota inyoka', s.d.

126 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ro-12344(1). In the programme the text by Lévi is longer and dated 29.04.1929.

127 In one of her (dream) journals she even affirms being Egyptian. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 4, Journal 1923–1924, f. 15 r°.

128 'Mais j'aime aussi l'immortelle Égypte, en qui je retrouve des résonances intérieures, des impressions anciennement vécues. J'aime la sévérité simple de ses fresques peintes, de ses bas-reliefs, de sa plastique si dépouillée, en contraste avec l'Inde, et j'admire la place qu'elle fit à la danse dans toutes ses manifestations sacerdotales, tout comme l'Inde d'ailleurs.'

129 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 4° boîte 5.

130 F° boîte 10, folder 'costumes (à l'étude)'.

131 Lexová's father was the first professor at the Czech Institute of Egyptology at the Charles University in Prague. For an overview regarding the history of the Institute see https://cegu.ff.cuni.cz/en/institute/historical-overview/ (accessed 15.04.2022). I am indebted to Jitka Goriaux and Ladislav Beneš for their help with Czech literature and I am very grateful for all Czech translations into English by Jarmila Gygalova (Siblík 1937). My sincerest thanks go to Ivan Lexa and Gabriela Zavadilová, Irena Lexova's granddaughter, for sharing photographies of their private archives.

132 Only a few years later, in 1937, the Egyptologist Emma Brunner-Traut wrote her dissertation at the university of Munich on dance in ancient Egypt, which she published in 1958 (Brunner-Traut 1958), although it seems that she did not know Lexová's book, which is perhaps due to more difficult circulation of publications and knowledge then.

133 DOI. 10.1515/anpm–2018–0012.

134 The dance for this costume and pose could not be identified.

135 Derra de Moroda Dance Archives, University of Salzburg, (DdM-2362).

136 '… avait tenu, pendant un certain temps, à illustrer de son propre corps les thèses de son livre …'.

137 'Někdy taková umělecká intuice jde bezpečněji vpřed než nejopatrnější vědecká metoda.'

138 'V celku její tanec odvrhl profilaci mechanických pohybů, k níž se uchylují tanečnice, které výtvarné dokumenty staroegyptské – nedokonale jim ostatně známé – berou doslova, … Naše tanečnice popustila tu uzdu své fantasii a neváhala přijmouti ve své tance stejně prvky duncanismu jako labanismu.'

139 'Pour être égyptiennes, ses danses ne pouvaient échapper au caractère statique, contraire au principe même de la danse, dont la matière est le mouvement.'

140 'A tu, bohužel, tanec byl často jen realistickým zpodobením recitovaného slova, které občas bylo vykoupeno postojem plasticky ryzím, dobře s obrázku odpozorovaným, více méně ovšem statickým.'

141 'V celkovém svém programu byl večer více než archeologickou demonstrací s věrně okopírovanými kostýmy (částečná nahota, jak se ji s úspěchem a podle historie odvažuje Nyota-Nyoka se svým sborem, byla by bývala tu a tam na místě), nýbrž pokusem získané poznatky o staroegyptském tanci před námi umělecky prožíti. V tomto ohledu byla snad naše tanečnice zatížena učeností na úkor intuitivní, vnitřní pravdou přesvědčující, vlastní umělecké tvorby.'

142 'Fysicky vzato, má Lexová spíše alšovsky českou silhuetu, ale hlavu dovedla si naličiti dokonale egyptsky.'

143 'A takový temperament v české hudbě projevila tanečnice, jejímž mylným ideálem bylo vtěliti se v bezkrevnou chrámovou tanečnici egyptskou.'

144 In the 1920s even classical ballerina Anna Pavlova (1881–1931) adopted some gestures which the western audience identified as 'ancient Egyptian' and accordingly changed the aesthetic of her costume from the classical tutu to a tight strap-dress, when she performed the *Egyptian Dance* or *Cleopatra* with her dance partner Laurent Novikoff (1888–1956) (although still or rather obviously on pointe shoes) (Anon. 1931, Fig. 14). In Pavlova's dance programmes, this ancient Egyptian embodiment and adaptation into

a classical ballet creation shows that her 'oriental' and 'exotic' dances, *i.e.*, *Egyptian Dance* or *'Gypsy' Dance* [the English term 'Gypsies' or French expression *égyptiens* / *égyptiennes* respectively *bohémiens* / *bohémiennes* designated stereotypical and exoticized representations of members of the Roma*Romnja and Sinti*Sintize community], serve as a contrast for the 'European' cultural representations in dances such as *Chopiniana*, *Gavotte*, *The Bluebird*, *Minuet* and *At the Ball* (Anon. 1928). This alternation is another example of the popularized, stereotypical European antagonizing representation of 'occidental' versus 'oriental' culture; continuously prolonging western hegemonic representations.

Pavlova and Novikoff performed their *Egyptian Dance* (Ägyptischer Tanz) at the Deutsches Theater München in February 1928. The choreography was made by Ivan Clustin and the costumes were designed by Georges Barbier and (?) Pazetti, Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, playbill 24.02.1928, Munich, Deutsches Theater, no. 26.960.

145 Among Nyota Inyoka's costumes for 'modern' Egyptian dances, two tunics and a shawl made of cotton tulle with metal decorations are noteworthy, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 2001/095 n° 1, 2001/0256 and 2001/0257. It seems that this kind of colonial textile product was exported more widely since a photograph of Charlotte Bara shows her in an (Egyptian?) inspired long-sleeved tunic made of exactly this kind of material and design. See https://media.imz.at/avant-premiere/catalogues/2019/film/charlottes-passions-9285120/ (accessed 22.04.2022). The photograph is held at the Museum of Modern Art in Ancona.

146 Several contemporary studio photographs of the postures and costumes of the Belgian modern dancer Akarova (1904–1999) show a striking similarity to poses by Nyota Inyoka as well as to specific characteristics in her dance costumes, yet without linking the dances to an Egyptian context for dances such as *Mazurka* by Frederic Chopin (1923), *The Chinese Tambourine* (*Tambourin chinois*) by Fritz Kreissler (1929), *Love Dance* (*Danse d'Amour*) by Manuel de Falla (1929), or her performance in *The Tragedy of Salome* (*La Tragédie de Salomé*) (1931) or as Princess in *The Soldier's Tale* (*L'Histoire du Soldat*) by Igor Stravinski (1929) or even for a pose with some of her students in her own dance studio (van Loo 1989, 8–13). To a certain extent, it seems that photographically documented modern dance poses can show certain recurring representative conventions, such as the upper body in a three-quarter view, which seemed to evoke references of ancient Egyptian art, or the rigid hands with closed fingers, angular arms or specific backbends or *penchés* – sometimes purposely referring to ancient Egyptian art and sometimes without this specific context.

147 'Moderne als Plural'.

Archives

Cologne, Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Arts du Spectacle, COL 119, Fonds Nyota Inyoka.

Paris, Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, Archives Internationales de la danse.

Salzburg, Derra de Moroda Dance Archives.

Costume artefacts (Fonds Nyota Inyoka)

Bédouine, black tulle tunic. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 2001/095 no. 1.

Bédouine, orange tulle tunic. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 2001/0256.

Bédouine, pink tulle shawl. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 2001/0257.

Danse archaïque, wig-like headdress. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 2001/0116 no. 31.

Discipline, black and silver brocade stylized loincloth. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 2001/0123 no. 31.

Discipline, gold lamé stylized loincloth. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 2001/0124 no. 31.

Prière aux Dieux solaires, beige and metal brocade stylized loincloth. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 2001/0180 no. 31.

Prière aux Dieux solaires, costume element [ceremonial apron]. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 2001/0180 no. 31.

Prière aux Dieux solaires, neck collar. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 2001/0180 no. 01.

Prière aux Dieux solaires, head piece. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 2001/0180 no. 02.

Prière aux Dieux solaires, costume jewellery *uraeus*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, 2001/0180 no. 03.

Primary sources

Anonymous (1957) *Programme leaflet Le Costume dans l'Antiquité et en Orient*. Paris, Salle de conférences de la Chambre de Commerce de Paris, 02.04.1957. Paris, Union Française des Arts du Costume. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL-119, 4° boîte 5.

Anonymous (1928) *Playbill Dance performance Anna Pavlova Laurent Novikoff*. Munich, Deutsches Theater München, 24.02.1928. Cologne, Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, no. 26.960.

Anonymous (1922) *Playbill*. Berlin, Lessing-Hochschule, 30.12.1922. Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, Estate Sent M'Ahesa, folder 2.1 *Programm-Material* 1913–1922.

Anonymous (1921) *Programme Tanzabend Charlotte Bara*. Dresden, Dresden Künstlerhaus, 11.11.1921. Cologne, Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, no. 14.249.

Anonymous (1919) *Fragmentary critique for a performance in Karlsruhe 1919*. Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, collection Sent M'Ahesa, folder 2.4 *Zeitungsartikel* 1909–1991, no date.

Anonymous (1917) *Programme Tänze aus dem alten Orient*. Munich, Theater am Gärtnerplatz, 23.06.1917. Cologne, Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, no. 26.658.

Anonymous (1917) No Title. *Münchner Kunst und Theater Anzeiger*, no. 10.558, s.p.

Anonymous (1912) No Title. *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, 22.08.1912, s.p.

Anonymous (1910) *Playbill Einmaliges Gastspiel der Alt-Aegyptischen Tänzerin Sent M'Ahesa*. Düsseldorf, *Schauspielhaus Düsseldorf*, 27.04.1910.

Anonymous (1909) Fragmentary critique. *Weltrundschau* 1909. Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, Estate Sent M'Ahesa, folder 2.4 *Zeitungsartikel* 1909–1991.

Aubel, H. and Aubel, M. (1928) *Der künstlerische Tanz unserer Zeit.* Königstein i. Taunus, Langewiesche.

B. J. (1930) Bühne und Musik. Aegyptische Tänze. *Prager Presse*, 22.05.1930, 8.

Brandenburg, H. (1913) *Der moderne Tanz.* Munich, G. Müller.

Brandenburg, H. (1917) *Der moderne Tanz.* 2nd edition. Munich, G. Müller.

Brandenburg, H. (1921) *Der moderne Tanz.* 3rd edition. Munich, G. Müller.

Capart, J. (1907) *Une Rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah.* 2 vols. Bruxelles, Vromant.

Cercle Artistique de Bruxelles (1921) *Programme leaflet Les Danses de Nyota-Nyoka*. Bruxelles, Cercle Artistique de Bruxelles, 15.12.1921. In N. Inyoka (1921–1925) *Scrapbook*, s.p. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 2.

Cigarettenfabrik Orami GmbH Dresden (1933) *Berühmte Tänzerinnen und Tänzer*. Serie E. Private collection.

Dargès, H. (1917) Théâtres et Spectacles. *La Rampe*, 29.11.1917, 8–9.

Delius, R. v. (1914) Eine neue Tänzerin. *Die Propyläen. Wochenschrift der Münchener Zeitung* 29/11, 454.

Divoire, F. (1924) *Découvertes sur la danse.* Paris, Les éditions G. Crès et Cie.

Dossier d'artiste de Nyota Inyoka (no date). Paris, Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, Archives Internationales de la Danse. Dossier d'artiste Nyota Inyoka.

Dossier d'artiste de Nyota Inyoka (no date). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Arts du Spectacle, COL 119, Fonds Nyota Inyoka, 4° boîte 5.

Dotzler, L. (1926) Sent M'Ahesa im Parktheater. *Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten*, 01.–31.07.1926. Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, DTK-TIS 15871.

Eckstein-Halpaus GmbH Dresden (1933) *Der Künstlerische Tanz.* Private collection.

Ehlers, W. (1920) Die ersten Tanzabende. *Allgemeine Künstler-Zeitung* 99/9, 01.11.1920. Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, Estate Sent M'Ahesa, folder 2.4 *Zeitungsartikel* 1909–1991.

Erfurth, H. (1992) Sent M'Ahesa 1908/16. In B. von Dewitz (ed.) *Hugo Erfurth: 1874–1948 Photograph zwischen Tradition und Moderne*, Ausstellungskatalog. Köln, Wienand.

Ettlinger, K. (1991 [1910]) Sent M'Ahesa. *Tanzdrama* 14, 32–34.

Folder with journal articles concerning Irene Sanden. Cologne, Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, no. 42.910.

Folies Bergère (1917) *La Revue Féerique. Programme Les Folies Bergère.* Paris, Folies Bergère, no date. Bibliothèque national de France, BnF 8-RO-18443.

Garbáty Cigarettenfabrik Berlin Pankow (1933) *Berühmte Tänzerinnen.* Derra de Moroda Dance Archives, University of Salzburg, DdM-4953.

Gaveau [Salle] (1929) *Programme leaflet*. Paris, Salle Gaveau, 30.11.1929. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ro-12344(1).

Giese, F. (1924) *Körperseele. Gedanken über persönliche Gestaltung.* Munich, Delphin.

Gross [Hugo], V. (1914a) *Mouvements de danse, de l'Antiquité à nos jours*. Paris, M. de Brunoff.

Gross [Hugo], V. (1914b) Sur quelques danses égyptiennes. *Revue archéologique* 1, 332–336.

Gross [Hugo], V. (1914c) Quelques mouvements de danse en Egypte. *Revue musicale Société Internationale de Musicologie* 2/10, 17–24.

Hoetger, B. (1917) *Bust of Sent M'Ahesa.* Cologne, Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, no. 48.518.

Heuzey, J. (1936) Le Costume des femmes dans l'Égypte ancienne. *Gazette des beaux-arts* 2, 21–34.

Heuzey, L. and Heuzey, J. (1935) *Histoire du costume dans l'antiquité classique. L'Orient, Égypte, Mésopotamie, Syrie, Phénicie.* Paris, Les Belles Lettres.

Heuzey, L. (1922) *Histoire du costume antique d'après des études sur le modèle vivant. Avec une préface par Edmond Pottier.* Paris, E. Champion.

Hildenbrandt, F. (1931) *Tänzerinnen der Gegenwart.* Zürich and Leipzig, O. Füssli.

Inyoka, N. (1921–1925) *Scrapbook*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 2.

Inyoka, N. (1923) Journal. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 4.

Inyoka, N. (1923–1924) Journal. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 4.

Inyoka, N. (1947) Voyage autour de la danse. *Connaissance du Monde* 5, 48–60.

J. K. (1921) Théâtre de l'Oasis. Danses et Chants. *Journal des Débats*, 25.06.1921. In N. Inyoka (1921–1925) *Scrapbook*, s.p. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 2.

Kleen, T. (1933) Les Gestes rituels dans l'ancienne Egypte. *Archives Internationales de la Danse* 1933/ 4, 147–150.

Levinson, A. (1929) *La Danse d'aujourd'hui. Études. Notes. Portraits.* Paris, Éditions Duchartre et Van Buggenhoudt.

Levinson, A. (1923) Trois vedettes. *Comoedia*, 15.01.1923, 5.

Lexová, I. (1930) *O staroegyptském tanci.* Praha, Universita Karlova, Orientální ústav.

Lexová, I. (1935) *Ancient Egyptian Dances, with Drawings Made from Reproductions of Ancient Egyptian Originals by Milada Lexová*. Translation by K. Haltmar. Praha, Oriental Institute Little Theatre (1924) *Programme*. New York, Little Theatre, 27.04.1924. Paris, Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, Archives Internationales de la Danse, dossier d'artiste Nyota Inyoka.

Lexová, I. (1958) *Al-raqṣ al-miṣrī al-qadīm. taʾlīf* Īrīnā *Liksūfā; targamaï Muḥammad* Ǧamāl *al-Dīn Muḫtār ; murāǧaʿaï ʿ*Abd *al-Munʿim Abū Bakr ; tamhīd bi-qalam Firāntišik Liksā ;* تمهيد فرانتشك لكسا الرقص المصري القديم . تأليف ايرينا لكسوفا ; ترجمة محمد جمال الدين مختار ; مراجعة عبد المنعم أبو بكر. مختار.
Al-Qāhiraï, Al-Dār al-miṣriyyaï li-l-ṭibāʿaï wa-al-našr. القاهرة: الدار المصرية للطباعة والنشر .

Lexová, I. (2000) *Ancient Egyptian Dances, with Drawings Made from Reproductions of Ancient Egyptian Originals by Milada Lexová*. Translation by K. Haltmar. New York, Dover Reprint.

Lugné-Poe, A. (1921) La Danseuse Nyota-Nyoka Évocatrice de l'Orient. *La Danse,* November 1921. In N. Inyoka (1921–1925) *Scrapbook*, s.p. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 2.

M. E. (1919) Tänzerinnen. *Blatt der Hausfrau*, 19.01.1919, 5.

M'Ahesa, S. (1947) Nachmittage mit Rilke. *Atlantis Heft* 2 (February), 71–74.

M'Ahesa, S. (1964) *Letter to Helmut Günther*, 24.02.1964. Cologne, Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, Collection 79, Estate Helmut Günther, 24.02.1964, no. 26.393.

Nikolaus, P. (1919) *Tänzerinnen*. Munich, Delphin.

Olivier, A. (1933) *Exposition Coloniale Internationale et des Pays d'Outre-mer Paris 1921*. Rapport Général, Section Métropolitaine. Vol. VI, première partie. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale.

Poiret, P. (1930) *En habillant l'époque.* Paris, Grasset.

Pleyel [Salle] (1930) *Programme Nyota Inyoka.* Paris, Salle Pleyel, 13.12.1930. Paris, Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, PRO.A.525.

Princess Theatre (1924) *Programme Princess Nyota-Inyoka in a Recital of Ancient & Modern Dances of India and Egypt.* New York, Princess Theatre, 24.02.1924. In N. Inyoka (1921–1925) *Scrapbook*, s.p. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 2.

Roudanez, L. (1947) *Des Danseurs qui sortent du cadre. I. Nyota Inyoka.* Paris, J. Susse.

Salon d'Automne (1921) *Programme leaflet Section Danse Nyota-Nyoka*. Paris, Salon d'Automne, 10.11.1921. In N. Inyoka (1921–1925) *Scrapbook*, s.p. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 2.

Siblík, E. (1933) Informations Internationales. Tchécoslovaquie. *Archives internationales de la Danse* 4, 172–173.

Siblík, E. (1934) La Danse sur la musique tchèque. *Archives internationales de la Danse* 2, 79–80.

Siblík, E. (1936) *Katalog výstavy. Tanec v* Čsl. *Umění výtvarném a ve fotografii.* Praha, [s.n.].

Siblík, E. (1937) *Tanec mimo nás i v nás. Historické poznatky a estetické soudy.* Praha, Nakladatelství Václav Petr.

Simple Revue (1921) No title, *Simple Revue*, Août 1921. In N. Inyoka (1921–1925) *Scrapbook*, s.p. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 2.

Steffen, A. (1909) Journal 'Elsa Carlberg', 03.02.1909. *Albert Steffen und Elsa Carlberg (Sent M'Ahesa). Eine Schicksalsbegegnung. Hinweise und Studien zum Lebenswerk von Albert Steffen* 24–25, 23–24.

Steffen, A. (1911) Journal, 22.09.1911. *Albert Steffen und Elsa Carlberg (Sent M'Ahesa). Eine Schicksalsbegegnung. Hinweise und Studien zum Lebenswerk von Albert Steffen* 24–25, 27–28.

Steffen, A. (1912) Sent M'Ahesa (1912). *Albert Steffen und Elsa Carlberg (Sent M'Ahesa). Eine Schicksalsbegegnung. Hinweise und Studien zum Lebenswerk von Albert Steffen* 24–25, 47–48.

Théâtre de l'Oasis (1921) *Programme and Programme leaflet.* Paris, Théâtre de l'Oasis, no date. In N. Inyoka (1921–1925) *Scrapbook*, s.p. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 2.

Théâtre de l'Œuvre (1922) *Programme* and *Programme leaflet.* Paris, Théâtre de l'Œuvre, May 1922. In N. Inyoka (1921–1925) *Scrapbook*, s.p. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 2.

Théâtre du Vieux Colombier (1932/33) *Programme Nyota Inyoka et ses Ballets.* Paris, Théâtre du Vieux Colombier, no date. Paris, Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, PRO.A.525.

Thiess, F. (1920) *Der Tanz als Kunstwerk. Studien zu einer Ästhetik der Tanzkunst.* Munich, Delphin.

Thiess, F. (1922) Tanz. Ein Brief an Sent M'Ahesa. In R. Mosse (ed.) *Mosse Almanach*, 165–180. Berlin, Verlag Rudolf Mosse.

Török, A. (1918) *Tanzabende. Kritische Monographien*. Wien, Verlag Der Merker.

Town Hall (1924) *Programme and leaflet Dance Recital by Nyota Inyoka*. New York, Town Hall, 24.03.1924. In N. Inyoka (1921–1925) *Scrapbook*, s.p. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 2.

von der Leyen, F. (1960) *Leben und Freiheit der Hochschule. Erinnerungen.* Köln, Verlag Der Löwe.

Weege, F. (1926) *Der Tanz in der Antike.* Halle (Saale), M. Niemeyer.

X. (1921) Nyota-Nioka. *L'Œuvre*, Sept., 2e époque, 63e Fascicule. In N. Inyoka (1921–1925) *Scrapbook*, s.p. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, COL 119, F° boîte 2.

Bibliography

Agnew, V., Lamb, J. and Tomann, J. (ed.) (2020) *The Routledge Handbook of Reenactment Studies. Key Terms in the Field.* London, Routledge.

Backoefer, A. (2009) Beyond Reproduction. Körper, Bewegung, Kritik. *Tanz & Archiv* 1, 12–21.

Barbieri, D. (2013) Performativity and the Historical Body. Detecting Performance through the Archived Costume. *Studies in Theatre & Performance* 33/3, 281–301.

Barbieri, D. (2017) *Costume in Performance. Materiality, Culture, and the Body.* London and New York, Bloomsbury.

Bareš, L., Bárta, M. and Krejčí, J. *et al.* (2008) *Odkrývání starého Egypta. Unearthing Ancient Egypt.* Prague, Úřad vlády České republiky [online]. Available at: https://www.vlada.cz/assets/urad-vlady/udalosti/katalog_1.pdf (accessed 03.03.2021).

Barker, C. and Jane, E. A. (2016) *Cultural Studies. Theory and Practice.* 5th edition. Los Angeles, London and New Delhi, Sage.

Bernheim, C. (1990) *Valentine Hugo*. Paris, Presses de la Renaissance.

Bierbrier, M. L. (2012a) *Who Was Who in Egyptology.* 4th revised edition. London, Egypt Exploration Society.

Bierbrier, M. L. (2012b) Lexa, František. In *Idem*, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 329–330. 4th revised edition. London, Egypt Exploration Society.

Bierbrier, M. L. (2012c) Lexovà-Zámostná, Irena. In *Idem*, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 330. 4th revised edition. London, Egypt Exploration Society.

Bonfante, L. (1989) Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art. *American Journal of Archaeology* 93/4, 543–570.

Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J.-C. (1970) *La Reproduction. Éléments pour une théorie du système d'enseignement.* Paris, Les Èditions du Minuit.

Bourne, S. (2021) Portrayals of Black People from the African Diaspora in Western Narrative Ballets. In A. Akinleye (ed.) *(Re:) Claiming Ballet*, 68–85. Bristol, Intellect Books.

Brunner-Traut, E. (1958) *Der Tanz im alten Ägypten. Nach bildlichen und inschriftlichen Zeugnissen.* Glückstadt, Augustin.

Burt, R. (1998) *Alien Bodies. Representations of Modernity, Race and Nation in Early Modern Dance*. London, Routledge.

Burt, R. and Huxley, M. (2020) *Dance, Modernism, and Modernity*. London, Routledge.

Chatterjee, S. (2021) Dancing Out of Time and Place. Memory and Choreography in the South Asian Diaspora in Continental Europe. In A. K. Sahoo (ed.) *Routledge Handbook of Asian Diaspora and Development*, 346–358. London, Routledge.

Chatterjee, S. and Cramer, F. A. (2022) Nyota Inyoka, Biography, Archive. On the research project 'Border-Dancing Across Time'. *Map. Media, Archive, Performance* 12 [online]. Available at: http://www.perfomap.de/map12/decolonial-perspectives/nyota-inyoka-biography-archive (accessed 16.08.2022).

Chatterjee, S. and Haitzinger, N. (forthcoming) Performing Ancient Egypt Between Egyptomania and Identification Nyota Inyoka's *Prière aux dieux solaires*. In S. Bru and L. Darnbrough (ed.) *Before Europe: The Classic Avant-gardes in the* Longue Durée.

Chatterjee, S., Cramer, F. A. and Haitzinger, N. (2022) Remembering Nyota Inyoka. Queering Narratives of Dance, Archive, and Biography. *Dance Research Journal* 54/2, 11–32.

Cohen, M. (2010) *Performing Otherness. Java and Bali on International Stages, 1905–1952.* Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.

Cramer, F. A. (2016) 'Bigger Than The Dancer'. Defining Dance in the 1930s and Beyond. In N. Haitzinger and F. Kollinger (ed.) *Moderne Szenerien. Skizzen zur Diversität von Tanz- und Musikkulturen (1910–1950)*, 154–165. Munich, Epodium.

Cramer, F. A. (2021) Nyota Inyoka, Biographie, Archiv. Zum Forschungsprojekt 'Border-Dancing Across Time'. *Map. Media, Archive, Performance* 11 [online]. Available at: http://www.perfomap.de/map11/werk-geschichten/nyota-inyoka-biographie-archiv (accessed 30.07.2022).

Decker, W. and Herb, M. (ed.) (1994) *Bildatlas zu Sport im alten Ägypten. Corpus der bildlichen Quellen zu Leibesübungen, Spiel, Jagd, Tanz und verwandten Themen.* 2 vols. Leiden, Brill.

Décoret, A. (1998) *Les Danses exotiques en France. 1900–1940.* Dissertation, Paris, University Paris 8.

Décoret-Ahiha, A. (2004) *Les Danses exotiques en France. 1880–1940.* Pantin, Centre national de la danse.

Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln (no date) *Biographical note Sent M'Ahesa.* Cologne, Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, no. 26.395.

Dewachter, M. (1996) Le choc en retour: L'égyptomanie des égyptologues. In J.-M. Humbert (ed.) *L'Egyptomanie* à *l'épreuve de l'archéologie. Actes du colloque international organisé au Musée du Louvre par le Service culturel, les 8 et 9 avril 1994*, 425–434. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

Dickinson, E. R. (2011) 'Must we dance naked?' Art, Beauty, and Law in Munich and Paris, 1911–1913. *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20/1, 95–131.

Dlugaiczyk, M. (2014) Thutmosis versus Tina Haim-Wentscher. Das Modell der Nofretete als Modell. In D. Ludwig, C. Weber and O. Zauzig (ed.) *Das materielle Modell. Objektgeschichten aus der wissenschaftlichen Praxis*, 201–207. Paderborn, Wilhelm Fink.

Dotlačilová, P. and Walsdorf, H. (ed.) (2019) *Dance Body Costume.* Leipzig, Leipziger Universitätsverlag.

Faber, M. (ed.) (1990) *Tanz Foto. Annäherungen und Experimente 1880–1940.* Exhibition catalogue. Wien, Österreichisches Fotoarchiv.

Fensham, R. (2015) Designing for Movement. Dance Costumes, Art Schools and Natural Movement in the Early Twentieth Century. *Journal of Design History* 28/4, 348–367.

Franko, M. (ed.) (2017) *The Oxford Handbook of Dance and Reenactment.* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Gillinger-Correa Vivar, C., Piña, A., Chatterjee, S. *et al.* (2022) *CN D. Contemporary Reflections on Nyota Inyoka. Aide à la recherche et au patrimoine en danse 2020, synthèse fév. 2022.* Paris, Centre national de la Danse [online]. Available at: https://www.cnd.fr/fr/file/file/2023/inline/Reflexions%20contemporaine%20sur%20Nyota%20Inyoka.pdf (accessed 10.08.2022).

Günter, S. (ed.) (2020) *EveryBody Tells a Story. Zur Geschichte von Sport-, Körper- und Bewegungskulturen.* Wiesbaden, Springer VS.

Haitzinger, N. (2016) Moderne als Plural. 'La danse d'aujourd'hui' (1929). In N. Haitzinger and F. Kollinger (ed.) *Moderne Szenerien. Skizzen zur Diversität von Tanz- und Musikkulturen (1910–1950)*, 6–32. Munich, Epodium.

Haitzinger, N., Jobst, K., Ramos, J. and Castor, M. A. (2021) Border-Dancing Across Time. The (Forgotten) Parisian Choreographer Nyota Inyoka, her Œuvre, and Questions of Choreographing Créolité. *Regards croisés* 11, 230–245.

Hochbruck, W. (2013) *Geschichtstheater. Formen der 'Living History'. Eine Typologie.* Bielefeld, transcript.

Holdt, H. (2022) *Sent M'Ahesa 'Mondgöttin'.* Photography. [online] Available at: https://www.deutsches-tanzarchiv.de/archiv/nachlaesse-sammlungen/sent-mahesa (accessed 28.01.2021).

Holeňová, J. (ed.) (2001) Lexová Irena (Iréna, provd. Škodová). In *Idem Český taneční slovník. Tanec, balet, pantomima,* 174–175. Praha, Divadelní ústav.

Humbert, J.-M. (1989) *L'Égyptomanie dans l'Art Occidental*. Courbevoie, ACR Édition.

Humbert, J.-M. (ed.) (1996) *L'Égyptomanie à l'épreuve de l'archéologie. Actes du colloque international organisé au Musée du Louvre par le Service culturel, les 8 et 9 avril 1994*. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

Humbert, J.-M., Pantazzi, M. and Ziegler, C. (ed.) (1994) *Egyptomania. Egypt in Western Art 1730–1930.* Exhibition catalogue. Paris, Réunion des Musées Nationaux and Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada.

Jahn, T. (2016) Cutting into History. The 'hindu dancer' Nyota Inyoka's Photomontages. In C. Wulf (ed.) *Exploring Alterity in a Globalized World*, 187–196. London, Routledge.

Jahn, T. (2017) Zum Archivkasten F 942N 'Exot. Tanz' der Lipperheidschen Kostümbibliothek, Kunstbibliothek Berlin. *Tanz & Archiv* 7, 34–49.

Jahn, T., Wittrock, E. and Wortelkamp, I. (ed.) (2016) *Tanzfotografie. Historiografische Reflexionen der Moderne.* Bielefeld, Transcript.

Jůnová Macková, A. (2018) Summer Retreats, Travel, and Family in the Life of František Lexa (1876–1960), the First Czechoslovak Egyptologist. *Annals of the Náprstek Museum* 39/2, 39–64.

Lant, A. (2013) Cinema in the Time of Pharaohs. In P. Michaelakis and M. Wyke (ed.) *The Ancient World in Silent Cinema*, 53–73. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Légeret, K. (2021) Nyota Inyoka, chorégraphe franco-indienne, pionnière de danses classiques et modernes de l'Inde (1896–1971) transposée et dansée à la BnF par des femmes artistes et chercheuses contemporaines. In K. Légeret (ed.) *Danser Nyota Inyoka et autres médiations artistiques au musée*, 49–173. Paris, Geuthner.

Loeben, C. E. (2013) 'Echnaton – eine kulturelle Halluzination'. Wiederentdeckung, Bekanntmachung und frühe Rezeption der Amarnazeit und ihrer Kunst. In K. Lembke (ed.) *Faszination*

Nofretete. Bernhard Hoetger und Ägypten, 28–51. Petersberg, Imhof.

López Arnaiz, I. (2020) De la creación escénica a la ficción autobiográfica. Las 'bailarinas hindúes' encarnan su propio mito (1905–1939). In E. Ramos Frendo (ed.) *Géneros y subjetividades en las prácticas artísticas contemporáneas*, 56–69. Sevilla, Arcibel Editores.

López Arnaiz, I. (2021) Movimentos imaginados, gestos rastreados. Nyota Inyoka, una (re)creación mestiza de las danzas indias. In E. Fernández del Campo and S. Román Aliste (ed.) *Las mujeres que inventaron al arte indio*, 268–297. Madrid, Ediciones Asimétricas.

Kinney, L. (2008) *Dance, Dancers and the Performance Cohort in the Old Kingdom.* Oxford, Archaeopress.

Machabey, A. (1966) *La musique de danse*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France.

Macintosh, F. (ed.) (2010) *The Ancient Dancer in the Modern World. Responses to Greek and Roman Dance*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Matamoros, E. (2021) *Dance & Costumes. A History of Dressing Movement.* Berlin, Alexander Verlag.

Matile, H. (2012a) Albert Steffens Begegnung mit Elsa Carlberg. *Albert Steffen und Elsa Carlberg (Sent M'Ahesa). Eine Schicksalsbegegnung. Hinweise und Studien zum Lebenswerk von Albert Steffen* 24–25, 1–42.

Matile, H. (2012b) Elsa Carlberg/ Sent M'Ahesa – eine Lebensskizze. *Albert Steffen und Elsa Carlberg (Sent M'Ahesa). Eine Schicksalsbegegnung. Hinweise und Studien zum Lebenswerk von Albert Steffen* 24–25, 58–62.

Meyer-Dietrich, E. (2009) Dance. *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* 1–1 [online]. Los Angeles, http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz001ndh48

Mida, I. E. and Kim, A. (2015) *The Dress Detective. A Practical Guide to Object-Based Research in Fashion*. London, Bloomsbury.

Musée Bourdelle (2022) *La Mort du cygne (1929). Antoine Bourdelle (1861–1929)* [online]. Available at: https://www.bourdelle.paris.fr/en/node/521 (accessed 28.01.2022).

Ochaim, B. and Balk, C. (1998) *Variété-Tänzerinnen um 1900. Vom Sinnenrausch zur Tanzmoderne.* Exhibition catalogue. Frankfurt a. Main, Stroemfeld/Roter Stern.

Pahlke, R. E., Bartsch, I. and Rezacek, M. (1995) *Bernhard Hoetger. Im Museum am Ostwall, Dortmund*. Dortmund, Museum am Ostwall.

Peter, F.-M. (2002) Zur Einführung. In H. Aubel and M. Aubel (ed.) *Der künstlerische Tanz unserer Zeit. Neudruck der Erstausgabe 1928 nebst Materialen zur Editionsgeschichte*, 3–9. Königstein i. Taunus, Langewiesche.

Petersen, H. (1971) Sent M'ahesa. *Jahrbuch des baltischen Deutschtums* 1972, 71–83.

Ranfft, E. (1998) Über Bernhard Hoetger und den Expressionismus. Ein 'komplizierter Fall'. In M. Anczykowski (ed.) *Bernhard Hoetger. Skulptur, Malerei, Design, Architektur*, 72–83. Exhibition catalogue. Bremen, Hauschild.

Riobé, A. (1999) *Les costumes de scène de Paul Poiret*. Paris, École du Louvre.

Robinson, J. (1997) *Modern dance in France. An adventure 1920–1970.* Translation by Catherine Dale. Amsterdam, Harwood Academic Publishers.

Růžová, J. (1996) Frauen in der tschechischen Ägyptologie. *Göttinger Miszellen* 152, 95–102.

Said, E. W. (1979) *Orientalism*. New York, Vintage Books.

Schütze, K.-R. (2000) *Charlotte Bara 1901–1986. Brüssel, Worpswede, Berlin, Ascona.* Exhibition catalogue. Berlin, Verlag Karl-Robert Schütze.

Shinnie, P. L. (1937) Ancient Egyptian Dances Irena Lexova, K. Haltmar. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 23/2, 270.

Stach, S. and Tomann, J. (ed.) (2021) *Historisches Reenactment. Disziplinäre Perspektiven auf ein Dynamisches Forschungsfeld.* Berlin, De Gruyter.

Stamm, R. (2013) Auf der Suche nach zeitloser Form. Bernhard Hoetger und Ägypten. In K. Lembke (ed.) *Faszination Nofretete. Bernhard Hoetger und Ägypten*, 64–73. Petersberg, Imhof.

Tetley Isaac, V. (2016) '*Dressing the part': Ellen Terry (1847–1928). Towards a Methodology for Analysing Historic Theatre Costume*. Published thesis, University of Brighton.

Thompson, J. (2015a) *Wonderful Things. A History of Egyptology 1. From Antiquity to 1881*. Cairo and New York, American University in Cairo Press.

Thompson, J. (2015b) *Wonderful Things. A History of Egyptology 2. The Golden Age: 1881–1914*. Cairo and New York, American University in Cairo Press.

Thompson, J. (2018) *Wonderful Things. A History of Egyptology 3. From 1914 to the Twenty-First Century.* Cairo and New York, American University in Cairo Press.

Toepfer, K. (1997) *Empire of Ecstasy. Nudity and Movement in German Body Culture 1910–1935*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Toepfer, K. (2019) *Pantomime. The History and Metamorphosis of a Theatrical Ideology.* San Francisco, Vosuri Media.

Van Loo, A. (ed.) (1988) *Akarova. Spectacle et Avant-Gardes 1920–1950. Entertainment and the Avant-Garde. 1920–1950*. Bruxelles, A. A. M. Editions.

Versluys, M. J. (ed.) (2020) *Beyond Egyptomania. Objects, Styles and Agency.* Berlin, De Gruyter.

Vogelsang-Eastwood, G. M. (1993) *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing.* Leiden, Brill.

Wilkinson, T. (2020) *A World Beneath the Sands. Adventurers and Archaeologists in the Golden Age of Egyptology.* London, Picador.

Wittrock, E. (2014) Laborbericht: Tanzfoto 1900–1920. *Map. Media, Archive, Performance* 5 [online]. Available at: http://www.perfomap.de/map5/paradoxe-medien/laborbericht-tanzfoto-1900-1920 (accessed 24.02.2022).

Zibelius-Chen, K. (2005) Das Alte Ägypten im Klassischen Ballett. Petipas 'La Fille du Pharaon'. In I. Gamer-Wallert and E. Brunner-Traut (ed.) *Gegengabe. Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut*, 359–377. Tübingen, Attempto.